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FEDERICA BURINI is Associate Professor of Geography at the Department of Foreign Languages, Literatures and Cultures of the University of Bergamo where she is member of the CST-DiathesisLab. Her primary research interests are participatory processes and collaborative mapping to promote territorial regeneration in a sustainable perspective.

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TOURISM FACING A PANDEMIC: FROM CRISIS TO RECOVERY

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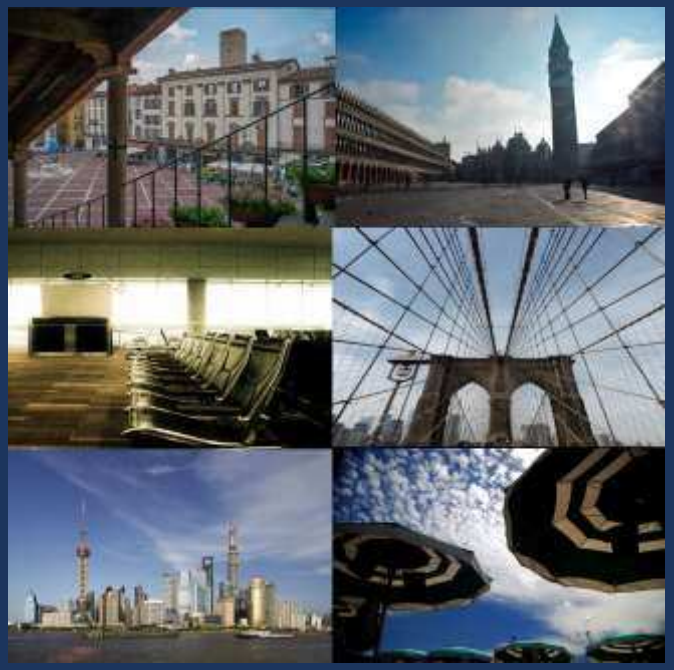

edited by Federica Burini

UNIVERSITÀ DEGLI STUDI DI BERGAMO

2020

TOURISM FACING A PANDEMIC: FROM CRISIS TO RECOVERY

edited by Federica Burini

Università degli Studi di Bergamo

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To our students of the Master Course
in Planning and Management of Tourism Systems
of the University of Bergamo

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Presentation and executive summary

This collection of papers has been written in April 2020 by the international team of scholars teaching at the Master Course in *Planning and Management of Tourism Systems* of the University of Bergamo, while the Covid-19 emergency was spreading in all parts of the World and especially in the territory of Bergamo.
The main aim of the work is to face the topic of Tourism in the case of exogenous shocks, like the Covid-19 pandemic, reflecting on their impacts on territories, communities and heritage both during and after the crisis. The papers adopt different disciplinary approaches and methods, trying to give a multi-focused gaze to the complexity of a global phenomenon and to possible forms of recovery. The first section is focused on the impacts of global shocks in travel behaviours seen from economic, marketing and legal perspectives (Peter Keller, Greg Richards, Andrea Macchiavelli, Roberta Garibaldi, Andrea Pozzi, Daniela Andreini, Federico Mangiò, Simon Taylor), followed by a second section which analyses territorial and environmental issues related to tourism sustainability and adaptation to global changes (Andrew Holden, Federica Burini, Jennifer Wells, Elena Bougleux). The third section investigates tourism discourses and imageries during and after a pandemic (Rossana Bonadei, Cinzia Spinzi, Stefania Maci, Milos Nicic, Sanja Iguman), followed by a fourth section focusing on behaviours and social impacts (Roberto Peretta, Gabriella Alberti, Domenico Perrotta, Kerstin Heuwinkel). The fifth section analyses survival strategies to a pandemic for art, culture and science (Terry Stevens, Iolanda Pensa, Gemma Tully, Raffaella Pulejo, Patrizia Anesa, Gloria Pastorino). The last section deals with tourism teaching during crisis by analysing the results of a survey (Stephanie Pyne and Federica Burini).
This collection is addressed to students interested in the tourism sector, who are in search of answers in this time of change and crisis. We believe that after reading this volume they won't have all the answers to their dilemmas, but they will reflect about them, they will receive proposals for specific approaches,

methodologies, sources, references, examples, useful for the future of their own research.
I wish to thank the colleagues from the University of Bergamo and the visiting professors from British, Canadian, Dutch, French, German, Italian, Serbian, Swiss, US universities for having accepted with great enthusiasm this challenge in a so difficult period of resistance. Their valuable contributions will undoubtedly be of great interest and demonstrate that a global phenomenon should be always analysed by a global network of researchers. I also thank the anonymous referees from foreign universities who dedicated their time to read and approve this publication.
The book is dedicated to our students of the Master Course in *Planning and Management of Tourism Systems* and to those of them who particularly suffered for Covid-19.

Federica Burini
President of the Master Course in Planning and Management of Tourism Systems, Department of Foreign Languages, Literatures and Cultures
University of Bergamo

Part I

IMPACTS OF GLOBAL SHOCKS IN TRAVEL BEHAVIOURS

Corona pandemic as exogenous shock for international tourism: a context analysis

Peter Keller*

Abstract:
Tourism is a receiver and a pro-creator of the corona pandemic. Its cross-sector nature and international focus needs to analyse the impact of the new, dangerous and worldwide spread corona flu in an interdisciplinary context. Virologist and epidemiologists proposed to governments to take large scale emergency measures to curb down the pandemic. Medical professionals fought in welfare states for the first time in history for the survival of each infected individual what sets new ethical standards. The governmental hygiene measures stopped the functioning of the international tourism system. They led to a supply shock which proved that tourism related businesses and industries are less resilient or robust to master bad times than their lobbyists always pretend.
Keywords: *Nature of crises, supply shock, lockdown*

1. Globalisation made the world richer but more vulnerable to crises

Globalisation made the world richer through division of work and free exchange of goods and services. Tourism was a driver of the globalisation process thanks to fast and cheap travelling. Almost all the places of the planet are discovered and most can be visited.

Globalisation is an integration process meaning that the world is growing together despite conflicting ideologies and different interests of the world community.

The price of this integration process is the rise of crises which occur always more frequently and on a worldwide scale. The always higher mobility of physical persons as constituting characteristic of international tourism led to "…the first global epidemic of an infectious disease resulting from a virus which did not yet exist before" (Kay, King, 2020).

2. International tourism is more exposed to crises than other sectors

* Peter Keller, Université de Lausanne, info@profkeller.ch.

Tourism is a “fair weather sector” which depends on friendly framework conditions such as peace, political stability, steady economic growth and good health condition for travelling and staying at other places than at home. Its cross-sector characteristics make tourism vulnerable to a multitude of dangerous developments which can peak in crises.

Tourism is also one the most liberalised sectors of the world economy since people can travel without substantial restrictions. It is not amazing that its high mobility made of international tourism one of the major receivers of global crises but at the same time also one of their co-creators (AIEST, 2020). It is a fact that long lasting exponential growth of international tourism increased mobility and contributed to the spread of the Corona virus all over the world.

3. Exogenous shocks and structural change are different things

Global crises are exogenous shocks for the tourism related industries. These shocks are not the same as structural crises. Structural crises occur in the field of tourism when the market conditions, the preferences of the visitors and the framework conditions relevant for tourism change. Jet aviation was a basic innovation which destroyed the monopoly position of winter sport countries. Visitors began to prefer travelling to the beaches of the Southern hemisphere rather than to ski. Fast and cheap flying made this change possible. Such changes led, as an example, to the structural crisis of the Japanese ski industry which lost despite favourable snow conditions in only two decades half of its customers (Shibata, 2014).

The comparison between the corona crisis and the global warming may help to distinguish between shocks and structural crises. Global warming is also a serious threat for humanity but not a shock. Global warming is not a phenomenon which occurred in an unexpected way. It is based on probabilities and scenarios asking for changes in human behaviour. The spread of the corona virus was a matter of a couple of weeks whereas the survival of the “spaceship earth” is a long term challenge. The number of infected people grew exponentially and doubled every couple of

days. Temperature increases only slowly and in a linear way. Older people with chronic diseases died in two weeks in cases they were infected. Global warming doesn't provoke sudden death.

4. Historic exogenous shocks impacting on tourism demand have some common characteristics

Most of crises which impacted on international tourism in the new millennium were unexpected and some could even not have been imagined. Nobody thought that the "Twin Towers" in New York could be destroyed by two passenger jets of a terroristic group, killing about 3.000 and injuring more than 6.000 people. Only few people could imagine that loans given to a small segment of the real estate market would lead to a global financial crisis which destroyed the value of shares quoted at the stock exchange of Beijing by half in only one day (Keller, 2009).

Most of the crises of the last two decades led to demand shocks what reduced trips of visitors. The doubling of the oil price from 75 to 150 UDS per barrel due to a lack of investments in production plants led in the year 2008 to a deep but short crisis. The higher gasoline prices due to the artificial rarefaction of oil reduced the car miles driven during the summer season and made people buy temporarily less gasoline consuming cars (USDOT, 2008). The financial crisis of 2009 destroyed fortunes of wealthier people what forced high end hotels to go down with their prices for a certain period. These crises led always to a V-shaped curves with fast down and up turns. The triangle in between the curve below represents the losses of the US tourism industry due to the destruction of the Twin Towers. Lost arrivals cannot be recuperated since tourism related services are perishable and cannot be put on stock (Fig. 1).

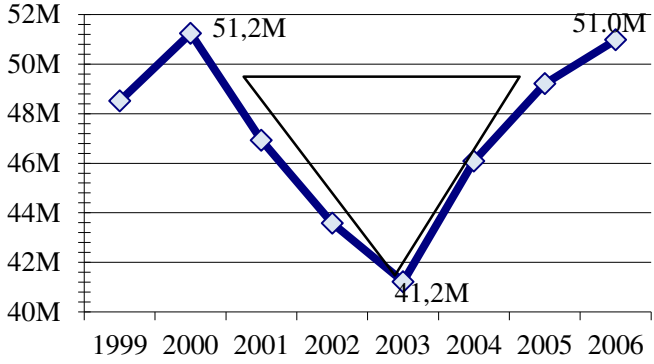

Figure 1 - V-shaped growth curve showing the impact of the destruction of the twin towers in New York on the international arrival in all means of accommodation
Source: I-94 Summary of International Travel to the United States

5. Visitors and suppliers of tourism developed capacities to adapt to demand crises

The higher the level of development the more people are risk averse. They only travel if they feel safe and secure. Visitors expect to be protected against odds which are likely and not likely to happen such as criminality or the spread of a flu virus. They are nevertheless not totally helpless when it comes to crises. They profit from a travel learning curve which starts when children live the first family holidays. These experiences help them to develop capabilities to adapt to crises by renouncing to travel, by deciding to travel close to the departure, by making holidays near to their homes or by taking hygiene measures in case of diseases.

Suppliers and providers of services are also used to face crises. They live with almost daily structural risks inherent to tourism such as the seasonality of the demand, the fluctuation of the value of currencies or the changing weather conditions. They also developed abilities to face exogenous shocks by cutting non-essential costs or by closing their establishments if the returns don't cover the fix and the preparation cost before opening.

6. Intrinsic opposite logics of health care and behaviour of visitors

Most of the Western countries followed the Chinese emergency model by containing the wide spread of the virus through home quarantine and social distancing in order to avoid exponential growth of the disease. The aim was to stop the doubling of infected cases to a ratio where one infected people would infect less than one other people. This strategy was successfully implemented by most of the states since the number of infected people went down after a little more than one month (Fig. 2). Epidemiologists fear a second wave of infections because they consider that only few people were disinfected. Reputed immunologists don't share this non tested hypothesis (Thiel *et al.*, 2020).

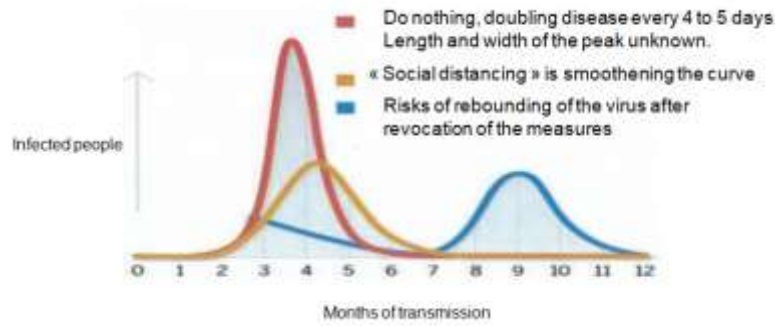

Figure 2 - The strategy for fighting the wide spread corona virus
Source: Imperial College, London

The strategy to contain the spread of the virus by asking people to stay at home and by reducing social contacts is not compatible with tourism. Tourism is the contrary of staying at home. It is the opportunity to travel and to see the world thanks to open borders. There is no tourism without mobility. Tourism depends also largely on personal contacts with other visitors and providers of services. It is a hospitality business which needs social closeness and not social distancing. A warm welcome and sharing

travel experiences with other people constituting elements of tourism.

7. The Corona pandemic is the first worldwide supply shock affecting international tourism

Potential visitors were among the first consumers reacting on the Corona shock by the cancellation of bookings. The setback of travel bookings started in the early stage of crisis. There were more cancellations than new bookings for air travel destinations in the USA in the second half of March 2020 (Fig. 3).

Figure 3 - Setback of international summer season bookings for air travel to all US air travel destinations, starting beginning of January 2020
Source: Breaking Travel News, Virtual Tour Experts, USA 2020

The closure of the boarders and the lockdown of the population stopped the functioning of the tourism systems and interrupted from one day to another a long period of prosperity. Boarders, hotels, restaurants, spa facilities and all kind of events and spectacles were closed by emergency laws. The recovery will be difficult in the field of tourism. Tourism needs open borders. Grounded airlines cannot fly from one day to another. Hotels and restaurants cannot be transformed in intensive care units for maintaining social distance. Legal constraints of the number of gathering people don´t allow opening tourism businesses since they need enough guests to cover their fix and preparation costs.

Even if a detailed evaluation of the damages of the pandemic will only be possible in the medium term, there is nevertheless no doubt that the of international tourism demand will return slowly but certainly to growth following the step by step exit out of the governmental emergency rules. It is a positive sign for the return to growth that the Schengen states reopened their borders mid-June 2020, three months after the shock occurred. Intraregional tourism will recover slightly in the coming summer season. Intercontinental tourism will probably come back next year. The situation is different on the supply side. The pandemic showed that modern tourism supply is not sustainable. The expansion of buildings and infrastructures to peak loads, the seasonal character of the employment and the strong dependency of many territories on tourism makes the sector vulnerable to shocks.

8. The Corona shock will cause more damage for the tourism sector than for other industries

The International Monetary Fund IMF stated that the world economy will contract in 2020 by 6.5% which is more than during the financial crisis of 2008-2009 (>IMF, 2020). International tourism will suffer more from the corona supply shock than the other sectors of the world economy. The reason is that tourism related services are provided in establishments open to the public. The manufacturing industry produces behind well protected closed doors and didn't have in most of the countries to stop its output during the crisis if the supply chains functioned. Banks and insurances continued to produce since their staff could work at the home office.

The lock down caused for tourism related industries much higher costs than for other industries. Airlines had to ground almost all of their fleets. The International Air Carrier Association IATA estimates the revenue losses beyond a figure of 100 billion USD (IATA, 2020). Reservation systems announced that occupancy rates in the lodging industry collapsed on 21st March 2020 versus the prior year by 96% in Italy and by 83% in Switzerland (STR, 2020). A survey by "Postfinance", the most important Swiss EC card company, published a detailed list which made public that consumption for catering, lodging, tour operating

and flying went down by more than 50% during the period between 16th March and 14th April 2020, much more than the consumption of all the other goods and services bought by Swiss residents (NZZ, 2020).

9. Visitors start to adapt their travel behaviour following the exit strategies

The step by step release of the lockdown re-opened the tourism systems. Potential visitors learnt from the Corona shock and adapted their behaviour. Hotel bookings for domestic holidays started again on a worldwide basis as soon as governments decided to ease their travel restriction after the shock. Domestic tourism lost also less bookings during the lockdown (-49%) than the intraregional and the intercontinental tourism. It plays again its important role as a stabiliser of the conjuncture. Domestic tourism will partly compensate the lacking international visitors in the early after Corona period.

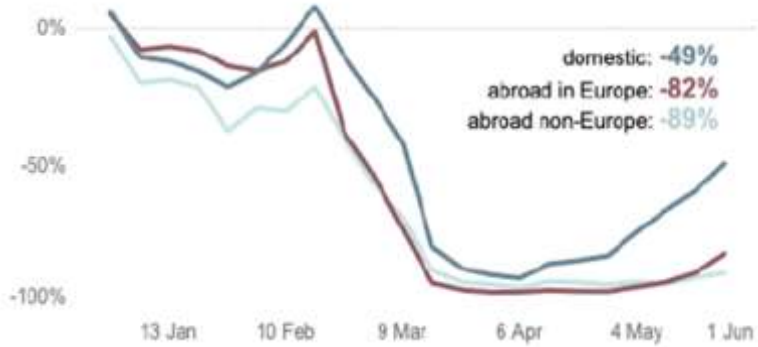

Figure 4 - Domestic, intraregional and intercontinental bookings at the Triptease platform from 30th December to 1st June 2020
Source: Triptease, 2020, www.triptease.com

10. Conclusions

The experts of World Tourism Organisation stated in their "International Tourism Highlights, Edition 2019" that international tourism "…has seen continuous expansion over time, despite

occasional shocks, demonstrating the sectors strength and resilience (UNWTO, 2019). They had to revise this statement. It cannot be denied that the margins of the mostly small tourism companies are not sufficient to survive a longer standstill of their commercial activities. In the case of Switzerland, the state was obliged to assure the liquidity of tourism related businesses with interest free loans for the next years. Its unemployment insurance is paying 80% of the salaries of ¾ quarter of employees of the tourism sector for six months in order to avoid mass dismissal (KOF, 2020).

Tourism is not an autonomous sector and depends on the growth path of the world economy for which the OECD forecasts a strong worldwide recession. The think tank of the tank of the advanced economies stated that the real income per capita would in the best case not be higher at the end of 2021 than in 2016 (OECD, 2020). It has to be taken into account that recessions are socio-psychological processes which cannot be as well controlled as a pandemic. It is therefore also an open question if the over indebted states which had to pay the losses of their economies during the Corona crisis will succeed in their fight against the unemployment which the recession will cause. In any case, the income of the households available for travel and tourism will not increase in the next years. There are fears that the enormous sums of financial means pumped by monetary and fiscal measures could induce in the mid-term boost inflation what wouldn't be favourable for international tourism operating under heavy competition.

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The impact of crisis on travel: Covid-19 and other shocks

Greg Richards*

Abstract
This paper reviews the impact of the Covid-19 crisis on the global travel industry, drawing on a survey of businesses in the youth travel sector. It reviews the current and likely future impact of the crisis on different sectors of youth travel, and assesses the prospects for recovery.
Keywords: *Tourism industry, crisis, Covid-19*

One of the primary qualities of a crisis tends to be speed – we very rarely see it looming. The same applies to the Coronavirus pandemic in 2020. When I arrived to teach on the Master in Bergamo in late February, I had just come from Thailand, where Chinese tourism had already dried up because of the virus. But in Bergamo, normal life was in full swing; the bars and restaurants were busy, the buses were full and the San Siro stadium in Milan was packed for Atalanta's Champions League match with Valencia. When I left Bergamo on February 21st, the first lockdowns began in Lombardy, and by March 9th they had extended to the whole country.

In hindsight we can appreciate the scale of the Covid-19 crisis, and we can already appreciate many of the obvious effects in travel and tourism. Rapidly extending travel restrictions, particularly across international borders, have decimated the global travel industry. The question that many are now asking is: how can the industry recover? At time time of writing in April 2020 this is far from clear. Some European countries are just beginning to open up again after the lockdown, but businesses are still struggling to imagine how they will operate with requirements for social distancing.

This is not the first crisis for the global travel industry. Previous pandemics and epidemics, such as SARS, MERS and Ebola have caused widespread disruption in the past 20 years. We

* Greg Richards, Breda University of Applied Sciences, richards.g@buas.nl.

have also had the global economic crisis, which cause a significant decline in international travel in 2009. We can already see from some of the countries that have responded effectively to Covid-19, such as Singapore, South Korea and Taiwan, that previous experience of dealing with the SARS outbreak in 2003 meant that they were better prepared this time. Knowledge, and being able to anticipate the effects of a crisis are crucial. This was one of the problems for Italy, which was ill-prepared for the onset of Covid-19.

Of course we know that research on the effects of a disease like Covid-19 is essential to tackling the crisis. But it is also important to understand the wider effects of Covid-19, for example on the economy. This can help us to design more effective policies to deal with such challenges, and help us to minimise the effects next time round (because, inevitably, there will be a next time). We know that the economy will recover, but how long is it going to take, and what are the most effective policies to support the recovery of tourism?

This is one of the reasons why WYSE Travel Confederation, the global umbrella association for youth travel, has been monitoring the health of the industry since 2002. WYSE has an extensive research programme, covering different sectors including student travel and backpacking (Richards and Wilson, 2004; Richards, 2015). WYSE measures both supply and demand in different sectors of the industry, most notably through the New Horizons surveys, which are conducted on a large sample of young travellers every five years (WYSE Travel Confederation, 2018). WYSE has also charted the effects of different crises in travel, for example with the economic downturn in 2008 and the Ebola outbreak in 2013-2014.

Most recently, WYSE (2020) has launched a regular survey to measure the impacts of Covid-19. The Covid-19 Business travel impact survey started measuring the experience and reactions of travel businesses in early March 2020 (Fig. 1).

	n.	Actual % change in business volume Q1 2020	Expected % change in business volume next calendar year
Business sectors			
Accommodation	116	-27,62	-28,70
Activities, tours, attractions	91	-33,74	-32,11
Educational travel	41	-23,83	-16,51
Language travel	56	-39,32	-33,78
Volunteering, internships	47	-25,06	-20,28
Other	63	-24,89	-15,76
F		2,778	3,752
Sig.		0,018	0,002
World region			
Africa	21	-19,81	-11,86
Asia	34	-36,18	-34,94
Europe	222	-32,60	-30,99
North America	83	-25,06	-15,57
Central and South America	26	-21,88	-18,19
Oceania	25	-28,28	-26,72
F		3,047	3,869
Sig.		0,006	0,001
Survey period			
March 3-4	318	-27,91	-23,62
March 5-9	96	-34,61	-33,87
F		4,116	7,343
Sig.		0,043	0,007
All respondents	**414**	**-29,47**	**-26,00**

Figure 1 - Reported actual and expected changes in business volume, March 2020
Source: WYSE Travel Confederation survey

At that time, survey respondents expressed a high level of concern about the effects of Covid-19 on their business. More than 80% of businesses believed that their business prospects will be worse over the coming year. On average, respondents reported a 26% drop in demand for business in Quarter 1 2020 compared to the same period in 2019. There was no significant difference between business sectors, but youth travel specialists reported a slightly lower decrease in demand (24%) for Q1 2020 than non-youth travel specialists (30%). There was a significant drop in both reported change in business volume for Q1 2020 and expected business for the next calendar year between the responses recorded in the first two days of the survey (3-4 March) and the other days (5-9 March). This underlines the fast-moving nature of the crisis, as more businesses began to appreciate the scale of the outbreak and its consequences.

By April, the picture was already worsening. The average drop in demand had increased to almost 60%, or more than double the level in March. This reflected the increasing impact of travel restrictions, as young people were no longer able to travel abroad (or in many cases to return to their home country). The impacts of the decline were greatest for accommodation operators. Youth travel accommodation is particularly susceptible to the effects of health crises such as Covid-19, because much accommodation is provided in dormitories, and the whole hostel experience is based on socialising – the opposite of social distance. We also found that educational and cultural exchange was particularly hard hit, with universities and schools closed and businesses unable to provide placements. Some youth travel operators had started to be creative in finding solutions, for example by catering to travellers unable to get home, or taking in refugees. Placement organisations started to develop 'virtual placements', although how these will work in the absence of physical contact is unclear. Educational institutions and language schools were able to adapt more quickly in many cases by moving education online.

Acting quickly is vital in the current fast-moving climate. In the second wave of the survey in April 2020, we asked businesses how long they would be able to keep operating without financial assistance. The answers vary between businesses sectors, but the

average was around four months – in other words until the end of the summer. If things don't improve quickly, a lot of businesses, particularly small businesses, will not be around to see the recovery. Not surprisingly, therefore, many governments have stepped in and offered support to firms. Around half of the companies we surveyed indicated that they had already sought assistance, or were planning to do so immediately. Over 90% of forms said they would seek some form of assistance in the next few months. Rapid assistance may keep some firms afloat in the short term, but of course it stores up problems for the future. Loans from the government now will have to be paid back, and gifts will have to be paid for by the taxpayers, who will then have less money to travel. Even if the health issues of the pandemic are resolved relatively quickly, we may be facing a longer crisis of consumer confidence and spending. We have already seen in the Netherlands, for example, that many students have lost large amounts of their income through not being able to do their part-time jobs. That lost income will probably reduce youth travel spend in the period ahead.

Comparisons with the effects of previous crises (such as SARS) suggests that Covid-19 will have considerably greater impact on the travel industry. Secondly, the negative impacts of Covid-19 are already being felt in all sectors of the travel industry (with the possible exception of insurance companies), and in all world regions. In addition to the immediate challenges posed by travel bans, research by WYSE Travel Confederation (2018) has already indicated a growing concern with epidemics, with the proportion of youth travel plans affected by such health issues doubling from 6% in 2007 to 12% in 2017.

Optimists will point to the significant rebounds in travel to Asia following the SARS outbreak in 2003 and the global economic downturn in 2009. But commentators have already warned of a possible 'second wave' of Covid-19, and it seems that Henderson and Ng's (2004) warning that "Other unknown viruses are also predicted to emerge in the 21st century, and the prevailing forces of globalisation will facilitate their spread" was very prescient. As she said, such events are beyond the control of the tourism industry, "which has few options beyond strict cost cutting, an

exhaustive search for and exploitation of revenue-generating possibilities and calls for government aid." It seems that even though the scale of the crisis may be greater than those experienced before.

No doubt the travel industry will recover in the next few years, although the question is what the 'new normal' for travel will look like. People are rightly beginning to ask whether we need a return to mass tourism and overcrowded city centres. As many more people have now got used to videoconferencing, we can ask whether business travel will need to be as expansive as it once was. Some solutions to the health challenges of Covid-19 will be found in physical adaptions, such as the spacing out of guests in accommodation and on airplanes. But this will mean that travel will also get more expensive, reducing demand. Again, this may not be a bad thing, particularly for the environment. But governments will have to resist pressures to go back to 'business as usual'.

In any case, restarting the travel industry depends on having demand to fill the now empty hotel beds and airline seats. The signs are that the demand is there, and people are just waiting to be offered a safe way of travelling. In the US, research by Skift (2020) indicated that one-third of Americans would start to travel within three months after travel restrictions are lifted. Recent research in the Netherlands also shows that 86% of people who had holiday plans before the crisis still want to travel (Multiscope, 2020). In terms of destinations, southern Europe (including Italy) is the most frequent choice (39% of those with holiday plans), although staying in the Netherlands was also popular (26%). In spite of the crisis, relatively few people voluntarily cancelled their holidays (12%). Over 40% had their trips cancelled as a result of travel restrictions, but 47% have not yet cancelled the summer holiday they booked, and are waiting to see what happens. Some destinations in Asia which were less hard hit be Covid-19, such as Hong Kong and Singapore, are now hoping to benefit from this pent-up demand as they open up for travel over the summer. As a number of countries in Europe are now making plans to gradually open up hotels and restaurants, this may mean that the season may not be totally lost for some destinations. However, to make

this happen the tourists will have to feel safe, and travel restrictions will need to be lifted.

The good news is that tourism has survived previous crises, and it will survive this crisis as well. Many people are now shifting their holiday plans from this summer to 2021, and there is little doubt that the demand is there. The tourism industry will have to plan carefully for the recovery, also because the future of tourism is likely to look different. Destinations that coped better with the crisis are also more likely to be more popular in the short term. Many places will have to work on increasing the quality of their product, and the fact that the crisis will cause a shake out of tourism businesses may be an opportunity to do this. Destinations should also pay more attention to sustainability, which was a big issue before Covid-19, and which will not go away in the post-viral era.

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A fragmented system in the face of the crisis

Andrea Macchiavelli*

Abstract:
The paper analyses tourism as a fragmented system in the face of the crisis. It analyses the previous periods of recession having an impact on tourism and then it focuses on the Italian context. It concludes by looking at how the conditions of flexibility that are typical of a diversified and fragmented system could allow for a greater capacity for adaptation and innovation to face a different future.
Keywords: *tourism, fragmented system, crisis adaptation*

1. Tourism and recession

From the analysis of the well-known curve of post-war world tourism development, proposed by the UNWTO (Fig. 1) in several publications and presented to the students of many tourism courses, we can notice that the growth trend of international arrivals is always very high. The trend is indeed characterized by higher and higher annual rates with respect to the average world economic growth, and the only indication of a real recession (i.e. a decrease in flows) dates back to 2009, following the well-known world financial crisis.

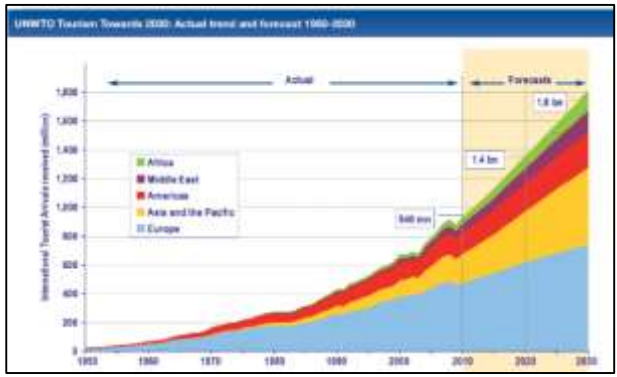

Figure 1 – World tourism trends
Source: UNWTO

* Andrea Macchiavelli, University of Bergamo, andrea.macchiavelli@unibg.it.

There have certainly been moments of slowdown, but these have never given rise to a significant decrease in international movements. We can be briefly highlighted as follows:

- The first half of the 1980s were years of great economic and consequently social transformation worldwide, especially in the Western world. The first application of technologies (microchips and their derivatives) began to spread and led to a radical change in production and work, with consequent problems of employment and slowdown in consumption, after a long period of prosperity. Tourism was affected and, as can be seen from the trend of the curve, there were some years of stagnation, without, however, any decrease in international arrivals;
- In 1990-91 there was the first Gulf War between Iraq and a coalition of states under the auspices of the UN. It lasted a few months but it was enough to slow down most of the international movements; the curve shows in fact a negative trend, which however lasted very little, recovering positively immediately afterwards;
- A certainly negative decrease occurred following the attack on the Twin Towers in New York in 2001, but it did not lead to a real decrease in flows worldwide, since it mainly affected the Western world (Fig. 2);
- The Sars epidemic in 2003 led to a very modest decline of -0.3% (UNWTO 2020). In this case the Asian area was mainly involved and the worldwide decline was almost non-existent (Fig. 2);

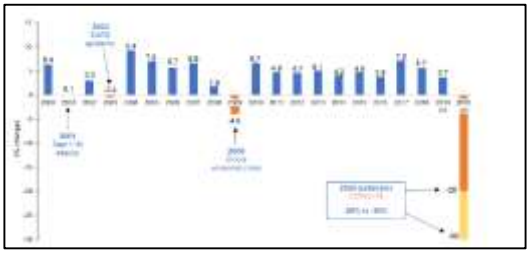

Figure 2 – International Tourist Arrivals and Forecast
Source: UNWTO

So the only real recession occurred in 2009 (Smeral, 2011), when there was a decrease of 4% in terms of flows (Fig. 2) and 5.4% in terms of expenditures.

From these preliminary observations we can understand the seriousness of the Covid-19 global tourism crisis in 2020, because, as can be seen in Fig.2, the forecast of the decrease in international flows is so far absolutely not comparable to previous situations; the UNWTO forecasts a decrease of both variables of 20-30 %, which would mean a return to the level of international flows in 2009-10.

There are, however, other considerations to be made on the relationship between tourism and crisis. In the face of the very limited global crises and few accidents that we have mentioned above, however, in recent years there have been many local crises, induced both by war or terrorist events and natural events (earthquakes and tsunamis). As far as the terrorist attacks are concerned, it is enough to recall the attacks in Bali, Egypt, Thailand and in the European cities themselves (Nice, Paris, London and others); in the case of natural disasters, the example for all to remember is the tsunami in the Indian Ocean in 2004, during which almost fifteen countries were hit, some of which were highly tourism-intensive; as a result, there were around 250,000 victims and devastating destructions. The effect of these crises was mostly local (albeit sometimes on a large scale) and in most cases the damage caused by the event was far greater than the actual scale of its dangers. Let us think of some attacks that occurred in Egypt in 2005; although serious (almost 90 victims) and occurred in three locations, they were prompt events that subsequently resulted in the almost total blockage of tourist flows for a few years. However, subsequent analyses carried out in the territories affected by any kind of critical event, including those of an economic nature, have shown that, although at different times and intensities, local tourism showed a particularly higher degree of resilience. In other words, in the face of local crises and immediate stress, there seems to be a strong resilience on the part of tourist destinations (Keller, Bieger 2011), which rapidly leads them to a recovery in their tourism function. The stress resulting from the event leads the tourist to immediately exclude the

affected destination and the whole country as well, due to a wide substitutability of the chosen location, which however exists for any type of tourism. Afterwards, when there has been a decrease in media clamor about the event and potential tourists feel reassured, they can take the destination into account again very quickly.

All this in order to highlight the context in which the current Covid-19 crisis is taking place, well aware, however, that the characteristics of the crisis, its globality, its duration and its future unpredictability have dimensions and implications never seen and happened before. Moreover, in this crisis what is directly affected is precisely tourism in its essence of "encounter with the other", which is precisely any way of making tourism, both in the short and long distances. The measures against the pandemic aim to contain the proximity between one person and another, exactly what tourism tends to favour or puts as a condition, both during the trip, during the stay and during visits. It goes without saying that tourism therefore ends up being the sector most affected by the pandemic in all its productive activities.

2. The Italian tourism system in the face of the crisis

Addressing issues of the Italian tourism system regardless of the overall economic context of the country would not help to understand the conditions in which tourism companies will find themselves following the crisis for Covid-19. Not because tourism companies are dependent on public financial sources; indeed, the great majority of Italian companies are totally made up of private capital and they have always enjoyed very little funding from the public administration. The only exceptions are given by those regions with a special status and by some public interventions in the South of Italy. The problem arises because in the current situation public intervention becomes a condition of survival for most companies in tourism sector and the level of indebtedness of the Italian economic system certainly does not allow sufficient room for manoeuvre. The Italian public debt is among the highest in Europe with over 135% of GDP, following only that of Greece; the public finance balance remains negative (public deficit) mainly due to the interest to be paid because of the huge debt. Therefore, the

conditions of public finance do not allow the Public Administration to exceed in to face the crisis. Taking into account the appropriations already made and those planned, the Government's forecasts of April 2020 foresee to bring the public deficit in 2020 from 2.4% of GDP, before the crisis, to 10.4% and the public debt to 155%. All this in the face of a drop in Gross Domestic Product of 8%. As we can imagine, these are huge figures which reflect economic conditions that the country has never managed after the war. In this scenario there are some large companies that play (or could play) an important role in the tourist flows of the country and that for many years have been absorbing huge public resources. Alitalia is one of them and someone, in these times of pandemic, has pointed out that "Alitalia burned until a few weeks ago and presumably still burns, every day, the equivalent of about 40 lung ventilators" (Rossi, 2020, p. 10). It is worth remembering that, following the attack on the Twin Towers in New York in 2001 and the consequent blockade of air transport, some important flag carriers, such as Swissair (Switzerland) and Sabena (Belgium), for example, declared bankruptcy because their respective governments took the opportunity to restructure and relaunch national air transport on other management bases. Alitalia was in a precarious situation even then, but until today it has continued to absorb public funds with the outcome mentioned above.

The characteristic that distinguishes the Italian tourism system from that of the other major European tourist countries is fragmentation and consequently the small size of the companies. The average size of Italian hotels is about 68 beds, which means about 34 rooms; the penetration of hotel chains is the lowest among European countries, equal to 16% of the total number of rooms (and 5% of the number of hotels), compared to 48% in Great Britain, 49% in France and 56% in Spain (Horwath, 2019). A similar situation can be found in intermediation system (Tour Operators and Travel Agencies). Precisely this fragmentation has been one of the strengths for many years because it is the expression of an autonomous, lively, innovative entrepreneurship and above all able of interpreting the needs of the emerging tourism market of the 1960s and 1970s, when the countries that are competitors today (in particular Spain) were not yet able to offer a tourism

proposal in line with the needs of the northern European populations, attracted by the sun, climate and resources of Italy. Indeed, in the 1970s Italy was the leading tourist country in the world, as it received more international tourists than all the others, including the United States, whose demographic size was five times greater. This model based on small and very small businesses has substantially remained the same even today, because it cannot be changed in short or medium time, even if it has certainly evolved in terms of quality, as well as quantity, generating niche specializations, territorial characterizations and excellence, even in the luxury market. It is enough to remember that even today less than 30% of the accommodation businesses still have the legal form of joint-stock companies, while over 40% are sole proprietorships, the most basic legal form to operate. In organized intermediation the percentage of corporations rises to 35%, but also in this case too sole proprietorships represent 40%. (Bazzucchi, Coccia, 2018). This means a largely undercapitalized system of enterprises, in which the resources that support them are the result of the company's accumulation over the years, which in the vast majority have been translated into substantial investments in the structures themselves, through self-financing; therefore, not having external sources of support, the accumulated capital has gone to support the company's development and it is reasonable to believe that it has brought a certain structural debt. In essence, tourism companies have little margin to cope with an unforeseen and unforeseeable shock and for this reason they are now clamouring for State intervention. In tourism the object of the exchange between supply and demand is in fact a perishable product, as if it were food. What is not sold today cannot be stored in warehouses to be sold tomorrow; a hotel room or a seat on an unsold flight for two to three months (or more) are hopelessly lost (Vanhoe, 2005). This puts companies in the condition of having to compensate for that net loss either with private capital accumulated over time or with external funds; the recovery from the production activity will never be able to compensate for the loss suffered, it may at most (if things go very well) allow a greater accumulation in the future.

But this fragmentation and fragility of the Italian tourist system shows on another side its strong point. The small size of the companies and their spontaneous development over time in the face of a growing market, enriched by inventiveness and the typically Italian capacity for hospitality, have produced an extremely flexible system, capable of innovation, creativity and enterprise, which in times of crisis can represent an irreplaceable resource. It is a system undoubtedly resilient to crises as it has repeatedly shown on previous occasions, even if it is a capacity for adaptation that is not homogeneous among all the companies in the system. The presence of a multiplicity of companies that differ in size, characteristics and entrepreneurial and managerial skills means that the capacity to resist, adapt and evolve according to new market perspectives is a capacity that is expressed at very different levels from one company to another. Once again, as already happened during the great economic transformations of the last century, we must expect that there will be companies that will face change (because change will be involved) and adapt to the new market conditions, perhaps creating new types of activities, new niches and new market positions and others that will not succeed, realistically determining a new physiognomy of the tourist offer system of the country. The entrepreneurial capacity and innovative spirit of individuals will play a decisive role in this process, but the economic conditions of origin and the financial support offered by the institutions will also be a decisive variable.

3. Prospects and trends

At the moment of writing, the public funds in favour of tourism are still very poor, even though they have been promised. The orientation so far seems to go primarily towards guarantees and loans at very low rates, rather than towards resources directly provided to companies. This is in addition to the real critical node of the Italian economic system even in normal times, namely bureaucracy. It has been amply demonstrated that companies find it difficult to access financial contributions because the regulations protecting them from abuse and the organisation of disbursements that are pivotal to the banks do not allow the

fluidity of disbursement that would be necessary. Moreover, the granting of loans does not bode well because, as has been said, the main problem is that of covering losses that are expected to be considerable. Finally, all this seems to lack an overall plan for the stability of our tourism system, as a result of which the granting of loans is aimed at precise objectives and not only spread evenly across the regions. What may happen in the close future will depend to a large extent on the restrictions that will be imposed in the coming months and therefore on the health conditions in the country. ISTAT announces that from March to May 2020 about 81 million presences will be lost, equal to 18.5% of annual presences, with a total loss of about 9 billion Euros. Even if a controlled tourist movement is allowed in the summer months, it will still generate very scarce flows for several reasons: first of all because we will have to renounce to a large extent foreign flows, which represent about 50% of the total movement, and then because the economic conditions of a large part of the population, forced to give up work for about two months, will not leave much room for holiday tourism, mainly because of the need of recovering on the productive activity. Therefore, it will be mainly a local tourism, developed through people's own means or at most rented, of short duration and perhaps aimed at the (re)discovery of less known and less crowded destinations. For both the tourist and the operator, creativity will be stimulated by the identification of unusual ways of developing tourism. In this perspective, the extension of the season could be an implicit consequence, for three reasons: the commitment to work in the summer months, the availability of operators who will not be engaged in traditional maintenance or the usual holidays, and the preference of tourists for non-crowded times and places, this time for health reasons. Certainly, we will have an abundant occupation of second homes and apartments for rent, a trend that is the opposite of the one that has characterized the last few years; already now the prices of rented houses are reported to be increasing significantly. The price factor will become a decisive variable, but it is difficult to say at what level it will be compared to the past; it will probably depend on the type of business. On the one hand, in fact, the strong competition resulting from the scarcity of demand will push

towards a deflationary trend, with prices decreasing; but the additional cost resulting from the precautionary measures imposed on all accommodation facilities, and especially the reduction of space occupation levels, certainly impose higher prices. The luxury market will probably be able to express itself with high quality guarantees and consequently with prices definitely on the rise.

All Tourism Trade Associations assume a high mortality rate of tourism businesses; companies considered at risk of closure would reach 30%. In order to avoid this, capitalisation interventions are indispensable; where it is impossible to do so autonomously, especially in the sector of small and very small companies, it could be done with public intervention, but the overall conditions of the Italian economy seem to prevent this; it would seem that the European Union is committed to this perspective, with reference, however, to the whole productive activity (Fubini, 2020, p. 13), but it is not easy to imagine that the intervention could reach the very small tourism companies. A high mortality in tourism businesses would involve a significant change in the physiognomy of our tourism system; mortality would in fact affect the smallest and most obsolete businesses, those already destined to leave the market in future years; crisis situations, as already occurred for tour operators and airlines in previous stressful situations (2001, for example), naturally affect already precarious businesses, due to excessive debt and poor market prospects. On a territorial level this could lead to a weakening of the less attractive destinations; in the mountains many small towns that today are based on small tourist economies could suffer further depopulation. It is realistic to believe that in many cases the more solid companies could take over from the more precarious ones; in this case the role and penetration of hotel chains, as well as franchising systems in the catering sector, could be strengthened. All this could also have the effect of strengthening the framework of the Italian accommodation system, as other crises have shown (Waiermair, 2011). In this perspective also the level of productivity, today rather low at average level, could grow; the productivity expressed by tourism companies is structurally lower than that of other productive

sectors (Baumol, 1991) and the Italian one, given its characteristics, even lower than that of other countries. An increase in productivity would mean an improvement in the management efficiency of the firms, to which three main channels will be mobilised:

- *innovation*; it is one of the great resources of Italian entrepreneurship and it will also be one of the main variables of the possibility for businesses to hold on to a different model of tourism;
- *the aggregation and integration between companies*; what until now has represented a wish and appealed to the voluntary initiative of companies and institutions, after the crisis will tend to become more and more an imperative. The strengthening of a fragile and fragmented system also involves forms of business cooperation and integration that strengthen the productive capacity on a managerial and above all economic level. It would certainly be useful if incentives to companies were given also taking this purpose into account;
- *training*; the "self-made man" model that still characterizes a large part of our tourism, cannot disregard consideration a specific training action, addressed not only to the new generations, who can now take advantage of many opportunities, but especially to the entrepreneurial and managerial level. Without this, there will be no shift towards a more efficient model.

4. Conclusions

It is realistic to believe that, regardless of the evolution of the crisis and the stability of the system, the future of tourism will, for a not short period, be different from the one we have left. Faced with the change imposed by exogenous factors, the Italian tourism system has always shown that it knows how to take up the challenge and, even with different territorial varieties and temporal conditions, to come out of it transformed and competitive. The conditions of flexibility that are typical of a diversified and fragmented system have, more than once, allowed for a greater capacity for adaptation than that found in more efficient systems. Tourist destinations are inhabited, lived in, and supported by living communities that look to sustainability

because it is in their interest to ensure the profitability of tourism for future generations. If the resources put in place are sufficient to support businesses, the capacity for resilience will be expressed in capacity for innovation, in sufficient creativity to face a different future.

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Gastronomy tourism and Covid-19: technologies for overcoming current and future restrictions

Roberta Garibaldi and Andrea Pozzi*

Abstract:
With the Covid-19 pandemic that is limiting current travels and obliged individuals to maintain social distancing, tourism industry is struggling with the need of remaining attractive to their current and potential customer. Technology certainly provides new opportunities, not only in facilitating tourists to access information but also in creating new home-based experiences. This chapter attempts to provide evidence of technological applications in the current scenario, paying attention to the gastronomy tourism experience. While technology has been widely used in food sector and sites of production, there is a growing evidence of innovative concepts during the Covid-19 pandemic. Online cooking sessions and tutorials, live guided tastings, virtual reality tours, remote social eating and drinking are current and viable applications that have succeeded in supporting and temporarily replacing the traditional gastronomy tourism experience.
Keywords*: gastronomy tourism, technology, Covid-19.*

Travel and tourism are among the most affected sectors by the Covid-19 pandemic. In May 2020 all worldwide destinations have introduced travel restrictions in response to the pandemic event, closing their borders for travellers and suspending totally or partially international flights (UNWTO, 2020). Although the situation is positively changing in many countries, the unknown duration of such restrictions along with the need of maintaining social distancing certainly contribute to put tourism activities at risk. New challenges are arising: how to continue with promoting own offering in the current scenario? How to engage potential tourists while maintaining social distancing?

Technology certainly provides facilitations and new opportunities to effectively operate in such different context. Since the 1980s, it has started to support functions, to improve service quality and cost control in tourism activities (Buhalis, Law, 2008). In the last few decades, it has become more sophisticated

* Roberta Garibaldi, University of Bergamo, roberta.garibaldi@unibg.it (corresponding author); Andrea Pozzi, University of Bergamo, andrea.pozzi@unibg.it.

and pervasive, supporting consumers in the purchasing process as well as in the creation and consumption of tourism experience (Navío-Marco *et al.,* 2018). Today, during the Covid-19 pandemic, technology has the essential function of maintaining relationships, engaging current and potential customers, assuring the sales and the delivery of products and services.

This chapter attempts to provide evidence of technological applications in the current scenario, paying attention to the gastronomy tourism experience. Actually, above-mentioned issues are particularly relevant for an experience where hedonism, learning and interaction represent essential elements.

1. Technology as a facilitator of the gastronomy tourism experience

The gastronomy tourism experience is both physical and emotional, it includes tasting of local food and recipes as well as involvement in wider food-related activities such as visitation to sites of food and wine production, cooking classes or food-themed events (Che, 2006; Presenza, Chiappa, 2013). It is constituted by hedonism, learning and interaction with 'foodscape' (Abdelhamied, 2011; Albrecht, 2011; Alonso, O'Neill, 2012; Cohen, Avieli, 2004; Ellis *et al.,* 2018; Everett, 2009; Hashimoto, Telfer, 2006; Quan, Wang, 2004). Technology has been widely used to exploit tourist experience, from touch screens and multitouch tables in restaurants (Neuhofer *et al*., 2014) to Virtual and Augmented Reality in wineries (Garibaldi, Sfodera, 2020). Such innovations both enhance pre- and on-site visit, making it distinct and valuable, and enable dynamic co-creation processes.

The temporarily closure of restaurants, bars, cafes, sites of production, ... due to the Covid-19 pandemic is putting these activities at risk. Suppliers are struggling to maintain relationships with their current and potential customers and to grant revenues from sales of food and wine. Along with online platform solutions for delivery, innovative and technology-based concepts are emerging in this current scenario such as:

- remote social dining and partying
- online cooking classes and courses

- augmented and virtual reality experiences for e-food and e-wine destinations
- agri-crowdsourcing
- supportive e-experiences
- E-WOM

These ideas are being exploited in several destinations all around the world, with the purpose of creating home-based experiences, virtually engaging with their customers, inspiring travellers for future visits. Additionally, they allow suppliers to improve revenues during their temporarily closure to public. The following section shows how the technology can be practically applied to different sectors of gastronomy tourism, such as foodservice activities, sites of production and gastronomic events.

2. Digital home-based gastronomy tourism experience during Covid-19 pandemic

Food service sectors

Foodservice sector provides a number of examples of the technology as a mean to create home-based experiences. Online cooking sessions and tutorials, digital home-dining experiences, … have been recently implemented due to temporarily closure of restaurants and bars. For instance, 'Vitique' restaurant (Greti, Italy) created the digital dining concept 'Chef Tabl-e' along with traditional food delivery service. Its customers are allowed to virtually interact with the chef, being introduced to his recipes and then completing food preparation at their home; restaurant's staff accompany them in digital wine tastings and pairings (Winenews, 2020). A more dynamic and engaging dining experience is now offered in Memphis (US). The travel company 'City tasting tours' has created virtual food tours: along with delivering food from three restaurants at home, it allows customers to watch and listen to the stories of local owners, to learn about city gastronomic traditions and recipes comfortably at home. The travel company also offers the opportunity to get gift certificates; in doing so, this digital dining experience aims at providing inspiration for future visits (City Tasting Tours, 2020).

Sites of productions

Technology is currently used also in sites of food and wine production, as to offer new and distinctive home-based experiences. As it happens in the foodservice sector, wineries are now promoting digital wine tastings as to overcome social distancing. 'Ciacci Piccolomini d'Aragona' winery (Tuscany, Italy) has recently set up a collaboration with Microsoft and Si-Net as to organize digital wine tastings. To introduce wine lovers to its new vintages, owners have organized an online event and have accompanied the audience during the tastings, e,g. by explaining organoleptic characteristics of each wine, … (Microsoft.com, 2020). From this perspective, technology has helped to create a new way for engaging current and prospective customers. Even some of initiatives developed in previous years have turned into success due to social restrictions. 'Tarpon Cellars' (Napa Valley, US) established a collaboration with the media services provide Spotify in 2019 to create playlists of the music that inspired the wine and its flavours. Music accompanies people during their tastings of its vintages at home, virtually bringing them together (Tarpon Cellars, 2020). Similarly, the renovation of the 'Vintage Ranch' (Paso Robles, US) was transformed into a Netflix show. Users can watch 'Stay here' – episode 5 and follow along this ranch to see real weddings, tour vineyard farm life, and discover the hot spots across the Paso Robles Wine Country. This show has certainly contributed to boost the popularity of this place (The Vintage Ranch, 2018). Wineries from all over the world are now exploiting also digital home-based tours, creating a pre-experience of a place that can be visited afterwards. 'Castello di Amorosa' (Napa Valley, US) is a medieval-inspired Tuscan castle and winery that has developed remote digital tours, allowing web users to take a virtual walk through its courtyard, chapel, barrel room, … (Castello di Amorosa, 2020). Similarly, Familiares Matarromera, Llopart, Barbadillo and Marqués de Murrieta (various region, Spain) have developed 360 degrees videos and virtual reality tours inside the winery and through the vineyards, as to overcome their temporarily closure to visitors (Sumiller Campo, 2020).

Gastronomic events

Events are certainly the most affected sector by the Covid-19 pandemic, as individuals cannot gather together in one physical place but must preserve social distancing. Food and wine festivals organizers are currently rethinking their formats with the use of technology. The 2020 edition of 'Gourmet Weekend Event', a popular gastronomic festival in Australia, has been moved from physical to virtual spaces. Organizers have worked with food and wine producers to allow participants to celebrate this edition from the comfort of their home. The owner and the chief winemaker of 'Kirrihill wine', for instance, have organized a Facebook live tasting with participants that can pre-order a limited-release pack of their vintages at special rates. The staff of 'Pikes Beer Company' and the head chef of 'Slate Restaurant' have set up a live cooking demonstration and wine pairing; the menu and the ingredients are posted on social media before the event (Clare Valley, 2020). Similarly, the popular wine festival 'Cantine Aperte' will bring people to discover Italian wineries and wines safely at home. Participants can pre-order vintages directly from *iorestoacasa.delivery*, an online platform for selling food and wine products that has been set up during the Covid-19 pandemic; the two-day festival will be entirely online, with people that can attend live tastings, online masterclasses, remote social drinking (Movimento Turismo del Vino, 2020).

3. A new way for overcoming current and future restrictions?

The use of the technology in the gastronomy tourism experience certainly provides new opportunities, especially in the current scenario characterized by travel restrictions and the need of maintaining social distancing. Gastronomy tourism suppliers (e.g. restaurants, farms, wineries, event organizers …) are struggling to develop new home-based experiences with the twofold purpose of maintaining relationships with their customers and stimulating them for future onsite visits. Online cooking sessions and tutorials, live guided tastings, virtual reality tours, remote social eating and drinking, … are examples of how gastronomy tourism suppliers can overcome these unexpected

constraints. These all testify a prompt response and an inclination towards innovation from the industry.

It can be argued that some might also have a permanent impact on gastronomy tourism. This suggests a number of implications. First, it implies a shift in thinking away from the product or service towards a more holistic approach to the entire experience that also consider how technology can transform tourism service ecosystems. Secondly, with the technology that has the potential to enable dynamic real and virtual co-creation process, gastronomy tourism suppliers should be stimulated to include travellers into the process of experience design and development.

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Back to the basics in the Tourism Marketing during Covid-19 emergency

Daniela Andreini and Federico Mangiò*

Abstract:
Through the review of past health emergencies and their consequences on tourism industry, this chapter aims to explore consumers' attitude, preferences and behaviors related to touristic choices during some extraordinary circumstances. Most of the economic impacts of previous health crisis derived primarily from consumers' fears, concerns and risk perceptions and not from the size of the actual impact of the emergency on the consumers' health. How will the tourism industry cope with this exogenous shock this time? This work will discuss consumers' possible reactions and how tourism organizations can prevent or leverage on them.
Keywords: *tourism, emergency, marketing*

1. Introduction

Nowadays tourism is, both in terms of size and value, one of the most attractive industries all over the world, accounting for about 10% of the global output and employing 10% of the global workforce (World Trade Organization, 2016). Unfortunately, this sector is, more than others, highly vulnerable to those exogenous shocks represented by terrorist attacks, contagious diseases or health or safety emergencies (Kim *et al.*, 2005). Definitely, given the fact that tourists' choices, as we will see throughout this chapter, are determined also by security concerns and risk avoidance behaviors, it should not be surprising that the demand for tourism-related services is strongly affected by socio-sanitary emergencies. The high reliance of this industry on a stable and secure surrounding socio-economic environment inevitably brings about not few complications for its actors and players, especially when the evolution of the shocking factor is hard to predict - as during a pandemic outbreak, indeed. This chapter is

* Daniela Andreini, University of Bergamo, daniela.andreini@unibg.it; Federico Mangiò, University of Bergamo, federico.mangio@unibg.it. The authors thank Alice Pizzagalli, a brilliant master student at the University of Bergamo, for providing the information and updated data that allowed the development of this chapter.

aimed to trace back the events of some past emergencies and their consequences on the tourist industry, in order to gain some further awareness and knowledge about the most expected threats and challenges which could test the tourism industry's ability to be resilient and innovative also during extreme circumstances. In line with what said above, 2020 will be with very few doubts an *annus horribilis* for the tourism industry. According to some recent reports (Marketline, 2020), operators' revenue predictions for 2020 show a dramatic picture, since the poor results of the first two quarters represent nothing but an omen of what is still to come, economically speaking. Suffice it to say that Hilton, global leader in the hotel industry, has already reported a system-wide comparable revenue per available room decline of roughly 90% for the month of April only; Accor has closed two-thirds of hotels and suspended dividend; by the end of May, airline companies of the caliber of British Airways, Ryanair and TUI have already warned about the potential for 12,000, 3,000 and 8,000 job losses respectively. Airbnb has set out plans to downsize by a quarter its global workforce (*ibidem*).

However, it is overall far from straightforward to foresee how, to which extent and for how long will modern tourists react to such an unexpected event. What are the effects of a global-scale forced transformation on contemporary tourism which, thanks among other things to the emergence of ever more consumer-friendly and low-priced travelling and hospitality paradigms, has become a commodity within everyone's reach?

2. Learning from the past health emergencies

In order to try and shed lights upon this matter, one effective way to start entails looking at and assessing previous crisis and their consequences in the tourism industry. Indeed, some past global emergencies like SARS or Ebola in mid 2000s can represent some crystal-clear evidences of how global health emergencies can exert negative and sometimes long-lasting shocks on tourist demand. At the same time, they can provide a sound opportunity to understand how travelers cope with such extraordinary events, as well as to infer some valuable solutions and best practices

useful to shelter, or at least to mitigate the damage, in today's travel industry.

Despite they broke out 10 years apart and in two distinct continents, SARS and Ebola epidemics exerted similar negative effects on the Asian and African tourism industries respectively. As soon as the local communities confirmed the presence of the outbreak, international tourists stopped immediately to travel towards the infected countries and towards the neighboring areas, causing a mass cancellation of travel bookings and severely plunging hotels' occupancy rates (Novelli *et al.,* 2018; Kim *et al.*, 2005). Hotels were required by the government to guarantee some strict hygiene and safety standards – to the point that, in the Asian case, some players were forced to introduce even the figure of the "elevator driver" to prevent many clients from touching the same surfaces – but these precautions rarely helped mitigating the harmful spiral effect (Dombey, 2003). Yet, hotels were not the only ones to experience a strong economic distress: airline companies, historical allies to the tourism industry, had to cancel substantial shares of their flights, downsize their workforces and decrease staff's salaries to save costs in both cases (Novelli *et al.,* 2018; Dombey, 2003). Players of the hospitality and travel sectors hurried to plan and implement various forms of promotional campaigns, affiliate marketing and discounts over usual fares and stays in an extreme attempt of regaining some demand (Kim *et al.*, 2005; Novelli *et al.,* 2018). Interestingly, it seems that the backlash effect induced by the emergency can affect travel destinations independently on the actual state of gravity within the specific areas: countries which were not, or just marginally, affected by the epidemic, as South Korea during the SARS outbreak and The Gambia during the Ebola's, have no less experienced huge demand contractions and recorded very few arrivals during the outbreak periods. The fear of a possible escalation of the close contagion, spread around also by negative media coverage (Novelli *et al.,* 2018), turned out to be a stronger contributing factor to the economic crises than the actual size of the impact on the consumers health (Lee and Cho, 2016). The Asian and the African case seem also to inform us that the time to recover from the emergency-induced shock and the reversibility of its economic

consequences highly depend on the prior endowment of resources of the specific country, as well as on its economic structure.

If the effects of the SARS outbreak on Asian tourism were concentrated in a short period of time, and visits to China and South Korea could rise again already in 2004 and 2005 thanks to a prompt marketing and promotional activity in the aftermath of the crisis (Lee and Chen, 2011), it instead took longer to the players of the African tourism industry to recover from the "Ebola-induced tourism crisis" (Novelli *et al.,* 2018).

3. Consumer reactions to health emergencies

However, it would be incomplete to claim that tourists reacted to health emergencies of this kind only by avoiding or postponing their travel-related choices and behaviors. Travelling and vacations are epitomes of the modern citizen's leisure time; they are perceived ever more as an individual right, and so tourists seem to be able to adopt very soon a heterogenous set of adaptive and resilient behaviors in order to fully exert it. For instance, during the SARS upheaval, Chinese domestic tourists showed to be more conscious about safety and hygiene, to prefer those destinations where keeping social distances is easier, like rural areas; they revealed to be also keener on family travels than individual ones, more likely to travel by car within their region instead of taking crowded flights and finally to be more favorable to reduce their overnight stay budgets (Wen *et al.,* 2005). In light of these changes in travel-related consumption behaviors, service providers had to adapt their answers too, responding quickly and effectively to these changes. As we mentioned, hotels and airline companies for instance engaged in intensive promotional and marketing campaign to rebuild consumers trust and boost tourists spending.

But trust and security concerns are not the only drivers that motivate tourists' choices during an emergency. Tourist operators, marketers as well as other professionals within the travel industry should better comprehend and pander the complex network of choices, preferences and risk appraisals which tourists put forth in such situation. Indeed, we should think that the modern tourist, who enjoys tourism-related service in a marketplace setting, could

be analogically conceived as a consumer in all effects, for whom the travelling experience is an opportunity for auto-determination and forging meaning. Somehow in line with this approach, Minazzi (2015) for example imagines the tourist as a consumer engaged in the traditional consumption journey, and by effectively merging the well-known consumer decision seven-stage model (Howard, Sheth, 1969) with travelling planning theory, suggests that every travel planning process involves three stages (pre-trip or anticipatory phase, during-trip or experiential phase and post-trip or reflective phase) which are parallel to and which in their dynamics resembles to all effects the mainstream customer journey phases. If we look at the tourists from a consumer behavior perspective, then it becomes somehow easier to grasp and frame the way they act and react during an emergency and the way they accordingly reconceive their touristic experiences as well as their travelling processes. Consumers, before being decision-makers, are risk "computers", in the sense that they tend (or would like) to always take into consideration the correlated risk involved in every consumption decision (Sitkin, Pablo, 1992). This is particularly important when studying consumer behavior during socio-sanitary emergencies, which are uncommon circumstances that inevitably include some risk and potential harmful consequences for consumers. Indeed, many times consumers fail to appraise the risk properly, for instance due to heuristics- i.e. when they unconsciously simplify and filter the multitude of information to figure out efficient solutions (Bazerman, Moore, 2013); due to many cognitive biases, such as *inside-view, focalism,* or *overconfidence* (Kahneman, Lovallo, 1993) or due to, more in general, their *bounded awareness* (Bazerman, Chugh, 2005). However, in general consumers are risk averse and they adopt behaviors to avoid risks. In particular, they adopt avoidant behaviors when they perceive themselves as more exposed and vulnerable to a risk. Vulnerability is a state of powerlessness that arises from the interaction of individual states, individual characteristics and external conditions (Baker *et al.* 2005, p.134). This feeling of weakness may be triggered by an external situation that people cannot control (Saatcioglu, Corus, 2016), as could be the case of Covid-19 pandemic. Vulnerability to a threat is not

considered as a *status* but rather as a *state*, i.e. it normally is a temporary condition as people that perceive to be vulnerable work hard to come back to normal life or to a "new" normality (Baker *et al.,* 2005). Risk perception and vulnerability in extreme situations has important consequences on consumer behavior. For example, Brodeur (2018) highlights that consumers after terrorist attacks are less prone to spend because they perceive themselves exposed to a higher level of risk. Again, during the period of the avian flu the population was more prone to change its consumption behavior when some cases of were detected in their own country, as they felt themselves "closer" to the sources of risk (see *proximity risk*, Rudisill *et al.,* 2012).

4. Guidelines for companies

At this point is should be quite clear that vulnerability induced by extraordinary risky situations is a strong driver for consumer unfavorable behaviors like travel or consumption avoidance. Thus, hotels and tourist agencies must be well prepared to face the challenges that can arise from the external environment, being timing essential when a risk shows up (Glaesser, 2003). Some threats cannot be forecasted and companies can only react passively to them, it is true, but others can be somehow expected or predicted. Even though each threat is unique and difficult to solve with a simple formula, a crisis management framework would be advisable (Kim *et al.,* 2005). First of all, companies in the tourism industry must prevent possible adverse situations, periodically conducting a risk assessment routine and designing an emergency plan ready to fight the possible challenge (Ritchie, 2004). For instance, in the case of Ebola, an emergency plan could have helped to prevent the whole continent from being perceived as infected (Novelli *et al.,* 2018). Besides, every emergency plan should be regularly reviewed and updated as soon as new information is acquired, because, in the case of a physical hazard, a quick reaction is the only way to minimize the damage (Kim *et al.,* 2005). When the hazard directly hits the tourism industry, if there is a pre-established strategy, it must be immediately implemented, without forgetting to remain flexible and to monitor its efficacy step by step (Tse *et al.*, 2006; Glaesser, 2003). Tourism-related

businesses must firstly manage and control the overall communication regarding the outbreak, rising awareness and avoiding panic as well as restoring confidence and trust among consumers in a later stage (Jones *et al.,* 2010). Recovery ads may play an important role in restoring confidence, as turned out for instance in the aftermath of the September 11 (Floyd *et al.,* 2004): citizens stated they would not travel again until security and safety measures were assured to travelers; in this case an advertisement highlighting the preventive measures taken by airlines companies could have had a positive impact on consumers intention to travel with those companies. Likewise, in the case of SARS, recovery ads concerning health and safety could have been useful to attract tourists since they were more concerned about topics like brand-new hygiene equipment, temperature check and distribution of masks and gloves (Wen *et al.,* 2005). Moreover, hotels and tour operators must review their marketing mix in light of the new circumstances and consumers' new preferences. First of all, they may have cash flow shortages, thus cost cutting could be a crucial action, for instance negotiating better prices for inputs with suppliers or a win-win solution with employees to use unpaid leaves instead of firing (Tse *et al.*, 2006). Secondly, revenue enhancement strategies must be adopted to increase the value of the company, for instance making donations for causes related to the external emergency (ibidem). Furthermore, as happened after the World Trade Centre attack or after SARS, promotions and discounts are important tools to seduce consumers and to trigger their spending in tourism related industries (Kim *et al*., 2005; Floyd *et al*, 2004). For instance, during SARS five-star hotels engaged in massive promotions, up to 30% discounts on the original prices (Kim *et al.,* 2005). Moreover, financial resources must be withdrawn from inefficient channels and allocated in the more effective ones. For what concerns advertising, online and social media ads could be a good opportunity to increase the promotion efforts while decreasing the overall costs (Novelli *et al.*, 2018). Moreover, after a crisis or a natural disaster, it is important to restore a positive and respectable image of the destination, managing media coverage and the overall communication strategy (ibidem). In this case, joint marketing planning with other

tourism-related businesses could maximize the efforts, and, if possible, it could be helpful to cooperate with other countries to restore international tourism and to re-create normality (Kim *et al*, 2005; Glaesser, 2003).There is some evidence that once the emergency is definitely over, as individuals recognizes that life is fragile, they become eager to engage in consumption practices that would distance themselves from the idea of death and that would boost their perceived self-worth (Brodeur,2018). For this reason, after the crisis, hotels and tour operators should offer new travel products more related to the enhancement of self-esteem among tourists (Dombey, 2003). This strategy has turned out to be more effective among experienced travelers who focus more on higher-order needs than promotions and discounts (Floyd *et al.,* 2004).

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Flight cancellations and the Covid-19 pandemic: is European Union law on air passenger rights fit for purpose?

Simon Taylor*

Abstract:
The coronavirus pandemic has led to the mass cancellation of flights. This article considers the rights of passengers in the case of flight cancellations in European Union law and reflects on how the EU framework on air passenger rights is currently being placed under considerable strain by the Covid-19 crisis. It also raises the possibility of reform in the wake of the current difficulties.
Keywords: *Coronavirus, EU law, cancellation of flights*

In this short article I will consider the current European Union regulations with respect to passenger rights in the event of flight cancellations before reflecting on how the law is being put under strain by the current coronavirus crisis. I will then examine the possible consequences of the current crisis for reform in this area of the law.

1. The current context

According to the International Civil Aviation Organisation (ICAO) (2020), on 14 April 2020 there were 1,818 flight departures worldwide, compared to 31,260 on January 17 of this year, representing a 94 per cent reduction between the two dates. The organisation estimates a reduction of up to 1,117 million passengers for the first nine months of 2020. Recent figures published by the International Air Transport Association (IATA) (2020) estimate that the airline industry will suffer a $314 billion revenue loss in 2020. In this extreme context, the EU rules, which impose a significant financial burden on airlines in the case of flight cancellations, become of particular concern to the airline industry. Meanwhile, the current extreme situation also means that passengers are struggling to enforce their rights.

[7] Simon Taylor, University Paris Nanterre, staylor@parisnanterre.fr.

2. The 2004 EU regulation on passenger rights

The rights of airline passengers in the case of cancellations, delays and denied boarding within the European Union are set out in the 2004 EU regulation on air passenger rights[8]. The regulation covers all flights from an airport within the European Union, and flights to a European Union airport from outside the European Union on a carrier registered in the European Union[9]. Where a flight is cancelled, passengers must be offered a choice between reimbursement of the cost of the flight within seven days or re-routing to the passenger's final destination under comparable transport conditions[10]. In the event of cancellation, airlines are also under an obligation of assistance: passengers have a right to meals and refreshments in reasonable relation to their waiting time together with hotel accommodation where an overnight stay becomes necessary. Passengers whose flights are cancelled will also often be entitled to compensation from the airline[11]. The regulation provides for a fixed sum to be paid by way of compensation: 250 euros for short-haul flights, 400 euros for intra-Community flights of more than 1,500 kilometres and for all other flights between 1,500 and 3,000 kilometres, and 600 euros for long-haul flights. Equivalent rights are available in cases of denied boarding and delays[12]. Airlines are under an obligation to inform passengers of these rights and each Member State has to designate a body responsible for enforcing the regulation[13].

In order to limit the financial impact of compensation on air carriers, the regulations provide that airlines are not obliged to pay compensation to passengers where the cancellation of the flight is due to "extraordinary circumstances that could not have been

[8] Regulation no. 261/2004 establishing common rules on compensation and assistance to passengers in the event of denied boarding and of cancellation or long delays of flights, 11 Feb. 2004. On air passenger rights in EU law generally, see M. Colangelo, V. Zeno-Zencovich, 2016.
[9] Regulation 2004, article 3.
[10] Article 8.
[11] Article 5 of the regulation permits airlines to cancel without compensation where they respect a minimum notice period.
[12] The right to compensation for delay was established by the European Court of Justice in Sturgeon v Condor, 19 Nov. 2009, C-402/07.
[13] Article 16.

avoided even if all reasonable measures had been taken"[14]. The preamble to the EU regulations explains that such circumstances will include "political instability, meteorological conditions ... security risks, unexpected flight safety shortcomings and strikes" [15]. In such circumstances, airlines will still be under an obligation to reimburse passengers or provide re-routing and to assist passengers by, for example, providing hotel accommodation.

The European Commission (2014) estimated that delays and cancellations led to airlines providing care and assistance on 1.23 per cent of all flights. Reimbursement of flight tickets was provided for 1.71 per cent of long-haul flights and less than 0.1 per cent of short-haul flights. Compensation was paid in 1.55 per cent of long-haul and 0.37 per cent of short-haul flights. This led to an average cost of between 0.6 per cent and 1.8 per cent of airline turnover, although the Commission recognised that for certain low-cost airlines this can represent more than 5 per cent of turnover.

3. The impact of the coronavirus crisis

Even before the coronavirus crisis there had been a certain amount of resistance by airlines to the costs imposed on them by the EU regulations. This cost was particularly resented by low-cost airlines where the percentage cost of assistance and compensation compared to ticket prices is much higher. An example of this resistance is the litigation arising from the refusal of certain airlines to pay for assistance for passengers stranded for a number of days due to the closure of European airspace following the eruption of the Eyjafjallajökull volcano in Iceland in April 2010. In a case brought before the Irish courts a passenger sued Ryanair for their refusal to pay for the expenses that she had incurred for meals, refreshments, accommodation and transport as a result of her flight being cancelled. Ryanair argued that the airline was not under an obligation to compensate since the closure of European air space was a "super-extraordinary" circumstance (as opposed to a simply "extraordinary

[14] Article 5.
[15] Preamble paragraph 14.

circumstance") and the fact that the closure of European airspace constituted a "super-extraordinary" circumstance had the effect of removing not only the airline's obligation to compensate but also to assist passengers. The case was referred to the European Court of Justice for a ruling on the interpretation of the 2004 regulation.[16] The European court held that "the importance of the objective of consumer protection ... may justify even substantial negative economic consequences for certain economic operators"[17]. The court observed that air carriers should foresee costs linked to the fulfilment of their obligation to provide care and that airlines can pass these costs on to consumers through increased ticket prices[18].

The closure of European airspace in April 2010 was clearly a major event and the Commission (2014) has recognised that such events may cause "sudden and significant deviations" in the cost imposed on airlines under the 2004 regulations. However, the events of 2010 clearly pale in comparison to the financial challenges faced by airlines in 2020. The virtual closure of the international airspace over the prolonged period that we are experiencing will obviously qualify as "extraordinary circumstances" for the regulations. However, even though airlines will not be under an obligation to pay compensation to passengers as a result of cancelled flights, they will still, as the Ryanair case confirms, be subject to duties of assistance: paying for hotel accommodation and return flights or re-routing where relevant, and, most commonly, to reimbursement of the cost of the flight ticket within seven days.

However, despite the duty imposed on them by European Union law, airlines are currently refusing to reimburse passengers for cancelled flights within the seven days as required by the regulations and are commonly offering vouchers for future flights as an alternative to reimbursement[19]. Refusal to reimburse within

[16] Denise McDonagh v Ryanair Ltd, 31 Jan. 2013, C-12/11.
[17] Ibid., para. 48.
[18] Para. 49.
[19] Patrick Collinson, Airlines are breaking the law on refunds. Should we be sympathetic? The Guardian, 10 April 2020.

seven days as required by article 8 of the regulation clearly puts airlines in breach of their legal obligations. However, airlines argue that in the present circumstances they would be forced into insolvency if they fulfilled their legal obligations to reimburse within such a short period (De Jung, 2020).

4. The prospects of reform: creating a new balance?

The coronavirus crisis therefore tests the stability of the EU rules and raises the issue of whether they achieve an appropriate balance between passengers and airlines in all circumstances. On the one hand, criticisms have been levelled against the regulations on the grounds of lack of compliance by airlines and the weakness of the enforcement regime (Drake, 2020). Such criticisms weigh in favour of a strengthening of the rights of consumers and the European Commission has proposed changes to the 2004 regulations to strengthen enforcement powers (European Commission, 2013). However, other Commission proposals would have the effect of lightening the financial burden on airlines. With respect to delays in flights, the Commission has thus proposed to increase from three to five hours the waiting time triggering the right to compensation for delays. They have also proposed to reduce the cost of assistance for airlines by imposing a two-night cap on the number of nights' accommodation airlines would be expected to pay for, together with a maximum cost of that accommodation of 80 euros. However, these proposals, if they were enacted, would only offer partial protection to airlines from the financial burden imposed in extreme cases such as the coronavirus crisis. The current situation raises the question of whether the EU institutions should amend the regulations to allow greater flexibility in such cases by, in effect, creating a concept of "super-extraordinary circumstances" as imagined by Ryanair in their defence in the Iceland volcano case. In such "super-extraordinary circumstances", the parameters of which would be difficult to draw, it might be possible to provide for reduced obligations along the lines of those currently being proposed by airlines, of delayed reimbursement or vouchers for future travel. Such changes would of course represent a reduction in the rights of passengers and potentially affect consumer confidence in the

airline industry, although they could also provide a degree of improved legal certainty and realism.

Any such change would of course be too late to deal with the current crisis. However, it could also be argued that European Union law already provides a principle that could be used to justify the airlines' current position with respect to reimbursement. The principle of proportionality provides that European Union law should not go further than is needed to achieve the objectives of the legislation in question. Since the objective of the 2004 regulation is stated to be to provide airline passengers with a high level of protection of their rights, a rule which imposes on airlines an obligation to reimburse flight tickets within seven days and pay for assistance in a context as extreme as the current coronavirus crisis could be argued to be detrimental to passenger rights in the long term since it risks having the effect of driving airlines to insolvency, and thus reducing consumer choice and increasing ticket prices. Airlines could therefore try to argue that they are acting lawfully in refusing to reimburse within seven days, since that rule is not proportionate in the current circumstances. Existing case law from the European Court of Justice indicates however that this would be a difficult hurdle to overcome for airlines, since they would have to convince the court that the rule was "manifestly inappropriate having regard to the objective sought to be protected by the regulation" (ie. strengthening the protection of passengers) [20].

5. Conclusion

It appears likely that the experience of the current crisis will only encourage the resistance of airlines to the current regulations and reinforce the argument that, in a forthcoming reform of passenger rights, further limits should be placed on the obligations on airlines in such extreme cases. Given that the regulations have also been criticised for not guaranteeing passengers sufficient protection, that studies have shown that only one third of passengers request reimbursement since many are either

[20] The Queen, on the application of the IATA v Department of Transport, C-344/04, 10 June 2006, para. 80.

unaware of their rights or do not expect a satisfactory outcome (European Court of Auditors, 2018) and that there are problems in the lack of compliance of airlines with their obligations under the regulations, care must be taken not to swing the balance too far in favour of the airline industry in reaction to the coronavirus crisis.

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Part II

TOURISM SUSTAINABILITY AND ADAPTATION

Responding to the Coronavirus crisis. Parallels for tourism and climate change?

Andrew Holden*

Abstract:
The coronavirus epidemic has necessitated a global response to the effects of this human crisis. This has been determined by government coercion through a policy of 'lockdown' to curtail individual mobility, limiting movement to the home environment. Despite lifestyle adjustments involving a denial of self-interest, the policy has generally received widespread support as people understand and accept the gravity of the crisis, whilst observing beneficial outcomes for society. This short article considers the lessons that can be learnt from tackling the coronavirus epidemic for making tourism environmentally sustainable in the context of climate change. Given that most greenhouse gas emissions from tourism relate to transport, particular attention is placed on the use of aviation for the purpose of recreation. Aviation is the most climate intensive form of transport and until the outbreak of coronavirus was predicted for exponential global growth in immediate decades. Accepting aviation's significance to induce climate change, it is suggested that we need to reflect on the future role of aviation in global society, including the morality of unrestricted flying. If a behavioural adjustment to reduce aviation demand to mitigate the effects of climate change is desired policy, lessons from coronavirus suggest that government coercion by public understanding of why an adjustment is required, is essential for its success.
Key words: *climate change, coercion, morality*

1. Coronavirus and mobility

In all most countries citizens' behaviour has been modified in response to the coronavirus pandemic. This modification has been driven by a mix of need for self-protection combined with a desire to protect others whilst being directed by government coercion. The extent of the coercion of individual behaviour, typically supported through emergency legislation is the most stringent since the Second World War, typified by a state of 'lockdown'. Whilst the specifics of lockdown conditions vary between nations, a constant theme is restrictions on the freedom of movement, limiting our spatial reach to our home environment.

An unintentional outcome of the lockdown policy is the provision of a human laboratory for the observation of how

* Andrew Holden, Goldsmiths University, London, aholden449@gmail.com.

behaviour may be determined by government coercion in the face of a crisis. Coronavirus similar to climate change is a global crisis necessitating a pluralistic response extending beyond the geographical boundaries of nations to mitigate its impacts. In the absence of a vaccine or a cure for the disease we are left with no other option but to change our behaviour if we wish to save millions of lives. It thus demands an ethical response to act for the 'greater good'. Government policy has priortised the saving of lives over economic costs at least in the short-term, including the economic subsidising of labour costs to reduce movement and the spread of the virus. This quick response is driven by an acceptance that coronavirus is an immediate and serious threat to human life, the scale of which has the potential to overwhelm national health services and cause hundreds of thousands of deaths. A priority of the coercion strategy has been to limit our mobility to a level unwitnessed for decades. It has transformed global society characterised by hyper-mobility to a localism not witnessed since the emergence of mass transportation systems.

The speed of government action to change citizens' behaviour has been rapid reflecting their capacity and willingness to act swiftly to restrict individual rights in the face of an imminent crisis. The responses of the public to these restrictions seems to have been largely accepting with a noted absence of widespread protest. However, a restricted mobility has led to inevitable economic and financial consequences for economy including the tourism industry as international and domestic movements have been curtailed. New norms of how we live in the age of coronavirus that challenge established life-styles are thus constantly evolving in response to evolving government legislation to halt the spread of the pandemic.

Whilst restrictions on mobility have limited opportunities for recreational travel, they have also brought environmental benefits. An outcome of the global lockdown has been a marked reduction in air and noise pollution corresponding to lower-levels of industrial output and reductions in flows of air and motor traffic. Many people now work from home with an increased reliance on information technology to meet labour, social, leisure and essential needs. The use of social media to stay in contact with

family and friends has been widely adopted, subscriptions to on-line streaming services for leisure purposes such as Netflix have had exponential growth, as has on-line shopping to fulfil other leisure and essential needs. People have witnessed an alternative way of living in a less-polluted environment of which the long-term impact on work and leisure patterns is uncertain. Although there is widespread agreement on the need to re-start economic growth, there is also an increasing call for our response to coronavirus to be a defining moment on how we respond to climate change, presenting potential opportunities for improving the quality of the natural environment.

2. Lessons for tourism and climate change?

The response to the coronavirus epidemic demonstrates how government coercion to change our behaviour at a cost to the pursuit of self-interest may gain widespread support if it is held as necessary for the collective interest. Observing how government coercion can quickly change behaviour, an axiomatic question is: are there lessons to be learnt from the response to the coronavirus crisis for managing tourism's relationship to climate change? A key challenge to environmental sustainability within the tourism system rests on its reliance on a carbon-intensive mobility to which the majority of the sectors greenhouse gas (GHG) emissions are attributed (Holden, 2016). As the most climate intensive type of transport and the most difficult to reduce GHG emissions from (UK Parliament, 2020), aviation demand has received particular attention. Whilst currently contributing a relatively modest percentage of the world's total GHG emissions, it has the potential for exponential growth with a forecast 3.3 times multiple growth in air traffic by 2045 over 2015 and an accompanying increase in fuel consumption by a multiple of between 2.2 to 3.1 (ICAO, 2019). The necessity of a carbon-fuel based mobility for tourism, set in the context of an exponential global demand for travel, has thus placed aviation into the spotlight of its contribution to climate change. Unlike other sectors, a significant challenge to dealing with aviation's contribution to climate change is that technological developments to reduce aircraft GHG emissions are outpaced by the exponential growth in demand. This growth combined with a

lack of commercially viable alternative fuels to oil has led to calls for a behavioural adjustment to limit the consumption of aviation to reduce GHG emissions.

A similarity between coronavirus and climate change is that they have the potential to incur millions of deaths, misery and economic costs if excluded from policy intervention. Even at the time of the coronavirus pandemic polling in several countries found that a majority of people think that climate change is an equally serious issue as coronavirus (Harrabin, 2020). Nevertheless, their temporal and spatial characteristics are different, coronavirus characterised by an immediacy and a localism of impact, whilst the effects of climate change are dispersed over a longer period with the most severe impacts being geographically distant from where they are created. It is likely to be the world's poor who will be most economically disadvantaged even though the causal factors of climate change predominantly originate from economically advanced countries. The long-term consequences of climate change are also more marked than those of coronavirus, threatening not only the existence of hundreds of millions of people but also the world's ecosystems and many of the species that are dependent upon them. These climate change impact characteristics of long-termism and geographical separation of cause and effect formulate significant challenges both for government leadership and the public acknowledgement of a need for behavioural adjustment to mitigate its effects.

The success of the response to reduce the reproduction and transmission rates of coronavirus demonstrates the need for a shared recognition between governments and citizens that a crisis exists and a belief in a solidarity of approach to tackling it. This collective approach will likely involve a shift in the moral coding of behaviour challenging pre-existing norms. For example, the breaking of the rules of lockdown besides risking legal punishment also have a moral stigma attached to them as consequence of the potential loss of human life. In the context of a situation where the majority are practicing self-denial, a breaking of the rules by an individual may thus be deemed wrong, driven by self-interest and selfishness. Subsequently, a pre-requisite for a change in behaviour is a moral shift resulting in the condemnation of what

was previously acceptable behaviour. Such a shift is exemplified through the practice of drink-driving, i.e. the consumption of alcohol before driving. A type of behaviour that was condoned as acceptable and often encouraged decades ago has become unacceptable because of the negative impacts for its victims. This changed morality of opinion is reinforced through punitive measures including the imposition of fines and imprisonment. Similarly changes in moral coding may be applied to tourism's relationship with the natural environment. For example, the principal aim of safari vacations is now the viewing of wild animals and their conservation rather than their widespread shooting for trophies of heads and pelts that characterised the activity a 100 years ago.

3. Concluding reflections

The challenge of how to mitigate tourism's contribution to climate change will not be solved solely by technological innovation and unbridled market forces but is reliant on a combined approach of policy, government coercion and behavioural change that includes a moral shift in determining the worthiness of actions. The response to the coronavirus pandemic has demonstrated how an interaction of government coercion supported by the public support can instigate widespread behavioural change to help overcome a human crisis.

The response to the coronavirus pandemic provides opportunities to learn lessons for how policy can be constructed to respond to issues of climate change and tourism, particularly where behavioural adjustment is likely to play a key part in mitigation. In the case of aviation's role in tourism it provides an apt moment to consider how the industry can be best used to meet economic and social needs within environmental limits. For a behavioural adjustment in how we consume flying there needs to be shared recognition that it contributes to climate change and that climate change is a crisis that threatens our collective well-being similar to coronavirus. The response to coronavirus also teaches us that when faced with a crisis, government led coercion is critical and needs to be supported by a social messaging of why

behavioural change is necessary and the benefits it will bring, alongside putting in place the rules required to achieve it.

Aviation will remain a vital global economic sector in the post-coronavirus era and the desire to travel is seemingly innate in us. Yet the costs and benefits of fulfilling this desire require careful consideration. If a behavioural adjustment in the use of aviation is desired as a component of the fight against climate change, there is a need to consider the purposes of why we use it and move away from an attitude of 'casual flying'. This involves a moral questioning of the extent of our usage of flying and the weighting of individual benefit against the costs to other people, the planet's ecosystems and other species. Whilst the aviation industry currently makes a relatively small contribution to GHG emissions this will increase in the future as new markets expand. In the absence of a commercially viable alternative aviation fuel and the ability of technology to make aviation completely carbon-neutral, it is pertinent to ask if my flying is necessary? Alternatively, we could ask what would be the consequences for climate change if everyone of the world's population of approximately 7 billion consumed flying to the same level as myself?

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Spatial effects of a pandemic on Tourism: discovering territorial pathologies and resilience

Federica Burini*

Abstract:
The pandemic known as Covid-19 provides tourism studies with an opportunity for an unprecedented analysis of the spatiality of the phenomenon, both for highlighting some territorial pathologies generated by non-sustainable forms of tourism and for discovering the capacity of tourism resources to face the crisis and discover new functions.
The spatial-temporal nature and procedural behaviour of the contagion show different territorial dynamics, considered both as pathologies or opportunities, related to tourism at different scales. In both cases, some signs of territorial resilience emerge and reveal potential guidelines for future tourism planning to follow.
The paper addresses the two dimensions of the phenomenon, global and local, showing its contribution in terms of impact and territorial resilience, taking as an example the Bergamo area, one of the most significant outbreaks of the Covid-19 pandemic.
Key words: *pandemic spatialities, territorial pathologies, resilience.*

1. The spatial effects of a pandemic compared to other crises

Among the numerous typologies of risks for the tourism phenomenon, much of the literature employs the generic classifications of nature-induced, human-induced and technology-induced hazards (Shaluf, Fakhru'l-Razi, Aini, 2003; Faulkner, 2001): the first ones may be climatological (e.g. flood, drought, hurricane, wildfire, …) or geophysical (e.g. earthquake, volcanic eruption, landslide, tsunami, …); human-induced events are as varied and diverse as transport accidents, political instability, epidemic diseases, ... Technology-induced hazards may concern industrial and even nuclear accidents or mechanical/systems failure, ...

Direct impacts of these forms of risk may include fatalities, evacuation, physical, environmental and social damage and substantial economic costs (Shaluf, Fakhru'l-Razi, Aini, 2003).

* Federica Burini, University of Bergamo, federica.burini@unibg.it. The author thanks Gemma Tully and Alex Reall for revising the text's translation.

Beyond the more apparent direct effects, there are indirect and 'ripple effect' consequences which can lead to longer-term issues: in the case of a crisis, tourism can have an impact on recovery costs, social and economic repercussions, image reconstruction, and more.

In order to define the problem of how a pandemic such as Covid-19 would impact tourism from a territorial perspective, it is important to consider that it deals with a human-induced hazard which does not directly affect the materiality of space: a pandemic is an infectious disease where there is a significant and ongoing person-to-person spread in multiple countries around the world at the same time without direct impacts on physical elements of territories. Rather, it is a phenomenon which has strong impacts on people's movement and interactions, the two main conditions of tourism. The Italian geographer Angelo Turco while analysing the process of territorialisation and its complexity recalls Réné Thom's theory of catastrophes, stating that every territory in its evolution and dynamism also includes jumps, crucial transitions that are genuinely catastrophic (Turco, 1988, pp. 120-134). This is the passage of a territorial system from one structurally stable layer to another, through a path of discontinuity connected to an important change, such as a pandemic. On such occasions, each territorial system undergoes a transition from a minimum to a maximum level of complexity in which, thanks to self-reference, that is the ability to stay alive independently from external impacts, multi-stability is achieved, understood as a phase of invariance between two thresholds. In the first phase of the crisis, the system detects a minimum multi-stability which then becomes complex over time, having to face new problems, and passes to a level of maximum multi-stability. In this way a cyclical dynamism is configured in overcoming the competitive tensions of a crisis with respect to the territory. This process demonstrates the level of inertia of the territorial structures which, in order to be well controlled by a society, require the commitment of the territorial actors to manipulate their predictability and to exercise their power for a maximum control of the transition. All this is fully applicable to the crisis we are experiencing with the Covid-19 pandemic, which leads tourism systems to move from a certain

level of complexity and stability to a higher level of complexity once the transition phase is over.

Unlike other crises generated by climatic emergencies or geomorphological catastrophes, or also by human-induced events (like wars or accidents), one important point related to the multistability of tourism systems is related to the spatial characteristics of global crisis due to a pandemic. Tourism systems do not lose their naturalistic and cultural resources, accommodation facilities and mobility infrastructures. For this reason, inhabitants are still able to re-think about their use, accessibility and fruition – which is not the case after a natural calamity - and also to think about the kind of new spatialities that can be promoted and how to change the perception of affected territories.

The epidemic Covid-19 triggered worldwide concern since its severity was officially acknowledged in early January 2020. By the end of March 2020, this epidemic had infected a great amount of people, becoming a real pandemic[23]. Some of the world's most important countries for inbound and outbound tourism (e.g., China, France, Italy, Spain, UK and USA) are dramatically affected by the virus outbreak without knowing what their future holds. It is clear that these tourism systems are passing through a period of transition which will increase their complexity and their capacity to face the same problem in the future.

2. Global spatialities of a pandemic and the emergence of tourism pathologies

The most important spatiality affected by the Covid-19 pandemic is global mobility, especially related to air transportation: some logics of globalization are brought back into play, showing a halt in international tourism (Gössling, Scott, Hall, 2020). Between closed borders, denied movements and invitations to stay at home

[23] For a better understanding of the pandemic from a social and territorial perspective, the Centro Studi sul Territorio of the University of Bergamo has undertaken a research coordinated by Prof. Emanuela Casti and Prof. Fulvio Adobati, which involves researchers from the University of Bergamo, students and external collaborators in order to interpret the evolution of the infection and its territorial outcomes. See: https://cst.unibg.it/it/ricerca/progetti-ricerca.

except in emergencies, airlines had to cancel thousands of flights, if not completely suspend activity for a long time. According to data reported by Flightradar24, real-time flight tracking portal, in the weeks of March 2020, commercial flights globally decreased considerably compared to the same period of 2019. Global traffic will likely continue to fall as airlines further reduce their flying schedules in many parts of the world. A comparison between commercial flights in the world and in Italy between 2019 and 2020 shows a decrease starting in the middle of March 2020 reaching 80% at the world level and 93% in the Italian context (www.flightradar24.com).

The first global spatiality produced by the pandemic is the lack of human circulation of our planet, causing us to reconsider especially international tourism, that is the connection of people and places at transnational or transcontinental distances. The most important hubs of international air travel are witnessing an unexpectedly rapid change in their organisation and planning which is also affecting at the local scale those remote destinations where especially intercontinental travel happens and constitutes the main economic resource (Gurtner, 20017). This is the case for remote islands, safari tour locations, ancient heritage sites, often located in developing countries and for these reasons having a strong impact on local development. This spatiality of the pandemic highlights one of the main territorial pathologies of these remote places: tourism as the unique source of economic development especially for external actors and not for the local communities. In those tourism-reliant destinations where international tourism is the main or exclusive activity, an unprecedented shock is happening. This suggests a future need to consider a better use of tourism infrastructures and local resources, re-imagining other activities and uses involving many more people and attracting also the communities living in the region.

Another important spatial reconfiguration caused by the pandemic is related to the so-called "hyperplaces" of tourism, described by the French geographer Michel Lussault as the places of the world considered as icons of the global society in which a density and diversity of people, practices and connections are

concentrated regardless of the season (2017). These touristic hyperplaces have changed their image during the pandemic: examples include famous public places like Times Square in New York, Piazza San Marco in Venice, La Rambla in Barcelona, the Louvre Museum in Paris, and so on. A new image of hyperplaces is now emerging during and after the pandemic, that nobody remembers, especially local inhabitants: from spaces that are overcrowded at all times of the day and in every season, to spaces that are empty all day long for weeks or months. The concentration in space and time of people - the most important characteristic of overtourism - is now fading because of a new set of distance rules and restricted travel conditions. The pandemic in these places has completely deleted a territorial pathology of tourism: overtourism. In geographical terms the phenomenon can be described as the result of an unbalanced process of territorialisation which has produced symbolic, material and organisational forms threatening the territorial capacity: a spatio-temporal concentration of tourists which affects the accessibility to local attractions or resources, changing the experience and atmosphere in the place, producing narratives and practices that are not welcomed by local inhabitants and communities (Goodwin, 2019; Peeters et al. 2018). The phenomenon of overtourism, right before the outbreak of the pandemic, was one of the most relevant global problems of tourism. In those places affected by this pathology, the main strategies seemed to be related to: i) a spatio-temporal distribution of tourists which ameliorates the accessibility to local attractions or resources; ii) a better organisation of a calendar of access to the attractions during specific times and following a specific logic related to different targets; iii) the creation of new forms of experiences especially in unknown places by involving local inhabitants and communities in the design of new itineraries and tourism practices and experiences off the beaten track. We could have never thought two months ago that the strategies for mitigating the problem of overtourism could have been appropriate for recovering tourism after a pandemic.

The third spatial reconfiguration at the global scale is the increasing role of telecommunications, considered by Jacques Lévy as the third way – after co-presence and mobility – of facing

distance (Lévy, 2014, p. 64). If mobility over long distances is a problem, another way to face distance in the globalised world is made possible by telecommunications and virtual connectivity. The pandemic has highlighted another territorial pathology of tourism: the lack of digital connectivity of places and the lack of digital communication to promote local resources affect attractions and their accessibility at different levels. We discover that virtual connections should be strengthened, thanks to the on-line accessibility of museums, destinations, places of culture; events that in normal circumstances would have demonstrated their attractiveness by counting visitor numbers now do so by the counting the number of connected users. At a global level, tourist sites are finding that virtual accessibility is the only possible way to deal with long distances, as long as they are equipped with updated websites, virtual tours, videos, translations in different languages, etc. This accessibility can also introduce an element of risks the media and social media produce new images of the places recalling the sense of risk and emergency that can in a few seconds produce a new negative image of the place. If not well managed by the destinations, these images and words can influence the behaviour of tourists and affect travel choices. This is the case of the city of Bergamo which, in March 2020, was featuring worldwide in the media: a long article in *The washington Post* on the 16th talked about the city not for its precious tourist attractions, but rather the obituaries in the local newspaper; and a long article in *The New York Times* on March 27th described Bergamo thus: "once known as a quiet and wealthy province, … a place where Red Cross workers go door to door, carrying away the afflicted"[24].

[24] The two articles can be read at these links: The Washington Post (https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/europe/coronavirus-obituaries-bergamo-italy/2020/03/16/6c342f02-66c7-11ea-b199-3a9799c54512_story.html) and the New York Times (https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2020/03/27/world/europe/coronavirus-italy-bergamo.html).

3. Local spatialities during a pandemic: tourism adaptation and resilience

The global effects of the pandemic are also visible on a local scale, as we demonstrated before, with the closing of airports and other means of transportation in many cities of the world, the emptiness of public or private spaces, the increased virtual connectivity of tourism destinations, local attractions or resources.

The most important spatial phenomenon that we can observe at the local level is strictly linked to the specificity of the pandemic. In the case of a global crisis due to a pandemic, as we have already seen, territories do not lose their natural and cultural resources, accommodation facilities and mobility infrastructures. They are preserved in their both natural and anthropic elements (vegetation, morphology, hydrology, buildings, infrastructures, …) because none of the material heritage has been directly threatened or damaged.

For this reason, the spatial impact on tourism on a local scale is not measurable in physical space and its material aspects, but mainly in its spatiality, that is the spatial dimension of human agency (Lussault, 2007); and in its perception through our senses, that is in landscapes as defined by the 2000 European Landscape Convention in terms of an area as perceived by people, whose character is the result of the action and interaction of natural and/or human factors (European Council, 2000): the pandemic affects both the social agency on tourist sites and on the perception of landscapes.

Where spatiality is concerned, we have a strong reconfiguration of tourists' action, especially for mobility and co-presence, because people's movement and interaction - two important conditions of tourism experience - are completely limited. Real accessibility is made difficult because of the sudden ban of mobility outside the private domain and the introduction of social distancing as a new rule to prevent the diffusion of the virus, producing evident socio-economic effects for the closure of accommodation facilities, restaurants, museums, monuments, or the cancelling of events, concerts, etc. One important effect at the spatial level is the increasing importance of open public spaces or

open air activities, where it is easier to develop strategies to assure a fruition in safer conditions: public gardens and parks, public urban spaces like squares or pedestrian roads will be the new backdrop of the future of cultural and artistic initiatives also for tourism.

Where perception of space is concerned, by reducing general mobility and co-presence in public or private spaces to limit contagion, we witness a direct environmental impact in decreasing air and acoustic pollution produced by private or public mobility, thus revealing a new perception of our place of living. The beauty of certain de-crowded natural or urban landscapes reveals a new image and sound of our cities and territories where the material landscape is more visible than before and the soundscape is revealing living beings and things before unperceived (like birds, water courses, distant trains, …). On the other hand, however, the disease produces an estrangement because we perceive an unreal landscape emptied of people, tourists and city users that we did not experience before in our globalised world, and we miss their actions, movements, and activities. We should therefore in the future focus on the diversity of our landscapes and consider them as strengths from which we should start.

This is the reason why territories witness a strong impact especially in their intangible heritage. Immaterial heritage – being the multiple forms of displaying spatial culture with art, events, activities, handicraft, …. – is confined only to private places and communicated through virtual forms, thus preventing both the collective production of this heritage and the fruition and sharing of experiences that are important elements in the tourism sector.

Many elements of intangible cultural heritage are being transformed in the context of the pandemic to support and reinforce public health measures. Artists in Peru and China, for example, are creating face masks using traditional design and techniques. Amazigh communities in the Moroccan Atlas Mountains share poetic verses related to Covid-19. Traditional string puppet performances in Sri Lanka tell stories of confinement and social distancing; while in Senegal, the mythical figure of Kankurang, traditionally the guarantor of order and justice, parades in the streets from 8pm until dawn, enforcing

village curfew. This is the result of a survey that UNESCO's programme of "Intangible cultural heritage" launched in order to express the risk of the pandemic on living and intangible heritage, while at the same time providing a source of resilience, solidarity and inspiration for many communities during these difficult times[25].

To cope with these impacts, which are built on the persistence of tourism resources and places, territories can discover new forms of use by transforming their function when the original one is no longer available, changing the way they are used, thus recalling the dynamism of territorial tourism structures (Turco, 2012). To limit socio-economic impacts, especially if the period of suspension of activities lasts several months, these resources can rediscover a form of resilience or of proactive and participatory adaptation.

The concept of resilience is defined in the mechanical world as the act of rebounding or springing back and it is also described as the quality of being able to store energy and bend elastically under a load without breaking or being deformed. However, since the 1970s the concept has also been used in a more metaphorical sense to describe systems that undergo stress and have the ability to recover and return to their original state. Resilience has been analysed for a range of natural and social systems, and following the seminal work by Holling (1973, 1986), resilience has become an issue of intense conceptual debate amongst ecologists, who consider resilience the key to sustainable ecosystem management (Pimm, 1984; Peterson et al., 1998). The concept has also gained ground in social science, where it is applied to describe the behavioural response of communities, institutions and economies. One interesting definition is "proactive resilience", coined by Dovers and Handmer (1996) who link resilience to planning for and adapting to hazards. Resilience is seen as a desirable property of natural and human systems, including territories, in the face of a range of potential stresses, including crises and hazards (Weichselgartner, Kelman, 2015). Geographical and spatial

[25] See the UNESCO dedicated webpage: https://ich.unesco.org/en/living-heritage-experiences-and-the-covid-19-pandemic-01123.

approaches to an overall understanding of resilience remain quite thin but there are attempts to underline how geography matters to resilience, in terms of context, relationality, and the complicating factors introduced by place that challenge more totalizing accounts of resilience and its purported universality (Giovannetti, Semplici, 2014; Weichselgartner, Kelman 2015). In the following paragraphs we will adopt the the concept of resilience by following the approach of the Stockholm Resilience Centre (2015), considering it as the capacity of a territorial system to withstand shocks and disturbances and to use them to catalyse renewal and innovation.

4. Tourism facing resilience: a new governance for accommodation services

The first thing to do for tourism resilience during a pandemic is to re-use the accommodation structures which have not been in use for many months due to the lockdown. This re-use can mean a change of target, especially for non-hotel lodging with a few rooms or apartments, by giving accommodation to doctors or other healthcare staff instead of tourists. In the case of hotels having many rooms with bathrooms, an internal restaurant and management which is already used to organising these activities, the re-use could imply a re-functioning which would be useful for a healthcare system. For example, the lodging can be equipped to accommodate people who need to be isolated either because they have left hospital but still need care or because they are positive and do not require assistance but they cannot live at home anymore because they risk infecting their relatives.

This reconfiguration is an example of tourism resilience regarding the common good of people living in that territory, but in some cases it can be perceived as a problem by the local inhabitants who do not like receiving people infected with the disease in their area.

Harold Goodwin, famous for his analysis of resilient tourism, reports on his blog that Jess Earle of Portwrinkle Holidays in south-east Cornwall in England said he had received death threats after offering holiday flats for people to self-isolate. The idea of Portwrinkle Holidays was to allow families with elderly relatives to

go in these holiday homes where there is a lower infection rate as the area is very secluded, and this would have been a way for these lodgings to confront a period of crisis. But the perception of the local population is of bringing disease into the country and also it creates an impact on local resources: in the UK there are destinations like the Highlands, Cumbria, Southwold, national parks and National Trust properties who are reporting people moving to the resorts and their second homes thereby increasing the resident population and the strain on local supplies and the health and social care services[26].

In Italy, this re-use has been possible thanks to the "Cura Italia" (Caring Italy)[27] law which defines the procedures and agreements between accommodations services, local healthcare agencies, hospitals and Italian prefectures. This means that, in order to promote a form of resilience in the accommodation service systems it is necessary to develop a form of good governance between different public and private stakeholders that have places, competences and different kinds of services (accommodation, restauration, healthcare, security, …) to work together for a common purpose.

The first hotel to host Covid patients in March was the Hotel Royal in Cattolica in the province of the famous seaside Italian destination of Rimini, followed by many other cities in Italy like Rome, Palermo, Catania.

A very good example of this tourism resilience related to accommodation is the one we are experiencing in Bergamo and in the Bergamo Province where in recent decades the overall increase in the number of overnight stays at accommodation facilities has been accompanied by the continuous expansion of overnight stays in owned or rented accommodation, in

[26] This information is given by Harold Goodwin in his blog about "Resilience and Covid-19": https://hub.wtm.com/resilience-and-covid-19/.

27 The Law of 17 March 2020, n. 18 "Misure di potenziamento del Servizio sanitario nazionale e di sostegno economico per famiglie, lavoratori e imprese connesse all'emergenza epidemiologica da COVID-19", https://www.gazzettaufficiale.it/eli/id/2020/03/17/20G00034/sg. See especially articles 6, 29 and 49.

conjunction with the expansion of the availability of lodging and private offers on digital platforms.

The DMO VisitBergamo[28] was part of a process of governance during the first and the second phase of the pandemic. In March 2020 (the so-called first phase) the DMO was part of a network of public and private partners for promoting an important re-use or re-functioning of local accommodation services, both for non-hotel and for hotel structures. First of all, VisitBergamo called on all non-hotel lodging in the city of Bergamo and the Province asking them to give their unleased accommodation for healthcare activities. The response was very positive as VisitBergamo received feedback from 130 flats that after a daily check with local sanitary agencies were assigned to doctors in need of accommodation close to their place of work. Secondly, hotels in Bergamo and the Province were also very favourable to re-use, as some of them offered accommodation to big groups of doctors coming from other cities or countries to support the staff of our hospitals; like the four-star hotels in Bergamo such as Excelsior San Marco, which hosted Russian doctors; or the Hotel Palazzo Dolci-Mercure hosting emergency doctors; or Cappello d'Oro Best Western hosting 20 nurses; or also in Bergamo Province the Art & Hotel in Stezzano, hosting Norwegian doctors. Other hotels completely changed their function from hotel accommodation to healthcare service, hosting Covid-19 convalescence patients: the four-star hotels Starhotels Cristallo Palace in the city of Bergamo, the WinterGraden in Grassobbio, or the Antico Borgo La Muratella in Cologno al Serio, or the Best Hotel Bergamo West in Mozzo. The three-star hotel Parigi Due in Dalmine is also making itself available to help face the emergency, and the Youth Hostel in Bergamo is working on converting itself for healthcare purposes dedicated to children.

From May 2020 the Healthcare Agency of the Province of Bergamo (AtS) asked the Municipality of Bergamo to conduct a

[28] We are grateful to Alessandra Pitocchi, Communications Manager at VisitBergamo, for answering the many questions and for sharing data related to the resilience of Bergamo accommodations services during the first and second phases of the crisis.

survey about hotels available to offer their structures to AtS in order to isolate Covid-19 positive patients. The DMO also in this case played an important coordinating role and the reponse in the second phase was very positive with 383 available rooms and 258 to evaluate, making a total of 641 rooms. A great result of the ability to demonstrate resilience and proactive adaptation of tourism accommodation structures to crisis.

Figure 1 - VisitBergamo homepage showing the campaign #Bergamascoancheio
Source: www.visitbergamo.net

Another interesting initiative launched by the DMO VisitBergamo concerns the campaign #bergamascoancheio (I am from Bergamo too) that has many goals, like collecting funding for a project promoted by CESVI to support the hospital and elderly people suffering from Covid-19 in Bergamo (donoancheio.it), and also sending out beyond the provincial circle a request for support and identification with Bergamo, which is an emblem of the suffering of the country. The objective of this second initiative is to counteract and respond to the diffusion of a negative image of Bergamo projected by the media on the global scale, as already mentioned in reference to articles in the *The Washington Post* and *The New York Times*.

Another important initiative concerns the Fair of Bergamo – which instead of organising initiatives attracting thousands of

visitors every year - demonstrated its resilience by converting its open spaces into a temporary hospital and health centre officially recognised by the Lombardy Region (Fig. 2).

Figure 2 – The fair of Bergamo temporarily converted into health centre

Another important actor for the good governance of the process of recovery from the crisis is the Municipality of Bergamo, which since the first phase of the pandemic has organised an important task force of employees working with teams of volunteers to confront the needs of families and elderly people facing very practical and also economic problems. In the second phase of the emergency the City Council of Bergamo wrote a position paper called "Bergamo 2020. Strategy of relaunch and adaptation", in order to present a programme of recovery for the city after the emergency[29]. It is important to highlight that in the document tourism is recognised as one of the most important drivers of the city's economy that will need an important effort to ensure its recovery. In fact, tourism in Bergamo is an important phenomenon, having witnessed the presence of 800 thousands of

[29] The position paper is availble at this link: https://www.comune.bergamo.it/node/205338.

tourists in 2019, of which 66% came from abroad and the rest from Italy.

A lot of initiatives related to the tourism sector will concern cultural heritage and cultural initiatives that will need support to restart safely, and also the use of public spaces to provide a venue for those activities which are normally done in private places like restaurants, bars, cinemas, theatres and other indoor places that are important also for tourism purposes. Regarding mobility, a profound effort will also be needed to avoid a return to the use of private cars, to increase the provision of bicycles, new pedestrian and cycle paths, and to promote local accessibility to the most important services (the 15 minutes' strategy inherited by Paris). Finally, new technologies may enable a new definition of time-space relationships.

5. Discussion for a critical approach to tourism after the pandemic

The analysis of the spatial effects of a pandemic is giving us some important lines to follow in the future in order to promote tourism recovery in a more sustainable way. This is strictly related to the purposes of the so-called "Critical Turn in Tourism Studies" (Ateljevic, Pritchard, Morgan, 2007), that is a shift in thought that emphasises interpretative and critical modes of tourism inquiry by locating the phenomenon in its wider political, economic, cultural and social contexts. The role of social sciences of space, like Geography, is to adopt a new Cultural Geography, which analyses territories and their configurations like places, environments and landscapes from a subjective and reflexive perspective, underlying the important role of local communities. This is a critical approach to tourism spatialities which considers the interaction in one place between cultures, economies and ways of thinking, as a possible way to fight against territorial inequalities or unsustainable forms of territorial management generated by tourism (Dell'Agnese, 2018).

This critical discourse seems to be particularly useful after a pandemic, because the crisis highlights some territorial pathologies at the global scale, like market-oriented destinations, where tourism is the only source of development, or also

destinations affected by overtourism that suddenly find themselves empty with a lot of services and facilities which are not useful to local residents, or the lack of virtual connectivity and web accessibility in remote areas which makes it difficult to conceive of a way to attract future tourists and visitors.

At the local scale, we discover that the impacts of the pandemic affect the spatialities and not the material aspects of territories, and they have a strong connection with the perception of places and landscapes, with positive and negative issues. For this reason, it is possible to think partially about forms of resilience like the re-use and re-functioning of some places during the pandemic, and to imagine forms of participatory adaptation to a different and sustainable fruition of our territories to recover the qualities of our landscapes and to ameliorate the tourist's experience, following the specificities of slow tourism and the methodologies and strategies able to promote it (Casti, Burini, 2015).

While looking at the strategies that can be foreseen to face the global and the local impacts of the pandemic on tourism in a critical way, we can argue that we should apply an approach of tourism resilience, by withstanding the shock of this pandemic and its disturbances and to use it to catalyse renewal and innovation, more than to recover tourism at the same point as it was before the shock.

Thus, by re-interpreting the principles suggested by the Stockholm Resilience Centre (2015), territories should enhance:

i) **participation and promotion of polycentric governance systems**, involving public and private actors, together with local communities as the new task force to re-imagine tourism activities in order to respond to common needs at multiple scales with a long term vision;
ii) **learning of environmental and cultural potentials of tourism systems** by supporting long-term monitoring of key social and ecological components and provide opportunities for interaction that enable extended engagement between

participants and enable people to network and create communities of practice[30];

iii) **territorial diversity and redundancy** by the promotion of new tourism itineraries and experiences out of the beaten tracks capable of strengthening the value of the landscapes and strongly related both to environmental potentials and to the spatial capital and local knowledge (handicraft, local activities and productions);

iv) **resources' connectivity** by the organisation of a real connection of places and landscapes, by reinforcing forms of green accessibility and organising safety conditions for a more scattered service of public transport connected to services and resources;

v) **slow variables and feedbacks** with a better organisation and planning of slow tourism activities by analysing spatial-temporal conditions, identifying specific times and following specific patterns related to different tourists' categories in order to avoid mass tourism and not to exceed the territorial carrying capacity;

vi) **communication and management of information and related media** should continue to address consumer concerns both about safety and security, and about the richness of the offer of territories. Furthermore, territories should promote a network of virtually connected resources, services and activities on the web by the use of apps, mobile services, the use of social media.

This pandemic is taking us to a form of resilience and adaptation to the crisis, where more qualified tourism experiences must be conceived in a sustainable and critical perspective. While caring about social, environmental and economic impacts, we should strongly care about a better temporal and spatial

[30] This form of continuous learning should have the aim to encourage a reading of landscape in its natural and cultural aspects; to facilitate the identification of the most important resources and forms of spatial capital; and to identify all the actors to be involved in the promotion of the territorial opportunities. We can mention a research methodology to follow tested before in other territories: Burini, 2015; 2018.

distribution of tourism practices without impacting over the capacities of local communities.

This seems to be the only way in the next future to go out of the pandemic not only by recovering from the crisis but by catalysing the lessons learned by a renewal and innovation of sustainable tourism systems by avoiding to come out again with tourism pathologies.

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From Covid-19 to COP-21: a 'Travel Typology' for our times

Jennifer Wells*

***Abstract**: This essay suggests a future for travel that emphasizes what is desirable for us, within what is feasible for the biosphere, which I call 'smart travel.' First I offer three short stories from my own travels, which evoke the major themes and tensions I develop, around the way we have to transform travel in the coming years. Then, I look at how insights from the pandemic inform the ecological and climate crisis, and how tourism and all sectors will have to transform in the context of the ecological and climatic crisis. Generally, I argue, smart travel weaves together thinking from scholarly and policy areas like: systems and complex thought, the Paris Accord and a Global Green New Deal, ecological protection and regeneration, restorative justice, mutual aid, fair trade, circular economics, and fossil fuel degrowth. Finally, from this thinking, I sketch out a basis of smart travel in a 'travel typology,' six principles for how tourism can be a part of, and even leaders in, our global solutions. The travel typology supports the view that to change both work and holidays would improve both. Tourism can be a leader, in local cultural, economic, and ecological flourishing.*
***Keywords**: Future of travel, ecological crisis, global green new deal*

1. Introduction

The pandemic shut down travel. As of May 2020, airline use was down 95%, and roughly 100 million people have lost tourist jobs or will soon[32]. This is a great throwback: for over 99% of human history, 99% of people did not travel more than about ten to fifteen kilometers from their homes.

By 2019, though, we were fully into an era of 'extreme travel.' The middle classes took to frequent plane travel, or became digital nomads. As one student wrote in my class: "The separation between 'everyday life' and 'holiday' has become liquid (to quote Zygmunt Bauman); the boundary is no longer clear as we tend to go on short break whenever we have the possibility….*[For our]*

* Jennifer Wells, California Institute of Integral Studies, San Francisco, jwells@ciis.edu.

[32] World Travel & Tourism Council (WTTC) Report, April 24, 2020. Online at: https://wttc.org/News-Article/WTTC-now-estimates-over-100-million-jobs-losses-in-the-Travel-&-Tourism-sector-and-alerts-G20-countries-to-the-scale-of-the-crisis.

generation…[t]ravelling has become our everyday life." Yet, we all know, many would like travel to be dramatically reduced. This includes many groups concerned about the accelerating extinction and climate emergency, with the travel sector as one of its motors. Their mantra: 'After the pandemic, let's restart differently'[33].

I call the desirable goal: smart travel. Smart travel weaves together thinking from scholarly and policy areas like: systems and complex thought, the Paris Accord and a Global Green New Deal, ecological protection and regeneration, restorative justice, mutual aid, fair trade, circular economics, and fossil fuel degrowth. Travel, including its vast webs of agriculture, transportation and infrastructure, would be wisely organized in terms of minimum waste, maximum benefit, and local thriving. In place of mass, short, consumptive trips, travel would be geared towards more localized, regional projects, and fewer but more meaningful, longer trips, involved in global cooperation on social and ecological repair and renewal.

We can expand this view of smart travel, for transformation, not by disaster, but by design. I offer a 'Travel Typology' of principles or theories for how the tourism sector can be a leader in ecological, economic and climate solutions. I start with short vignettes from my own travels, which lay out my main themes. Then, I look at insights from the pandemic to the climate crisis, and how tourism and all sectors will have to transform in the context of the present ecological and climate crisis. Finally, I offer the typology of six ways that tourism can be a part of, and even leaders in, our global solutions.

In fact, many travel leaders are already making great strides in smarter travel. Many are exploring how tourism can play a part in social transformation in our times, in areas like: compassionate tourism, eco- or ecological tourism, voluntourism, and social impact tourism. These projects strive to ground tourism more in fossil fuel degrowth, local systemic solutions, compassion,

[33] See for instance, Bruno Latour, Where to land after the pandemic? A paper and now a platform http://www.bruno-latour.fr/node/852.html.

collaboration – strengthening local culture, economics and ecosystems. These seeds could become more systemic projects for vital transformation in the coming years.

2. Travel: Three Stories

Here I share three stories of transformative travel. These vignettes offer insights into the themes that I will outline in the future Travel Typology.

Story #1:

Just after college in the 1990s, I was a journalist and human rights 'accompanier,' in a poor neighborhood of Guatemala City, during the war. I lived in an orphanage, to protect indigenous children whose parents had been killed in the 1980s genocide, from ongoing assassinations by the Guatemalan police. With Brazil, Guatemala was a rare country routinely killing their own. One day I was the only adult in the orphanage, with a dozen children. Two policemen came to the door and I opened it, subconsciously blocking the doorway. They stood for a moment, surprised, and for what seemed like an eternity, we exchanged awkward gazes. Then they turned, holding down their guns, and for another eternity, walked away. In those moments, and in the memory of them afterwards, much changed for me, life and its meaning expanded manifold.

Story #2:

Back in New York City, I spent nights and weekends volunteering in prisons, doing workshops and classes in healing and restorative justice in Sing Sing and Manhattan Correctional prisons. Travel to meet with the 'lifers' in these maximum-security prisons was extraordinary. In the simplest moments, we had an extraordinary depth of sharing. They spent much of their long years emotionally shut down, at times even talking to no one. But in our meetings, we opened portals to healing, compassionate listening, releasing long held stories, and emotional catharsis. In a sense, that travel 50 kilometers from my home was as profound as what I had done 5,000 kilometers away. My time in the New York prisons gave me a fuller heart, and a fuller sense of life's meaning and beauty.

Story #3:

Years later, my third, mind-opening experience, was a seven-month academic sabbatical in Bali, Indonesia. I research 'real utopias,' or creative systemic solutions for our times, and Bali was a prime model of inspiration. Bali has a syncretic, indigenous, Hindu-Buddhist, nature worshipping society, deeply anchored in spirituality, music, visual arts, dance, and frequent elaborate rituals in reverence of nature. Daily, in exquisite dress, they give offerings at spiritual statues placed amid the subak water canals of their ingenious permaculture rice fields[34]. The Balinese live in strong, very local groups, in a culture rich in arts, crafts, rituals, and customs. Once there, I had a very near zero-carbon lifestyle, researching the island people's lives of low carbon, cultural, spiritual and ecological flourishing. It showed me that a reverence for and commitment to the most local community and landscape is not just vital to survival, but also, can be profoundly satisfying and inspiring.

Far and near, these travels were all deeply valuable. They all contributed to making me a more happy, skillful, and actualized human. They all contributed to my personal integrity, conscience, and vision, for myself and for society. And they all opened new inquiries and imaginaries into transforming travel today.

True, most people do not see 'holidays' in these ways, or have many months to travel. This is what I want to challenge – the very ways we have come to see everything as synonymous with a certain brand of tourism. I choose these vignettes explicitly to break our dominant views. These views that have grown up in a very short-lived fossil fueled capitalism, which is in fact now very clearly and directly challenged by the laws of physics, biology, and planetary boundaries.

We can remember what travel has been in our collective past. We can shed more light on the aberrations of travel in an era of mass energy waste. We can blast open our ideas and imagination, on the many facets of how much more interesting, enjoyable and valuable travel could become, in the dramatic 21st century.

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[34] Stephen Lansing and James Kremer (1993) Emergent Properties of Balinese Water Temple Networks: Coadaptation on a Rugged Fitness Landscape. American Anthropologist. New Series, Vol. 95, N. 1, pp. 97-114.

3. Paradoxes of Travel

Travel is rich with paradox. It provides some of our greatest joys and gifts. It is often a source of renewal, mind-opening, cross-cultural building, and even transcendent experiences. As one travel philosopher wrote, "If our lives are dominated by a search for happiness, then perhaps few activities reveal as much about the dynamics of this quest – in all its ardor and paradoxes – than our travels"[35].

Right now, we need to focus on its paradoxes. Like it or not, tourism is embedded in systemic errors. Like all sectors, tourism has to halve carbon emissions by 2030, reducing luxury emissions by well over 50%[36]. At 8% of the global GDP, tourism has played a major role in events like breaking the planet's Arctic cooling system, killing the Great Barrier Reef, and burning Australia and the Amazon. To name just a few examples, tourism intensively if indirectly[37] contributes to: 1) a food system of mass refrigeration,[38] emissions from industrial agriculture and factory farms, which also are causing more deforestation and wildfires[39]; 2) great webs of poorly planned, fuel-intensive transportation; 3) corporate monopolies of hotels and shops that extract wealth from communities and skirt the true costs of energy-intensive global trade; 4) perverse tax havens and government subsidies shoring up all of the above; and 5) the perpetuation of a worldview that promotes individualism and dilutes local political power, local ecological protection, and even the very sense of the most vital local human community. Finally, we might add that this economy-

[35] Alain de Botton (2002) The Art of Travel. Penguin Books, London.
[36] United Nations International Panel on Climate Change, 2018. Special Report on Global Warming of 1.5°C. online: https://www.ipcc.ch/sr15/
[37] What does 'indirectly' mean, if we really accept our condition of interdependence in the biosphere?
[38] Refrigeration is the number one largest cause of the climate crisis, according to research by Project Drawdown.
[39] The 2019-2020 unprecedented wildfires in the Amazon and Australia.

driven climate crisis is renewing extreme rightwing political perils[40].

It is important to note why we live in this moment of great paradox: because the
dominant societal and economic system of the last few hundred years is for the first time reaching a global tipping point. Even conservative scientists are making more extreme statements about the planetary 'emergency'. After several years of increasingly unprecedented weather events across the globe, such as when, in July 2018, eleven wildfires raged in the Arctic Circle, 11,000 scientists signed a stark warning that "We declare clearly and unequivocally that planet Earth is facing a climate emergency…. To secure a sustainable future, we must change how we live. [This] entails major transformations in the ways our global society functions…The climate crisis has arrived and is accelerating faster than most scientists expected. It is more severe than anticipated, threatening natural ecosystems and the fate of humanity"[41].

4. Covid-19 as a window on: systemic solutions of COP 21 and a Global Green New Deal

2020 is clearly one of history's great temporal markers. In the great pause, people said 'we cannot return to normal, because normal is the problem'. Covid-19 informs travel in a few ways: 1) it exposes the worldview error that human wishes control nature, when in fact, viruses and greenhouse gases mostly control us; 2) the role of rate in the systemic change, and 3) the significant distinction of subsistence emissions versus luxury emissions.

First, the gift of Covid-19 is to show the logic behind our crises – the error that humans act on a 'blank slate' of nature, and dictate

[40] See for instance: Naomi Klein (2019) On Fire: The (Burning) Case for a Green New Deal. Simon & Schuster, New York; Christian Parenti (2011) Tropic of Chaos: Climate Change and the New Geography of Violence. Nation Books, New York.

[41] William Ripple (2020) World Scientists' Warning of a Climate Emergency. BioScience. V. 70, Issue 1, p. 100.

our desires to it[42]. Like the tiny coronavirus, the tiny molecules of carbon dioxide, methane, refrigerant gases (CHCIF2) and other major heat trapping gases, override human desires. If the coronavirus says 'shut down the global economy,' we do it. If greenhouse gases tell us 'reduce emissions by over 50% in ten years or perish,' we need to do it. Greenhouse gases do not do politics, they dictate politics.

Second, both Covid-19 solutions and climate solutions are systemic issues, requiring systemic solutions. The big difference is the rate of change. The tragedy of the virus has been wrecking systemic change in just weeks. The curse of the climate crisis is its rate, not weeks but decades. The climate crisis is just as systemic as the virus, and that is why systems solutions like the Paris Accord and GGND are vital. This involves calling out the marketing of our existential angst, with delusions of infinite growth and immortal transcendence[43], which have led to severe economic overshoot and biosphere blowback[44].

Third, Covid-19 revealed sharp distinctions between two main concepts for the 2020s, 'survival emissions' and 'luxury emissions'[45], which are, along with climate debts and reparations, topics at the heart of international climate talks, pivotal to solutions. Covid highlighted 'essential workers' in – farms, food, sanitation, hospitals, etc., or survival emissions – while it shut down most luxury emissions. For the climate transition, travel like all sectors must provide sweeping support for subsistence, while reimagining our very sense of luxury and satisfaction.

We can flip this photograph over and look at its negative; the sharp contrast to the flaws in global ideas and institutions. What

[42] Consider, for instance, the role of Bacon, Descartes, and other founders of western science in the view of nature as a blank slate, and science as unveiling a solid, determinate, permanent natural order.

[43] Consider the bizarre ideology of the Singularity Movement, or the ethical travesty of billionaires doing solo space travel instead of saving the biosphere.

[44] In terms of biosphere blowback, consider for instance, the true costs of fires, storms, droughts, crop failures, and the specter of perhaps one meter of sea level rise by 2050, and two to three meters by 2100.

[45] A critical concept, maybe originally coined by the British ethicist Henry Shue, and expanded on in work like the Greenhouse Development Rights Framework by Paul Baer and Tom Athanasiou.

would happen if we make systems change to address the climate crisis, if we change the very root problems. It would lead not just to survival, but to a deep renewal of the human spirit, the likes of which we see only once in generations, during periods of great social and cultural flourishing.

5. Hindsight is 2020: a Travel Typology, General Principles of the future of Tourism

The first column of this typology lists big errors of the modern worldview, which infuse dominant theories of economics, politics and society. These flaws in turn created the conditions of both the Covid-19 pandemic, and the climate emergency. The second column gives corrections to each of these flaws, and what this implies for people who want to create tomorrow's tourism.

To our modern ways, this all seems wildly idealistic, even delusional. But this is a set of solutions that answers to the biogeophysical laws bearing down quickly on us all.

Modern Model	21st Century model
Piecemeal Basis above, shows how the modern errors wrapped up in colonial dividing and conquering led to engrained patterns of zones of sacrifice, for zones of wealth and thriving.	**Systemic** Change the mentality and models of endless economic growth, and the inequality it creates. All viable solutions require equity and buy in, e.g. the Paris Accord and a global Green New Deal.
Long distance, short term travel, high fuel use for both daily work and holidays Massive fossil fuel use for short business trips and exotic weekend holidays. Very long daily commutes.	**Work to travel emissions ratio can shift, and reduce energy use for both** Work from home or walking distance. Make most travel local and regional, based in long-term projects for transition and thriving. And few, long-term 'sabbaticals,' of further travel for cross-cultural cooperation on transition and thriving.
Basis: Economic overshoot and private gain for very few; extinction for all Much tourism wrapped up in general model of fleeting profits and usury, siphoning money from locals to the rich, despite terrible longdistance and long-term harms and destruction.	**Basis: Local economics, caring, and cooper-ation for the commons; thriving for all.** Tourism can be increasingly based in the needs and wishes of making local and regional towns beautiful and thriving. There are many ways people are rooting tourism in the work and promotion of local economic strength, ecological conservation and regeneration of large swaths of our ecosystems.

Tourism as escape from overwork Tourism as individualistic consumption – hotels, beaches, treks, etc. largely for escape from overwork. The quintessential image is lying on a beach with an umbrella and tropical drink. Any beach, anywhere.	**Tourism as part of balanced life** Through 15-20-hour work weeks, work share, basic minimum income, and other means, we would have more time and inspiration for citizenry, culture, and reverie. This can be tied to the work of local cultural and ecological regeneration, and the infrastructural energy transition.[46]
Energy waste Past travel was blind to energy use and its impacts. That has led to the Arctic melting and Australia burning. Energy use was based on profit motives at all scales, leading to energy inefficiency, waste, overuse and unsatisfying ends.	**Tourism as energy role model** Tourist leaders can be central players in scaling up mass renewable energy infrastructure. Tourist businesses can build on the best examples, to enhance and complement renewable and no carbon solutions. In the process, they will help transform the whole web of actors involved in the energy transition.
Cross cultural exchange as exotic, extractive, and exploitative Modern travel both valued and devalued the exotic, fostering inequalities and colonial divides still plaguing us. Explorers, warriors, anthropologists, biologists, and others throughout the centuries, framed others as exotic, e.g. the adventures of Darwin, Humboldt, Mead, and Goodall. Moderns moved exploitation partly from the local to the colonies.	**Cross cultural exchange as compassionate, creative, & collaborative** Today we can conceive of every scale of interaction and exchange as part of restorative justice and ecosystem regeneration, healing post-colonial divides. Cultures like Bali's can inspire low carbon, high culture ideas and lifestyles. Travel can be woven into GGND goals, at every scale, and rebuild local economies. It could greatly renew the human spirit.

As my travel vignettes show, there are many kinds of pleasures and satisfactions. We can link travel to the vast cultural and ecological regeneration of a Global Green New Deal. Some of our moments of greatest joy may be 'cross-cultural' exchange close to home. Unions once fought to reduce work from 16 hours a day to 8 hours a day, today we need to transform both work and holiday, to change priorities, to free up time, to rebuild the commons. To change both work and holidays, would improve both. Tourism can be a leader, in local cultural, economic and ecological flourishing.

[46] See for instance the work of Mark Jacobson on 100% renewables, online: https://web.stanford.edu/group/efmh/jacobson.

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The unsustainable lightness of tourism

Elena Bougleux*

Abstract:
Between February and March 2020 discussing of the issue of sustainability in tourism became more complex than usual. In Bergamo it became more complex than everywhere. The paper goes across the escalating phases of the pandemic emergency as the MA course in Complex Societies and Tourism Governance unfolds online. We assist to a reshuffling and tentatively reorganizing of the course priorities, as the reality around us overturns the relevance and the urgency of our research and teaching topics. Paradoxically we keep firm the complexity framework, unstable by definition, acknowledging how many complexity keywords appear the most suitable to describe the elusive present. Feedback, recursivity, multiplicity, nonlinearity, all emerge as guidelines more necessary than ever. How these concepts can be helpful to tourism to face and manage the arriving crisis is a matter of choices, of radical and deep changes. In the complexity framework, the compelling conditions driving to immediate change are considered opportunities, they are sudden jumps and leaps not requiring any time for the transition to a totally new scenario. Anthropology is a slow discipline, and it doesn't produce instant shots, but it works in real time, as events unfold, and it produces diaries, draws hypotheses, pinpoints potential, walks in daydreaming and sketches the future. This is what the paper does.
Keywords: *travel, crisis, desire.*

1. Spacetime: now

This year as well, 2020, the course on "Complex Societies and Tourism Governance" is dedicated to the issues of sustainability. Actually, it is such a broad concept that it includes almost everything. Sustainability, expanded to all fields and contexts, has degraded so much as an idea and as a practice, that it has become almost meaningless.

Sustainability for Complex Societies: I wonder again, this year as well, how I will make it a convincing topic for my students in the little space of thirty hours, and I wonder if I will be able to get across the idea that Sustainability and Complex Societies can be dealt with in one only perspective, as inseparable. I'll have to work hard. I have to construct together with the class the path to prove that 'complex' doesn't necessarily imply 'unsustainable'.

* Elena Bougleux, University of Bergamo, elena.bougleux@unibg.it.

We are in our classroom, Salvecchio, the very center of Città Alta, it's mid-February. It is time for the first live explorations of the competences shared by this group of students, which I inquire walking and lingering among their desks. Every class is different, every year the competences change, expectations shift, and the course follows. *This year our Prof. doesn't know what Eurovision is*. I suddenly realize that something very relevant is changing: nobody says that professors should know everything, of course not. But this time… Eurovision… unheard of. I see something between surprise and disdain arising in almost everybody's eyes. Complex Societies for me begin today, right here.

While we approach our anthropological themes from afar, reasoning on how myths have (maybe) universal meanings, not yet the end of February, suddenly the university shuts before our very eyes. Right away, on the spot, just like that, from morning to night. Without even giving us the time to collect a book from the office, or tidy up the papers on the desk. From morning to night I'm exiled. Not only I can't go to university - the workplace where I have been going without interruptions for seventeen years - but I can't even get any closer to Bergamo. Because if I travel to Bergamo, and then I travel back to where I am now, 300 km away, I'll have to stay in the quarantine, as everyone arriving from the North. From *that* North. All right, it's only two weeks, not really forty days. But I can't do that anyway. I am uncertain, I hesitate, I think again, and eventually I won't go. First direct travel limitation in my life.

Right away my double life begins, my presence in two places starts unfolding: my body remains still, my voice travels to the classroom, or even weirder, it scatters across so many households that I can't even imagine. I become eager to know where the students live. I had never wondered about that before. I become present in a strange way where I've never been. Now on I'll have to manage these multiple presences, or rather, these multiple semi-absences.

From the distance, via a semi-presence in Bergamo through the screen, I move together with the class from mythology to the myth of travel. We talk about material and real travels as chances of travelling in time, we immediately acknowledge the travel in time as the most powerful switch of the imaginary. So, shall we

allow ourselves a little travel in time now? and travel to when? We are coming dangerously closer and closer to now: from myth, to time, to the present moment. But it really takes a lot of imaginaries to bear the now, we should travel really far… Therefore, I dribble. I want to go on, but I'm unsure: if I introduce the right-now in the lesson, I'll remain stuck in it, I know for sure.

We talk of the unsustainable Anthropocene, of the Great Acceleration. I thought I had everything clear, I thought I knew well about it: while actually, how difficult it gets to do lessons about such huge theme on my own, talking to the screen, asking and answering questions to myself. The monitors on my desk become two, then three. I'm trying to simulate a multitude. The Great Acceleration is arriving on my desk, too. I need help. We talk of waste, of CO2 excess, of desperate need of degrowth (Latouche, 2007), and how to involve the local communities (Leite and Graburn, 2009) in facing all this. We touch the core. We talk of the hyper success of some imaginaries, the hypertrophy of fame overwhelming the most popular destinations, which risks destroying its own objects of desire. Becoming too famous, in tourism, is a scam: if we get the question of scale wrong, when playing with desires, nothing remains to be desired. Everything seems too elusive. I need help.

A colleague from California comes to help us: she flew to Paris instead of Bergamo, where everything was just ready for her lessons, because Bergamo had suddenly entered its lockdown time. Unfortunately, while we were stuck and shocked and lagging behind ten days in our teaching schedules, the lockdown arrived in Paris, and Sorbonne closed down too. Eventually, Jennifer Wells teaches lessons from her laptop, locked in a B&B Parisian room. It's the beginning of March. Things are becoming even more complicated. Yes, it's true that I wanted to talk about complex societies, but I didn't mean it in this way. Not so directly, on our bodies, on our lives: I had been thinking, let's say, more of an intellectual exercise, I had imagined I would discuss complexity as

a theoretical framework. Instead this complexity here is coming right towards us, it's crashing right into us[48].

From our slides and from our maps it's emerging more and more clearly that every event and every entity are deeply entangled, inseparable, interdependent (intra-dependent? as Barad would say) (Barad, 2017). The keywords of complexity arise from every discourse, they are just a few words, but they're difficult ones, proving their decisive presence through all social structures, including the most pleasant like tourism, which is no longer frivolous, nor easy. All processes around us now deal fundamentally with feedback, recursivity, multiplicity. All circles back on itself, and changes. Complexity is everywhere, and we are part of its process. Complexity just as a thought doesn't exist.

It's the middle of March. Concern is spreading by now among students. My course isn't working as a distraction, it doesn't cheer them enough up with topics far from the here and the now, as someone would request. *But then, to manage tourism, should we become experts in everything? And learn about economics, town planning, biology…?* Yes, the Prof is pitiless. I might as well tell the truth. And in fact it emerges from wherever we look, well beyond the slides, that if we don't act quickly against the causes of the Great Acceleration, it will sweep us away, and even worse, we will end up pushing further acceleration, producing impacts that are the very opposite of sustainability, including the effects on tourism. We risk working on the construction of a perverse result for a sector that risks destroying itself.

In these sad times we don't want to admit it and nobody in the class dares saying, but the idea lies just behind the lines: we

[48] I receive from Jennifer Wells, colleague and friend: "Exactly! The complex framework we were going to study, instead came right in on us – a crash course in nonlinear, networked, societal shutdown! And I had no idea I would get stuck in the short term B&B on the way to my sabbatical sublet. I was happy I had not gone to Bergamo for the dates Elena and I had originally discussed…. the last week of February, because I would still be there, locked in Città Alta. But I have to say, that teaching the class in lockdown Paris, with all of you students in lockdown Lombardy, the intensity of that moment came through in your passion for the class. Thank you, I will always remember that. Even though we were each scattered apart, we lived that time together."

ourselves, with our lifestyles and our frantic planetary movements, are causing all this disaster. We are responsible for our own weakening, as we keep triggering major changes at all levels of ecosystems, and pushing to the coexistence between species that bear consequences we can't control. Is the tourism we are discussing in class just a part of this unsustainable trend? Which kind of tourism do we want to talk about?

One more step, then: we carefully introduce some more theoretical frames to read through emerging and inscrutable tourism effects. 'Resistance', 'protest', 'denial', they are all popping up from socially engaged citizens in the hyper famous tourism destinations (Colomb, Novy, 2017). We call it now *overtourism*, but it isn't new: it already appeared in the famous chart by Steffen *et al.* (2007) which traced a surge in the global tourism business in the last half century comparable to that of the CO2 in the atmosphere, and to the acidification rate of the oceans (Fig. 1).

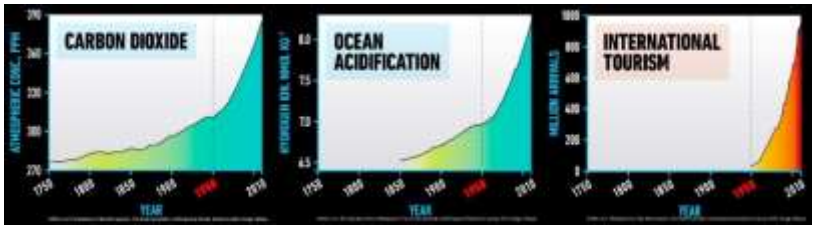

Figure 1 – The Great Acceleration – detail
Source: Steffen *et al.,* 2015.

We hesitate on the concept of "exponential surge". Interesting conceptual shifts, in this course. While we struggle for a critical and aesthetic meaning to this almost-neologism, a neologism for us, and while I walk through the course alone like an automaton in the fog, the confirmation of the fourth and fifth week of university closure arrives. Help. It's an overclosure for us, more than anything else.

What shall I do now? continue on the path that I decided months ago? follow the track in spite of everything? Yes, because now the course/the track has become a mission: a commitment with these students, already disappointed by my ignorance on

Eurovision and anonymized in the cell phone chat that replaces really badly the session of weird questions that used to take place in the cloister, after lesson. Now I can't lose the unexpected challenge launched by this pandemic, I must keep the commitment to preserve a semblance of normality and rhythm, almost as a ritual, celebrated during this fractured and virtualized part of the semester. Images of emptiness traverse the course, time is scanned by the same repeating scenes: empty Piazza Navona, empty Esplanade, empty Times Square, empty Tien An Men. How can I possibly talk about overtourism? Perhaps the Great Acceleration corresponds to a Super Great Deceleration. It is the old principle of action and reaction, also called the principle of inertia, or principle of Mach: in fact, it's the only classical principle that survived after the rearrangement of thought occurred in 1905, there must have be a reason for that (Geymonat, 1971).

If I have to follow the track, at least I'll do it by developing with the class an exercise of analysis of the crisis. But not this present crisis: we analyze the one that was already there, and that will be there again, I firmly believe it, though I don't know when. Because, as soon as we will be able to go again where we want to go, without explaining why to anyone, the desire to be just everywhere will powerfully return, more intense than before, going, going just to go, touch and run away, go just to be there, before we risk it becomes forbidden again.

But while we were stubbornly following the track, talking about myths, renewable energies, and creative ideas to keep them together, the closure arrived everywhere, far from Bergamo and from Italy, outside Europe, just everywhere. Now we are all locked down, all in front of the same monitors, aligned again, all facing the same problems. All globally synchronized as we were before, but standing still. The main problem now is exactly the opposite of overtourism. *Overzero* writes someone. *Overcrisis* is also read. How strange to become anachronistic in only five weeks?

Therefore, now I really have to stop, and go back to when I spoke of tourism as a journey through time, as an engine of the mind capable of creating imaginaries and forging desires. Travelling with the imaginary as evanescent experience that gives

the powerful possibility of being elsewhere and in another time. This might work, yes, this is the way forward. For the moment.

2. The study of the future

The next travels we will be able to do aren't close in time, and they will not be easy. Therefore, for the time being, there is an abundance of time to think about travelling, to design the journeys, to desire them. All this amount of available time we didn't ask for - just as in reality we were always lacking time, an interesting contradiction - could be considered with some effort as a precious option, an unexpected opportunity that wasn't there before. Of course, this time of now bears a quality that couldn't have been there before, it was just unconceivable. This one we have plenty of now isn't the *same* time as before, when we could just go to any nearby airport and buy an almost last-minute ticket to anywhere, when taking a flight was just a little more complicated than taking a bus. That kind time has vanished. Instead now we can, and against our will, we have to think. We can plan, change our mind, postpone, rethink, restart. We have time for the refinement of the idea, for the slow construction of the desire to move, we have the fundamental quality time for the preventive and detailed study of the destination.

It is a private, individual time of discovery and gradual approach to the knowledge of the destination, that can be deepened, browsed, carefully fathomed, up to imagining it almost step by step. After a while time acquires also a shared quality: when information, aspirations and imagined itineraries are shared, it's almost like making a collective travel diary before the very journey starts. So that, when we'll arrive at the crucial moment of being really able to go, to reach and touch the creved destination, we won't take the risk to neglect any detail, we won't dare to miss even a piece, as we will have already circumnavigated it on the atlas and in the texts who knows how many times. I have the impression - now widely shared - that travels will become less numerous, and less frequent, but they'll become be more important, more in-depth, weighted, selected for the better, empowered. They will be enhanced thanks to the awareness of where we are going; and deeper in the sense of taking

responsibility to preserve what we will see, because we wanted it so intensely in the exact way it is now, that we'll feel compelled to preserve it as it is.

Figure 2 – Clear waters in Venice, March 19, 2020
Source: Reuters

The travelers of the future will have to be more responsible than us, in the sense that they won't arrive at their destinations as omnivorous aliens anymore, replicating the same patterns of behavior wherever they are. The decrease of possibilities must lead to an increase in the symbolic value of the few possibilities that remain. And a decreased mobility, occurred in spite of ourselves, must help us to provide an answer to the demanding requests of the Great Acceleration of the Anthropocene: slow down please, because this way it doesn't work. At least this provides one of the possible answers.

So, in concrete: how can we work at the construction of new awareness and improved responsibility towards our future destinations? Fortunately, classical anthropological literature had provided us with exciting and accurate descriptions of the

elsewhere for centuries, fascinating accounts of the exotic and the unknown: villages and jungles, islands and rituals, as attractive as unattainable. Indeed, the more attractive and exotic have always been the less reachable. Such incredible archive of the exotic is just waiting for us.

Then, the literature produced by those that travel for a living, the modern anthropologists, has explored archaeological sites and incomprehensible megacities, floating markets and desert planes, down to the Antarctic ices. The genre of the anthropological monograph, if analyzed with a not too technical eye, represents a good middle ground between the travel narration and the tourist guide: plenty of descriptions, it often lingers on details, describes the atmospheres, becomes intimate, tries to understand the cosmos of the Others by relating the Unknown to the Known; and being often wrong. It would be quite nice to list here the dense shelves of anthropological classical monographs that invite the readers to imagine traveling, making them feel that they can explore the everywhere and believe that they know everything before they leave. Before leaving, we could read the God of Water (Griaule, 2003), or Tristes Tropiques (2005), or Witchcraft, Oracles and Magic (Evans-Pritchard, 1995), or the stories of the green ants (Garcia Marquez, 1974), or the trails of Patagonia (Chatwin, 1997), and it would be as having been already there. Space is not enough in this paper, so I refer to a next virtual version of the text, but it's important to remain aware that it's possible to travel for months, or maybe years, without leaving the shelves of the library.

The same effect of creating an imagined proximity to the destination can be achieved through to the vast narrative produced by the experts of tourism, the infinite collection of images, films, blogs, virtual tours and individual zooms, all easily accessible to everyone. Via Google Maps we can decide before leaving home every single step we'll take, including choosing on which bench to sit in a given park and from which rock to dive at sea on a certain island. Many years of journeys can be travelled without leaving the computer screen, the horrible screen that is now our cage, and the location of everyone, to date.

So, assumed for sure that sooner or later we will travel again, in the meantime it might be worth studying, dreaming, planning,

becoming more educated, more prepared and more aware kinds of tourists. The construction of the imaginary feeds on knowledge, and those who know more imagine better, and much more. I therefore advise everyone not to let yourself be caught unprepared by the next guaranteed phase of freedom, because, even if guaranteed, for some time freedom will be limited, and therefore better to have made our choices well, after having imagined them very very well.

3. Fake a tour(ism)

In the meantime, as we become aware and responsible travelers, a serious problem arises: standing still in front of the monitor is tiring, boring, and also a little depressing. Not even the smartest students would accept this only theoretical scenario. Better to step to the side for a minute, and watch things from a different angle.

We cannot travel, and this seems a very serious issue: but we are certainly not the first ones in human history who cannot travel. Indeed, to be precise, we are now for the first time living the same experience of a large part of the human population that even before didn't travel at all: it didn't travel because it couldn't, not having the means, nor did it participate in the traveling experience in a broad sense, because their familiar places weren't a destination for the travels of others. The present static condition is alien to us, but perhaps it is worthwhile to deepen it a bit, democratically, as a condition shared with much larger groups of humans than before, and a much more heterogeneous group. We can try to experience the static condition of the others both by sharing it, now that we are forcedly still, or by travelling in time again, to a different space-time, when tourism wasn't an ordinary experience for so many. While remaining still we get to know the feelings that arouse in those who don't travel and instead observe the travel of others, and not by their own choice. These are not meant to be rhetorical exercises, but rather 'mind experiments in the variation of positioning' that anyone who works in tourism should periodically do.

Figure 3 - Goats in Llandudno, Wales
March 31, 2020
Source: C. Furlong/Getty Images

Figure 4 - Ducks in a shopping mall, Florence
April 12, 2020
Source: Fiorenza Moka

I have also another easier idea: we can play a different game, teasing at our (former) frenzy of going, touching, running, showing, telling, starting again, leaving, taking off. For these extreme and incurable cases, the web reserves interesting sites that create your real fake travel photoshoot, adding exotic scenarios to the real photos you choose to send. Photo with tropical beach background, only $ 22.50. There are also 'travel' agencies that rent the entire photoset to take live photos of the place where you want to pretend to have traveled: for example, a private plane, which unfortunately doesn't take off, where instead of the rows of seats has a leather lounge, and various private rooms hazed with blue lights, just like the emergency ones (basic cost $ 250, it depends on whether you bring your trusted photographer, or rent it together with the plane). But the best agencies are the ones that offer the entire fake trip: from the flight ticket to the souvenirs, passing through the making of all necessary documentation: photos, videos, blogs, all updated in real time. It's as easy as moving to the hotel, with the right suitcases, and disappear from the circle of friends for a week, having chosen carefully, and agreed with the agency, where you want to go. Every room in the hotel is a shooting set, and all the options are available: from swimming pools to mountain slopes to cities of art, all with the appropriate UV rays, the right sound backgrounds, and also the inevitable and fictitious setbacks, such as long queues outside museums and unfortunately disturbed telephone lines. But of course it doesn't matter, since all is

carefully documented in the blog, which tells and shows every single “event”. Costs go up, but remain negligible compared to real travel.

The boundary between imagining the journey and imagining to have traveled is quite thin: perhaps in the fake news of the fake travel there is no malice, there is only a desire fulfilled in a different way, and a little (not even that much) cheaper. In passing, I always thought that travel agencies were a bit like theater sets, with those incredible posters of stunning scenarios that changed with the seasons, like the sceneries on stage, and operators who spoke all languages on the phone, but never seeing the interlocutors. In fact, perhaps the telephones were fake, as the phone calls played on stage. Let's dedicate ourselves to the construction of exotic sets, in the coming months, and to the shooting of simulation travel films. Happy travels to all, the class is over.

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- A forever landed private jet set http://powerfulmind.co/fake-plane-ride-challenge/
- How to do your fake travel photos https://www.pjstudio.ru/
  Tutorial to fake a whole trip https://byzilla.com/photo-fake/fakecation/
- Self explaining https://www.picsofasia.com/the-library-of-fake-travel-photos-in-asia/

Part III

TOURISM IMAGINARIES AND DISCOURSES

Tourism at bound distance.
Minute cityscapes in Covid-19 times

Rossana Bonadei*

Abstract
The present paper explores in a subjective and collective perspective the experience of the "lockdown" in Milan - Lombardy in Covid-19 Times, and reflects on its impact on perceptions and practices in our everyday life of modern and global 'touring subjects' - we people accustomed to radical mobility but now made to experience an unprecedented shock of mind and body. The word lockdown refers primarily to "the confining of prisoners to their cells": all of us are prisoners now, locked indoors, watching the streets below from windows and balconies, the only mobility allowed being brief walks around the nearby city quarters, within the bound distance of 250 metres. And yet, by virtue of a paradox perfectly fit to the surrealistic context of the pandemic, we are perennially on the move, wandering across virtual spaces, in the realms of memory and desire, managing a host of images related to movement. On the web we Travel, Navigate, Tour, Visit, Explore, Run, Walk, Bike, Climb, Sail, Drive, Fly, almost non-stop, to exorcise a loss to be thus compensated. Alongside the new ways of restricted mobility, a paradigm of 'total' visuality emerges, a new urge to mobilize one's eyes. In a memorable study on the "ways of seeing", John Berger remarked that our gaze is never neutral but always 'affected' by circumstances, physical, spatial, emotional. We can come to see the same things differently: spaces and places perceived with strangers' eyes, pointing out things once unnoticed, turning to unfamiliar corners, glancing at details: one's gaze somehow resembling that of a tourist.
Keywords: *Walk, Gaze, Urban space*

1. A Grand Virtual Tour (and *petits virtual tours*) - as in the year we will nowhere go

Milan-Lombardy, March 10th 2020. We are all under "lockdown" and the experience precedes the language, as a sudden body jolt and a consequent mind shock that we attach to a sound hoovering/to a low, distant hum in the everyday environment of discourse, obsessively echoed in the media as well as in our individual lives. The dictionary entry for *lockdown*, from North American English, refers primarily to "the confining of prisoners to their cells". Nowadays however, the use of the word in Covid-19 time has gained a new sense, as testified by the many

* Rossana Bonadei, University of Bergamo, rossana.bonadei@unibg.it.

documents and surveys that accompany this extraordinary history, rumours and dispatches variously declining the extraordinary 'state of art' in terms of "blockage" (of circulation of people, goods, transport means), "confinement" (into one's home or restricted places), a reclusionary semantics dramatically challenging a community markedly shaped by the 'sacred' right of individual freedom and less conscious of the responsibility of a collective health nonetheless guaranteed by the Italian Constitution.

In fact, all of us are the prisoners now, we, the subjects of radical mobility and of globalization and yet locked in our houses by decree, for many months, immobilized within familiar walls, watching the streets from windows and balconies, the only mobility allowed being in private courtyards and gardens, or in brief walks around the building or the city quarter, within the prescribed distance of 250 metres. And eventually also prisoners of our fears (that we may get ill and possibly die).

On the other hand, virtual mobility has never been so regular and massive: enshrined in the realm of memory and imagination, magnified by the media- TV, radio and newspapers- intensified by the use of the IT connections, through smartphones, IPad, PC. For a paradox perfectly fit to the surrealistic context of the pandemic, we are nonetheless always on the move, daily if not hourly wandering across virtual spaces, while a host of words and images related to movement shapes our days, reminding of a loss that we endeavour to compensate: in the Web we Travel, Navigate, Tour, Visit, Explore, Run, Walk, Bike, Climb, Sail, Drive, Fly….as if no restriction could inhibit the mobile habits inherited from our ancestors. We are the heirs of "homo viator" and "homo figurans" (Turri, 1998); we never stop expanding across space, physically and imaginatively. Nor can fade the more moder marks of our being "touring subjects" (Clifford, 1997), embracing on a global scale a new "nomadic turn" (Braidotti, 1994): in the last three centuries, to grossly summarise, a whole culture and a strong economy have reinforced our multifarious mobilities. Anthropologically speaking, we, subjects of the 21st century, are the result of a species selection whose minds (Leed, 1991) and gazes (Urry, 2011) have undergone a sharp refinement in the acts of exploring, travelling,

touring, and in the development of tourist practices observed in different cultural and historical contexts.

As noted above, inside the Covid-19 landscape we compensate for blockage and isolation by engaging in massive virtual mobility, which numberless initiatives of public institutions- such as museums and art academies or private agencies- are reinforcing, filling the loss of cultural demand with dematerialized experiences. The enduring "brands" of the Belpaese and of the Grand Tour have turned into best sellers: a weekly TV series on "La penisola dei Tesori" ("Treasures of Italy"), regularly reminds us of heritage sites and historical 'borghi' (hamlets) possibly left unvisited by many, and now made vivid by memorable narrations and pieces of literature (Montaigne, Milton, Goethe). The Italian Ministry of Culture and Tourism has launched a web campaign around the slogan "Art you ready?" to parallel the idea of free museum visits on Sundays, the most recent chapter of the initiative being a Virtual Grand Tour fashioned in partnership with Google(www.beniculturali.it/virtualtour): what comes out is an online tour around some iconic territories of the former Grand Tour (the historical practice developed along the 18th and 19th century that had made of Italy the first extended tourist destination in the world and made of the Europeans the first extended tourist community). Namely, the tour moves from Rome and its astounding heritage towards Northern Italy, to Florence and its internationally known Museums, and towards Southern Italy, to Naples and its surroundings, culminating in the unique ruins of Pompei and Herculaneum. Archaeological parks, gardens, Villas and Grand public Theatres are part of this 'Italian adventure', to mark the cultural continuities of outside and inside experiences. Goethe and his famous narrations of the Peninsula's beauties echo in the background, but the project are meant primarily for public participation, the minute narrations and the screenshots of the virtually involved new 'grand travellers'.

From Grand Tour to *petits tours*, outside and inside again, the tradition of cultural travels is the useful archive for present experiences: everything is actually already there, engraved in the cultural memory and ready to be revived in virtual forms. For *petits tours*, art cities seem to be the favourite ground, walking or biking,

in the wake of those past travelers - especially Americans - who in the nineteenth century were remapping the Italian Heritage discovering 'minor' art towns and tracing itineraries off the beaten tracks (Brilli, 1997).

Milan itself, my own city, now a deserted city under lockdown, has become the ground for interesting virtual experiences: you can 'walk' across "la Milano segreta, raccontata su You-Tube in 90 secondi o quasi" ("A Secret Milan in about 90 seconds"), inspired to a recently published book devoted to a thousand things you should see in Milan at least once in your lifetime (Margheriti, 2020); and you can 'bike' online in bike tours enhanced by the Council agency Bike the City, a-chasing symbols, stories and legends of the older town, from the ages of the Visconti to the Milan of the Hapsburgs and the Italian Risorgimento.

Walking and biking- albeit within limited distances- are actually the two only activities permitted under lockdown: vital precious resources for citizens suddenly immobilized but also opportunities for a surprising rediscovery of familiar places and small everyday itineraries, through fresh and estranged eyes which are compelled by restrictions hardly imagined in the time of "the old normal". As John Berger remarked in a memorable study on the "ways of seeing", "we only see what we look at" (Berger, 1972), and our gaze is never neutral but always 'affected': affected or guided or compelled by circumstances, physical, spatial, meteorological, emotional. Our sight is always dynamic, we can see differently the same thing- spaces and places can be perceived differently. I am sure this is happening to many of us in Covid-19 time. I believe many of us are discovering a 'strange' Milan through stranger eyes, and find themselves trodding on familiar ground in a strange mood, looking around differently, pointing at things once unnoticed, turning to unfamiliar corners, searching for unusual perspectives, glancing at details: taking on a gaze which resembles the gaze of a tourist. Across the media, much commentary reflects on the impact of the paradigm of total visibility: the virus compels us to lurk from the windows, to watch from the balconies, to indulge on the screens- we become all eyes, more or less unconscious voyeurs but also induced to observe around more keenly, maybe more deeply, reviving our inner eye,

recalling the world with our imagination. New narrations spring from this rediscovered energy of observation- a nice, ironic TV jingle speaks of narrations from the balconies, addressed to our often unknown neighbours- Balcony Stories MTV.

2. I've travelled the world….

March 15th. The first time I put my nose out of the house I was above all afraid of doing something forbidden - we were in fact allowed to go out alone and only for some shopping considered essential: just food and newspapers. If I should find some key words to convey the experience, I would say bright, oxygen, silence, green, in this sequence: bright was the air, as unpolluted as ever after a month of total ban on cars and transport means - you could feel the oxygen in your lungs as if we were in the mountains - you could eventually breath and meanwhile perceive the incredible silence of a City that had suddenly stopped its run. And the green around was as well incredible: spring was there and the green was sprouting everywhere, never seen such a blooming in the city, nature was really speaking and enlarging in the space left empty by the humans- it was almost noon but nobody was at view. I wondered if I would be able to archive this spectacle in documents (photos or videos, tales), to give testimony of the wonder, the dismay, and the awe. No personal or collective memory could recall that strange brightness, that silence, the awesome emptiness of the streets, apart from some short mental reels o of distopic films, and for literary echoes- " Ne'er saw I, never felt, a calm so deep (…) And all that mighty heart is lying still" (Wordsworth, 1802)[50].

In that poetic mood I crossed the once crowded circular road that embraces Milan (the Bastioni) which connects my quarter to

[50] Cfr. William Wordsworth, Composed Upon Westminster Bridge, 1802. The sonnet belongs to the period of the poet's residence in London. The view and the life of the city becoming the overcrowded metropolis was at the basis of his famous long philosophical poem- The Prelude - grounded on the practice of walking. Through a methodic walking and the consequent visual posture, Wordsworth tried to capture the London of the Industrial Revolution focusing on the iconic "crowd". In the above cited sonnet London is viewed at dawn, an unreal, surprising city enjoyed from a bridge, empty and silent.

the pulsing heart of the city (the so called Quadrilatero). The path to the closest newsagent passed through an area quite known to classic music fans, at the crossroads of Via Bellini and Via Donizetti stands the Conservatorio Verdi (The civic Concert Hall), where also tourists gather and queue for tickets, dropping from taxis and buses disorderly parked along the Bastioni. Milan is indeed a tourist city, certainly after the Expo, but few Milanese are aware that even before Expo Milan enjoyed the highest number of foreign visitors after Rome, an attractive art and fashion City that was investing energy and money on Museums and Exhibitions. And there was, just in front of the Conservatorio Verdi, one interesting example of the recent tourist turn of Milan: the museum-house of Vico Magistretti, a famous architect and designer, who from the windows of that small first door flat could look down over the triangle designed by the Conservatorio and the Chiesa della Passione. Museum-houses- of painters, poets, men of fame- are fashionable heritage in our days, certified by ICOM and included in many tourist itineraries. During the Milan Design Fair, thousands of visitors put themselves on the traces of museum-houses somehow connected with Design. Magistretti's house is among them, and that district of Milan for a week or so becomes a crowded tourist destination. Not now. Streets are in a void, I am practically alone, in an unreal silence. And I am all eyes, but somehow outside of myself, I mean that usual self that in a swift walk goes to buy newspapers, casting a hasty glance at the surroundings, only careful to avoid cars and bikes.

Now, in that unreal silence, at a very slow pace, right below Magistretti's window panes and stood gazing at the distinctive architectural convergence of forms that so much impressed and inspired his design: and, as in a game of sliding doors, I found myself in the guise of the tourist I usually am when I visit cities around the world. I have travelled the world, chasing street views and distinctive built styles, taking photographs, shooting small videos, storing images. Of course that very place was familiar to me- just across the road, a few metres from home- but that view at that moment, with those thoughts in mind, had produced a shift, in terms of gaze, in terms of mind perception, and in terms of self-perception. Magistretti came to my mind again, reminding me of

my traveller's life brought back and projected unto the present situation: I've travelled the world but this year I know I will travel nowhere. I remembered that was indeed the title of the "Magistretti Voyages Projects", an exhibition whose recollection was setting off strange short-circuits in my mind. Why just that exhibition among the many? I remember quite well that it was especially an enquiry on the gaze in urban environment, a report of visual adventures with a camera at hand: "a sidewalk candid photos show"[51]. And as a tourist, quite instinctively, with my I-phone at hand, I started taking some photos of the surroundings: of Magistretti's sober house (Fig. 1) and, again my back on those walls, of the remarkable sites in front, the Conservatorio Verdi and the Chiesa della Passione (Fig. 2, 3). Images with a strong historical density, made denser under the emotional stress of the actual moment.

Figure 1 - Magistretti's house

Figure 2 – Conservatorio Verdi

Figure 3 - Chiesa della Passione

Returning home, a few steps back, I realized that on my way I was looking at places differently, the eyes pointing at a couple of remarkable sites always been there, but hardly noticed before: an elegant neo-classic house embraced by a green mass (Fig. 4) and Casa Campanini, a massive Liberty building with two giant stony nymphs at the main entrance, festooned with garlands of leaves (Fig. 5, 6). I could then fancy a proper tourist itinerary within a few

[51] Cfr. "Ho girato il mondo…". Magistretti Viaggi Progetti, (26/3/2015- 29/12/2015). Exhibition curated by Rosanna Pavoni. Brochure produced by Fondazione studio museo Vico Magistretti, 2015, www.vicomagistretti.it.

steps, with in mind an Art nouveau vein that was actually visible scattered here and there: balconies, statues, friezes, decorations, iron grates had become so evident as to guide me by and by through connections and correspondences. The whole quarter resounded Art nouveau in its different international variations.

Figure 4 – An elegant neo-classic house

Figure 5 – Casa Campanini

Figure 6 – Two stony nymphs at Casa Campanini's entrance

What was guiding my gaze was certainly a Stendhal syndrome: I was not casually picking up details surfing across spaces, as these new sensations were immediately prolonged in a historical dimension, every sign or piece of stone was there in its full density. But I was also experiencing the 'aside' look that Benjamin associates with the dynamism of making sense of images: when images live in a kind of "Standstill" (what was acknowledged, in the collective memory, is abruptly suspended in a no-time lapse and thrust back onto the beholder augmented by the subjective momentary perception) (Benjamin, 2002), an increment which flares them up beyond their well-known function and beyond their received sense.

3. "Walking Liberty", but within 250 metres from one's own house

6th April. Newspaper scraps, TV news, web views, cinema, cartoons, poetry, modern criticism- the everyday life runs with the noises and the images of current news, but we live in a mediatic/oneiric landscape. Technology sustains our dreams and fears and hopes, envisaging surreal 'worlds' and landscapes that far from being virtual are now dramatically real. We find ourselves protagonists of narrations once dystopic and now attached to everyday actual life, left unable to set imagination apart from reality- consigned to the "*Unheimliche"* (the uncanny): a disturbing presence or situation (very much like the dangerous Covid virus), attached to mixed sentiments (fear, uncertainty, danger, anguish) that leaves us impotent in front of the radical change of life we are consigned to (Freud, 1917). We anxiously wait for signs of resurgence.

After four weeks of lockdown, by a new decree we are allowed to walk, still unaccompanied, still within 250 metres of our homes, and once again conquer pieces of the city again, step by step, as hundreds of City Council posters promise at every corner (Fig. 7).

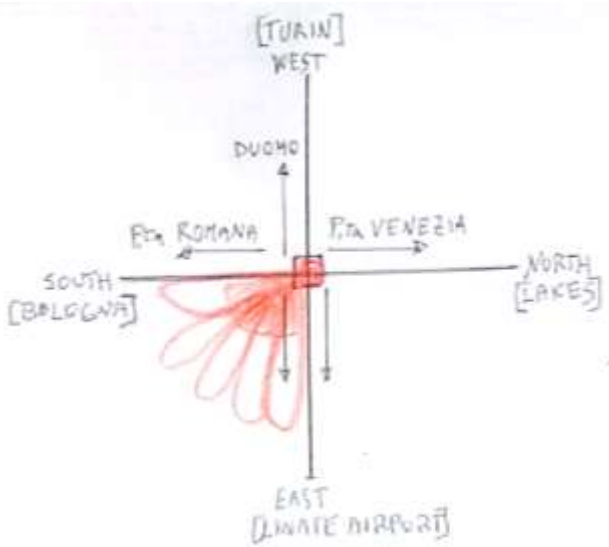

Figure 7 – The author's ketch-map of her "walking liberty"

What I have in mind are casual itineraries day by day imagined, from my house going North, South, East and West, to cover as many semicircles countable on the space contingently designed by the decree: a sketch-map for an invented new space that I would strictly respect taking it as a kind of formal and visual experiment planned over 20 days (imposing constraints to the moving and the gaze, as Oulipo writers did with the language, where constraints are used as a means of triggering ideas and inspiration, obliging the mind to play with unusual grammars).

And so will I, inventing my own "constitutional", I will embark on a number of self-disciplined walks - cardinal points, number of metres and limited time being my severe compass - I am sure I will encounter nearby sites and buildings that I had met in my regular mobility, but hardly ever noticed them in their form, colour, size, style, and with no attention to details, correspondences, continuities of style, historical or cultural relevances. I was of course alone, but a host of mumbling citations gave pace to my walking thoughts- Benjamin, Barthes, De Certeau, Berger, the philosophers of the "everyday practices", were with me**.**

I then started to explore small districts, turning to corners never crossed before, looking at things with stranger eyes, ready to unpredictable encounters but nonetheless longing to be surprised and entertained, as a tourist, or better as the tourist I am when I visit new cities, indulging in walks with no clear destination, fancying on the forms and the colours, the correspondences and the densities. I experienced the liberty of minute cityscapes (not more than one hour or so), I took photographs and formed my own visual archive of an 'other Milan' as interesting as the "famous Milan", I could detect densities of architectural and design styles that impress this or that quarter at the four cardinal points: in the suspended time determined by the Covid, I experienced a voyage in time, finding the many cities within the city and the secret memory of its communities.

Among these minute cityscapes, one is still vivid in my mind - as it was so markedly unlike-Milan.

"April is the cruellest month … mixing memory and desire" (Eliot, 1923), reads a most famous poem written in a London

suffocated by pollution and inhabited by “hollow men”, but exposed to the almost painful signs of spring-life blooming against the shallow life of its citizens. Also in that empty and dead Milan nature was speaking, spring was blooming, and the green literally exploded in my eyes just as I turned round the Eastbound corner, opposite the more famous West area that I had explored in my previous peregrinations. My East End - my favourite quarter for food shopping - welcomed me with a small patch of grass pointed with numberless daisies (Fig. 8), an incongruent view in the stone jungle of a densely built area. In the surreal silence of the drowsy city, somehow seduced by the green vein lurking here and there, springing from the pavement’s holes or hanging from street sills (Fig. 9, 10), I found myself in front of a small village of tiny houses, cosy two-storey houses adorned with tiny gardens full of those flowers typical of countryside orchards.

Figure 8 - Daisies on the grass

Figure 9 – Green in the pavement’s holes

Figure 10 – Green hanging from street sills

I had a vague memory of that place as I entered a narrow lane that crossed along the small village (Fig. 11). A strange Milan was there - pale blots of azure, green, yellow and pink elegantly jotted in a landscape of grey, cream and brown blocks - as if a pastel colour line memory of certain Hapsburg popular dwellings had broken into the massive 19th century conglomerates that were there dominant (Fig. 12).

Figure 11 - A narrow lane crossing the small village

Figure 12 – 19th century conglomerates

The air was bright and scented, people stayed in their *locus amoenus* enjoying their tiny sunny gardens, lying on a chaise long, reading or eating, as if they were on vacation - I must admit that I envied them, and that staged privacy so unusual in big towns. It was like being in a movie, or better, as if they were in a movie or and me watching them from behind a screen - an unreal scene in an unreal city. At the very end of the street - outside that oasis - another block of small, coloured and stylish houses awaited me, once again an unexpected view (Fig. 13). I couldn't really tell the age of those original forms - it might be in between the two World Wars, or even before, refurbished houses of the end of 19th century. Once at home I would do some historical investigation for sure, but meanwhile I was enjoying that strangeness, and started tracing then a colour vein of yellow and pink that suddenly appeared spread out by and by, once reached the large streets Eastbound that encircled the small village. That was actually the right sign to detect around: the evidence of a continuity, of age and style, was more evident to me, an illumination (Fig. 14).

Figure 13 – A block of small and coloured houses

Figure 14 - The continuity of the style of the buildings

That area was at the back of the famous Milano Teresina (after the Austrian Empress) located along Corso Venezia - the 19th century of the Austrian domination over Milan that so indelebly marked the architecture of some city areas. The Milan West End and East End: the East End being the mews, the popular and small bourgeois quarters in face of the luxurious residences of the rich- servants, small shop keepers and artisans in support of the domestic and elegant life of the then dominant classes.
I went home back with an imaginary music in my ears - Mozart from Vienna, but also Verdi, the Milanese patriot whose Milan Conservatorio is devoted. One hour passed and the streets were still empty "And all that mighty heart is lying still". A TV or a Radio speaker, heard from inside a flat, was chattering about a coming "awakening": in May the lockdown is going to stop. You know what? The time will surely come when we shall look back at the sleeping metropolis with some nostalgia ….

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From #traveltomorrow to #MagicalKenya: a sociosemiotic analysis of a tourism narrative response to Covid-19

Cinzia Spinzi and Stefania M. Maci*

Abstract:
Following the outbreak of the Covid-19 pandemic, tourism was found to be the sector most affected internationally. The UNTWO has intervened by launching a campaign embraced by the member countries. The main purpose of this work is the functional and semiotic investigation of meaning construction in the UNTWO tourism campaign and of Kenya's response to it. The analysis has shown that the message of solidarity and unity in the face of such uncertain times is an invitation for shared responsibility among travelers and a stress of core values. Kenya's response to the main campaign reinforces the refrain #stayingathome and introduces a promise of visiting Kenya by combining information and promotion.
Keywords: *sociosemiotics; multimodal analysis; discourse analysis*

1. Setting the scenario

Without prejudice to the considerable economic repercussions that the Covid-19 pandemic is already having in every economic area, tourism is certainly the most directly affected sector. This is because of the constrained immovability encapsulated by the well-known slogan "stay at home" which is in antithesis with the very soul of tourism whose prerequisite is a movement through time and space, as we read on the UNTWO (U.N. World Tourism Organization)[52].

Tourism is a social, cultural and economic phenomenon which entails the movement of people to countries or places outside their usual environment for personal or business/professional purposes. These people are called visitors (which may be either tourists or excursionists; residents or non-residents) and tourism

* Cinzia Spinzi, University of Bergamo, cinziagiacinta.spinzi@unibg.it; Stefania M. Maci, University of Bergamo, stefania.maci@unibg.it. The two authors conceived this research article together but for practical reasons Cinzia Spinzi is responsible for sections 1, 2 and 4.2; Stefania Maci is responsible for sections 3, 4.1, 4.2.1. Both authors are responsible for conclusions.

[52] https://www.unwto.org/glossary-tourism-terms Last accessed April 2020.

has to do with their activities, some of which involve tourism expenditure.

Coronavirus impact assessment is a very complicated estimation mainly due to the uncertainty regarding the behavior of the virus itself, which is unknown and new to mankind. Furthermore, uncertainties exist about the direct economic impact of the virus, but also about the psychological effects on individuals and institutional actors, which in turn have direct and indirect consequences on both supply and demand.

Against this backdrop, the United Nation World Tourism Organization (UNWTO) has launched a campaign condensed in the hashtag "Stay home today, travel tomorrow" which conveys, as explicitly stated on the UNTWO website, a message of solidarity and hope. It is also, as we read, an invitation for shared responsibility among travelers and a stress of the core values of tourism: "Discovering different cultures, practicing solidarity and respect, caring for the environment, continuing to learn, fostering decent work, development and sustainability, generating new opportunities for all" [53].

The considerable impact of this online campaign is visible on digital media, where some country members have published their own response to it, thus intensifying and unifying the voices of tourism and at the same time rousing travel enthusiasms for the future.

The aim of this study is to look at how the emergency crisis due to Covid-19 affects the representation of the tourist offer in those countries that have embraced the campaign, given that the individual campaign is also a strategy for keeping alive the image and memory of the destination. More precisely, this contribution analyzes the initiative launched by the UNTWO and the response from the only country member, Kenya, which has replied in English. Moving in the social semiotic framework of visual communication grammar (Kress and van Leeuwen 2006), grounded in Halliday's systemic functional theory (1978), this

[53] https://www.unwto.org/news/stay-home-today-traveltomorrow Last accessed April 2020.

study investigates the multifaceted identity of tourism discourse in that it looks at both verbal and non-verbal texts.

In order to carry out such analysis, this contribution will draw on a socio-semiotic analysis and develop this in the following sections: section two will give the background and an overview of the literature review; section three will offer a description of the collected data and of the methodological approach, followed, in section four, by an analysis and interpretation of the data collected; section five will offer a conclusion.

2. Literature review and theoretical background

Compared to traditional promotional tools (e.g. brochures, magazines), tourist videos display more alluring information by combining visual, verbal and audio modes. This integration of modes has been investigated in the literature through the application of multimodal analysis that, since its inception in the early 1990s, has developed considerably, mainly espousing a social semiotic approach. Drawing upon Systemic Functional Linguistics (Halliday, 1978, 1994), scholars have addressed a number of issues: from the grammar of visual design (Kress and van Leeuwen, 2006), to the investigation of sound and music (Van Leeuwen, 1999) and gestures (Martinec, 2000). Multimodal analysis has also been applied to the study of visual semiosis in films (O'Halloran, 2004) and hospital documentaries (Iedema, 2001), whereas Baldry and Thibault (2006) have transcribed, annotated and investigated a corpus of video texts.

In the field of tourism, although tourism text genres "resort to a wide range of interconnected modes and modal resources" (Francesconi, 2017, p. 50) a limited number of studies on multimodality can be acknowledged (Francesconi, 2011, 2017; Poonia, Chauhan, 2015; Manca, 2016; Spinzi, 2016; Maci, 2012a, 2012b, 2007). All these studies show that a combination of approaches is however critical to investigating multimodal texts. Francesconi (2018), for example, draws from both genre analysis and multimodal analysis when examining the video texts of a less popular Italian region that is Basilicata. She shows that tourist videos represent an innovative mode which combines promotional and informative concerns with narrative and dialogical forms. In

her multimodal analysis of the tourist campaign the *Brand USA*, Spinzi (2016) demonstrates how images and texts play a pivotal function in the promotional message, conveying core values associated with traditional American icons. Thus, our work contributes to this quite young trend of research which looks at the integration of modes in tourism discourse where promotion and persuasion remain the main goals.

The theoretical background to our work is based on the combination of Halliday's Systemic Functional Grammar (1994; henceforth SFG) and Kress and van Leeuwen's social semiotic framework of visual communication grammar (2006), with the latter grounded in the former. In Halliday's systemic functional theory (1978) the construction of meanings encompasses multiple semiotic systems, and semantics is one among many, and comprises three metafunctions (Ideational, Interpersonal and Textual). Systemic Functional Grammar, or SFG, aims to reveal that language is a means of social interaction and that language system and the forms that make it up are inevitably determined by the functions which they serve. For an overview of this model see Fig. 1.

Following these premises, Kress and van Leeuwen (2006, p. 1) state that visuals, just like words, have their own semantics and syntax and, thus, investigation of the syntagmatic relations of a sign, such as colour, size, positioning, discloses patterns of images that may evoke various meanings. Kress and van Leeuwen's model matches Hallidayan social semiotic metafunctions: the Representational metafunction (Ideational in Halliday's theory) refers to the ability of a semiotic system to represent the experience in the external world, what is actually going on. The processes constructed in visual images may be of two types: Narrative (action, relational and verbal processes) or Conceptual (classificational, analytical and symbolic processes). Whereas in Narrative processes, the movement of images is given graphically by vectors, Conceptual processes lack movement and hence they are considered as attributing values to carriers and construing taxonomic relations. The Interactive metafunction (Interpersonal in Halliday's theory) indicates the ability of a semiotic system to epitomize the social relations between the producer of an image

and its addressee. Contact (demand or offer), size of frame (close-ups, medium shots, long shots), perspective (high angle, low angle, eye level) are parameters on the basis of which social distance, and familiarity and positioning may be understood. The linguistic interpersonal resource of modality is visually denoted by the degree of 'credibility' manifest in the image, varying from high degree of truthfulness (e.g. naturalistic images) to low degree of modality (e.g. less real images). Finally, Composition is related to the arrangement of images. For the purposes of this study only these two metafunctions (i.e. Ideational and Interpersonal) will be taken into account.

Process type	Core meaning	Participants
Material	Doing, happening	Actor, goal
Mental	Sensing	Senser, phenomenon
Perception	Perceiving	
Cognition	Thinking	
Affection	Feeling	
Relational	Being	
Attributive	Attributing	Carrier, attribute
Identifying	Identifying	Identified, identifier
Verbal	Saying	Sayer, receiver
Behavioral	Behaving	Behaver
Existential	Existing	Existent

Figure 1 - Ideational metafunction: processes, meanings and participants

3. Data and Methods

The data collected for this study comprise two videoclips centring around the #StayAtHome #TravelTomorrow campaign launched by UNTWO on all social media, which, as described in the introductory section, has the purpose of helping State Members to cope with the Covid-19 issue. Campaign is formed by the #TravelTomorrow (0.25 seconds) videoclip, in three languages (English, French and Spanish), and the #TravelTomorrow posters in English, French, Spanish, Russian and Arabic. A resource

platform[54] was created to provide various options for stakeholders to join this initiative. Germany, Morocco, Mongolia, Oman and Uruguay, as well as Wien and Bogotà endorsed the initiative by using the #TravelTomorrow hashtag, but Kenya only responded by creating the #MagicalKenya (1.17 seconds)[55] video in English, response to the #TravelTomorrow videoclip. For these reasons, the analysis will take into consideration the only two available videoclips in English representing the tourism industry reaction against the Covid-19 issue: #TravelTomorrow[56] and #MagicalKenya.

In order to fully understand what content and messages have been delivered, how meanings have been constructed both explicitly and metaphorically and the values and feeling evoked, the analysis of our data is carried out on two levels, verbal and visual. Firstly, relying on the Systemic Functional Grammar (Halliday, 1994), the verbal component is explored in terms of Ideational meanings (i.e. Participants, Processes and Circumstances) and Interpersonal meanings (i.e. modality). Secondly, the videos have been divided into 16 (#TravelTomorrow videoclip) and 50 shots (#MagicalKenya videoclip) which have been explored in the light of the social semiotic framework of visual communication grammar (Kress, van Leeuwen, 2006). Drawing on Thibault (2000), shots have been identified by a change, a break, or a pause in the rhythm of movement (in both videos, of the camera, dynamic graphic displays and/or the human body); or by a corresponding shift in the visual or linguistic thematic or the interpersonal orientation (cf. Lemke, 1988). Representational meanings of visual resources (i.e. participants, process types, circumstances) and Interactive meanings (i.e. size, angle and modality) have been investigated.

4. Analysis

[54] https://trello.com/b/5JV7MfiW/unwto-covid-19 Last accessed April 2020.
[55] https://magicalkenya.com/ Last accessed April 2020.
[56] https://trello-attachments.s3.amazonaws.com/5e78947c896b2686dedda9b8/5e7898d67284007917643a5c/39b18256515186 64ff1b0dfe2fcb6c00/Travel_Tomorrow_EN_360.mp4 Last accessed April 2020.

4.1 The analysis of the campaign #TravelTomorrow

In #Travel Tomorrow campaign 100% of shots feature a green landscape that tends to infinity. The landscape could be anywhere and therefore takes on a universal characterization. Rather than describing or narrating the landscape, the video seems to suggest a set of values that are then also rendered in verbal form. The feelings or rather the emerging values visualize solidarity, environment, sustainability and work. The focus is on *push* factors rather than *pull* factors (Dann, 1996a).

The UMTWO videoclip #TravelTomorrow is very simple in its composition: an overimposed text can be read while looking at the view seen as if from an airplane. At first, only green land and countryside is seen, as depicted in Figure 2, below:

Figure 2 - #TravelTomorrow video. Initial shot.

This is the first frame; in each of the following shot the text #TravelTomorrow is completed with the preposition *for* which, functionally speaking, realizes a Circumstance of Purpose followed

by the value to acquire: so we have the #TravelTomorrow *for discovery* shot, #TravelTomorrow *for solidarity*, #TravelTomorrow *for respect*, #TravelTomorrow *for environment*, #TravelTomorrow *for learning*, #TravelTomorrow *for jobs*, #TravelTomorrow *for development*, #TravelTomorrow *for sustainability*, #TravelTomorrow *for opportunity*, #TravelTomorrow *for you*, #TravelTomorrow *for us*, #TravelTomorrow *for tomorrow.* Each of these substantives/ pronouns are written in a different colour: *discovery* is in yellow*, solidarity* in orange, *respect* in blue, *environment* in yellow, *learning* in green, *jobs* in orange, *development* in blue, *sustainability* in green, *opportunity* in light blue, *you* in yellow and *us* in white, as summarized in Fig. 3 below:

Colour	***Item***
Yellow	*Discovery* *Environment* *you*
Orange	*Solidarity* *jobs*
Blue	*Respect* *development*
Green	*Learning* *Sustainability*
Light Blue	*Opportunity*
White	*#TravelTomorrow* *Us* *Tomorrow* *UNTWO*

Figure 3 - Breakdown of videoclip words and their colour

There is an invisible line made with the use of colour connecting words: *you* is linked with *discovery* and *environment* through yellow; *solidarity* and *jobs* through orange; *development* cannot exist without *respect* and this is seen through blue; and if you #TravelTomorrow such opportunity (light blue) can really be for *us, tomorrow*, thanks to UNTWO: #TravelTomorrow, *us*, *tomorrow* and UNTWO are all written in white.

Interestingly, when the #TravelTomorrow *for opportunity* shot appears, the frame changes perspective: prospective tourist who will be *travelling tomorrow* can start seeing the horizon and the frame from green becomes blue: from a sense of hope the video is veering to *opportunity*.

Figure 4 - #TravelTomorrow video. *Opportunity* shot.

From this *opportunity*, indeed, you can see how *tomorrow* will be:

Figure 5 - #TravelTomorrow video. *Tomorrow* shot.

There is a change in the musical rhythm and tone when the frame #TravelTomorrow *for respect* appear, which, as a refrain, comes back in the *tomorrow* shot, as if indicating that only if you respect, you can have a future, *tomorrow*.

4.2 The Functional Analysis of the verbal text in #MagicalKenya

The functional investigation of the verbal text is based on the transitivity analysis of the Ideational function through which we will explore the deep social significance of the text. The Transitivity system construes our experience of life into a set of Processes, of Participants involved and a range of Circumstances. The text may be divided in two parts: the first part describes the serious trouble the world is experiencing whereas the second part contains the promise of enjoying the magic of Kenya.

The text[57] starts with the inclusive Participant 'we' that, together with the other two occurrences, shows clearly the speaker's attempt to align with the hearer. This use of 'we' is also 'expressive' in that it communicates solidarity (Mühlhäusler, Harré, 1990). The other occurrences of 'we' in the final part of the text are exclusive and represent the speaker who offers the destination to the recipient.

A total of 23 clauses is found in the verbal campaign where the Material Process accounts for half of the processes (50%), followed by Relational Processes (24%), and Mental Processes (12%). Existential Processes have not been used and their absence

[57] "We are living in unprecedented times, uncertain times in circumstances that see us as shoving our travel plans and instead #stayingathome. Because this is the right thing to do now. But this hot cloud of uncertainty will pass, giving way to a new dawn, a fresh start when we can get back to doing what we love, travelling the world, seeing new places and making new memories. Because adventure is worthwhile. Magical Kenya will be waiting to embrace you with the hospitality of its people, of warm sunny beaches. We'll be there to explore your mind, body and spirit. Be ready for an adventure of a lifetime as you go on unforgettable safari, enjoying our diverse culinary delights and take in the magic of Kenya.
We will be ready for you to tee off of to that important meeting.
We will be here for you to live the magic.
#MagicalKenya, the magic awaits."

may be due to the need of avoiding depictions of disorder and monotony.

Material Processes, those which involve "doing", give the audience a feeling of power and strength. Firstly, they are used to describe the emergency situation of the time (e.g. *we are living in unprecedented times*) and the action required to overcome these hard times (e.g. *stay at home*). Secondly, through the application of Material Processes, the speaker is intentionally hoping the listener to react since this *hot cloud will pass*. The use of the metaphor of the 'dawn' matches this hope. Dawn is the light that is born, it is the novelty that awaits us in the day, it is the renewal of life because the sun begins its service and life begins again frenetically and relentlessly. Starting a new today, it feels like leaving behind everything that weighed on us, while hoping for the change of tomorrow. This metaphorical image gives us the strength to face this situation in the hope of returning to normal life soon.

Relational Processes account for a quarter of all processes. The first Relational Process of the Identifying type makes the rule to be respected crystal clear: staying at home *is the right thing to do now.* The second Process of the same type identifies the reward for this effort of being isolated now (e.g. *Because adventure is worthwhile*). The following Relational Processes are of the Circumstantial type and they set up a relation between the speaker who will be waiting for the recipient/tourist (e.g. *we will be there for you*) in the promised land that is Kenya.

The third type of process most represented is the Mental one, namely processes of "sensing". In the first part of the text the Circumstance of time of the first clause (e.g. *in unprecedented times*) becomes the Senser of the following Mental Process (e.g. *see*) where the Phenomenon is seen as the Fact (e.g. *us as shoving our travel plans*) that cannot be changed. Mental Processes, which express such inner activities like affection and perception, shape the second part of the verbal campaign to strike a sympathetic chord in the hearts of the audience (e.g. *what we love; enjoying our diverse culinary delights*). In this way, the audience will unconsciously accept the speaker's viewpoint and make themselves on the same side, which is what the speakers want.

Apart the initial Circumstance of Time, which is in line with the topic of the campaign, there are other Circumstances worth mentioning such as the Circumstance of Accompaniment (e.g. *with hospitality of its people*) that realizes what complements the magic Kenya and the Circumstance of Purpose (e.g. *for an adventure of a lifetime*) which represents the type of holiday people will enjoy.

At the interpersonal level of the language, the analysis focused only on Modality, which expresses the attitude and viewpoint, communicative intention of the speaker and cultural information in discourse. The most frequent modal operator in the text is 'will' which performs two functions: it is employed in terms of modulation (goods-and-services) where the speaker is seen as the guarantor of truth (e.g. *the hot cloud will pass*) and as a modalizer when supplying information about what will happen in the future on the basis of his/her intentions.

4.2.1 Visual analysis of #MagicalKenya

The #MagicalKenya video is a representation in various shots of what the narrator is saying. In other words, what is said and visually depicted: namely, that we are living in unprecedented and uncertain times, but staying at home is necessary for our safety. When we can come back we will travel again, and Kenya will welcome us. All this is underlined with an over-imposed text and with a changing rhythm of the music at 00:01; 1:05; 1:15 seconds, to make the whole clip more dramatic. The *unprecedented times* are depicted with empty airports; the *hot cloud of uncertainties* are represented with clouds, which *will give a new a new dawn* – immediately reproduced with a shot of a dawn on a (Kenyan) seaside resort; this *fresh start* will give us back what we love more, i.e., travelling: and here, an airplane of Kenya airline company is seen flying. From this moment on, the texts stop being overimposed and the #MagicaKenya promotional tone begins: Kenya awaits prospective tourists with its hospitality, *sunny beaches*, *adventures*, *safari*, *culinary delight*, or even to help them in *important meetings*. All these words, again, are visually accompanied by corresponding shots, where Narrative pictures

are mixed with the Conceptual picture of delights as in the examples below in Fig. 6.

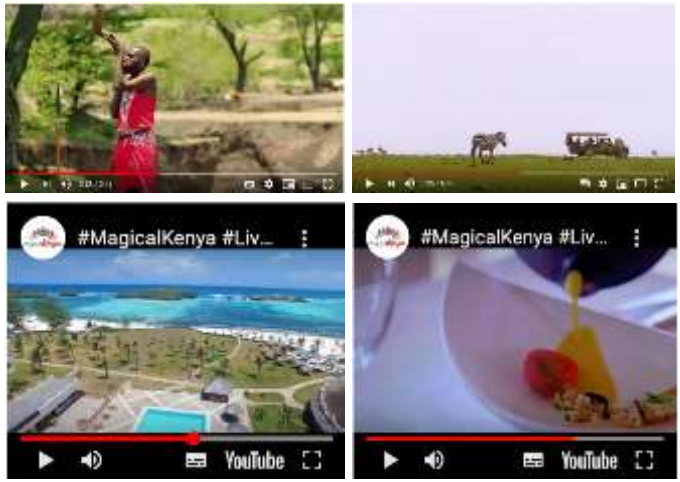

Figure 6 - #magicalKenya. Representation of *sunny beaches*, *adventures*, *safari*, *culinary delight*

In all the shots, people in the videoclip are usually depicted as rarely looking at the camera: in line with modulation emerged in the verbal text, they are offering themselves as models, specimens of the locals living in the destination. They are an example of authenticity (Dann, 1996) as can be seen in the frame on the top left of Fig. 6: Kenyans are always with local and traditional dresses, acting as local guides in the safari, or dancing the local Maasai Adumu dance – which incidentally is a warrior rite of passage. Medium long shots reproducing locals imply a certain level of intimacy (Kress, van Leeuwen, 2006): they are perceived as 'friends'. Locals are indeed shot as smiling people, confirming the hospitality the narrator speaks about. Safaris are represented as a form of not too dangerous adventure: animals are never represented as aggressive, but quietly strolling here and there, to such an extent that prospective tourists can walk on the savanna. Climate is wonderful and food tasty – to Western standard (cf. Maci, 2013).

Finally, the frontal angle used in most of these pictures reinforces the message of solidarity in that this choice suggests that what we see here is part of our world, something we are involved with.

5. Discussion and conclusion

With the purpose of exploring the relationship between linguistic structures and socially constructed meaning in the UNTWO campaign, a functional analysis has been performed on the short text of the campaign followed by a semiotic analysis on the shots displayed in the videoclip.

The transitivity analysis has demonstrated that the speaker predominantly made use of Material Processes which was quite revealing in terms of actions people are called to. Following the persuasive style of the verbal text, the audience is then assumed to be swayed to stay at home and give up travelling now. Persuasion is then reinforced by emotions, realized through Mental Processes, whereas the promise activated by Circumstantial Relational Processes represents Kenya as the magic destination where the reunion with the audience will take place.

The video #TravelTomorrow created to help the tourism industry to cope with the coronavirus issue all around the world is a subtle videoclip which plays with words and colours: the meaning has to be understood by the prospective tourist or the stakeholder who, by linking various words through colour, can have a correct reading of the text by putting in the correct order the different implicit coloured lines, as if having different tiles of a puzzle: because from all this a big *opportunity* will be given for *tomorrow*. The hashtag #TravelTomorrow has been picked up by Kenya Tourism Board as revealed by their response #MagicalKenya. The videoclip they created starts from trying to cope with a real issue, which can be solved with #StayingAtHome. As can be detected, #StayingAtHome is a request for the #TravelTomorrow for *respect* and *opportunity*. An opportunity Kenya jumps at, by offering all the possibilities prospective tourists will have once everybody will be ready to start again. Colour and music put an emphasis on the magic Kenya offers – authenticity

hidden in the usual stereotypes the tourism industry creates to persuade prospective tourists to buy holiday packages off the beaten track (Maci, 2013).

The two-level investigation has revealed that information mingles with persuasion; furthermore, if on the one hand the campaign is an invitation to accept and respect the world decision to fight against the virus, on the other hand it represents an opportunity to promote a known tourist destination. The metaphor of the dawn highlights the division between the uncertain present due to covid-19 and the bright future in Kenya as a tourist choice.

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Imagining the post-Covid-19 world of travel: avoiding fear, anxiety and distress

Milos Nicic*

Abstract:
This article brings together the notions of fear, anxiety and distress as important factors of imaginaries in tourism and travel. By analyzing the ways pandemics of Covid-19 virus creates a specific shared experience of fear and alters practices of global travel, I propose potential developments in the tourism dynamics of the upcoming period and suggest possible ways out of the fear and discomfort ridden imaginaries of post-pandemics travel.
Key words: *Imaginaries, Fear, Tourism*

The notion and feeling of fear are constitutive elements of the human condition, but what constitutes that feeling is highly dependent on the context in which the fear occurs. So, what is frightful for a youngster in, let us say, city of Modena in 2020 will not even remotely resemble the reasons for fear to an elderly person in the year 1780 residing somewhere by the Baltic seaside. Taking the matter further to the past, during the antiquity, fears were tied to concrete and tangible matters, "affects relating to situations and objects" (Dinzelbacher, 1993), while the feeling of general, worldly (Welt) fear, so strongly present during the Romanticism, was rather unknown to our classical ancestors. Kierkegaard tried to explain this duality of anxiogenic feelings in his famous essay "Fear and Trembling" (1843 [1986]) by introducing two notions – fear (relating to general, unspecific danger) and anxiety (relating to rather specific and confineable danger), all in order to explain in greater depth the array of unsettling feelings that characterize the person of contemporary times (in the West). Alongside with philosophical, historical and scientific considerations of this concepts, fear of pandemics throughout the years has been distributed and framed through politics, media outlets and popular culture, channels through

* Milos Nicic, University of Belgrade, milos.nicic@fpn.bg.ac.rs.

which such fears and anxieties are understood, but also constituted and imagined.

The pandemics of Covid-19 virus however is a specific case when it comes to this matter and it could be broadly understood as a state of shared experience of fear, a specific social climate emblematic for cases in which a great number of people fear directly, together and in a comparable manner, combining feelings of individual unsettle and communal unrest into various fears and anxieties, ranging from existential and health levels, to social, economic, environmental and other. This shared experience unwillingly and even unconsciously creates a community of fear which, in times, informs all (or majority at least) our worldviews and activities, from family relations, to socializing and consumption patterns, in which tourism and travel stand central.

The centrality of tourism-induced mobility is not only a consequence, but a constitutive force of contemporary world and social relations in which global tourism brings together main pillars of Western (post)modernity – free flow of people, capital and ideas that consequently speed up circulations of imaginaries based on established and newly formed narratives (Salazar, 2010). In other words, to think of tourism mobility, of free passage of borders, of travel-induced consumption and social positioning that comes with participation in global travel industry means to think of "normality", of everyday and of a world standing "firmly on its foundations" (Hall, 2010). This concept is well described by Urry (2002, p. 157) - „One is entitled to travel since it is an essential part of one's life. Cultures become so mobile that contemporary citizens (not just Americans!) are thought to possess the right to pass over and into other places and other cultures'.[59] Tourism and travel therefore surpasses the level of leisure activity and bear

[59] It is important to mention here that being a citizen described here by Urry and having a right to travel actually refers to a very specific and limited number of citizenships. The counter notion of travel restrictions to people (also citizens) whose mobility is understood as suspicious and require previous checks (visas, grants of passages, etc.) or as a threat, like in the cases of migrants, refugees, apatrides atc. only reafirms the fact that travel stands central in the understanding of the relations in the contemporary world (Bianchi, 2006).

broader significance to the holistic individual and societal recovery of communities and countries infected with the pandemics.

This is precisely why the reestablishment of travel and tourism as we knew it in the pre-Covid era will be crucial to the process of overcoming the emotional, psychological and social scars of the pandemics. However, new realities of isolation, quarantine, social distancing and community containment (Wilder-Smith, Freedman, 2020) are impeachable impediment to returning back to unrestricted mobility, yet alone unrestricted tourism participation. In such light tourism professionals should actively work on containing the feelings of fear, anxiety and distress among the prospective travelers and understand the reasons for such a colossal task. By constructing a viable space to think (about) travel and tourism in the imposed new circumstances and shifted realities, to imagine traveling under new rules, we will not only keep the industry alive, but also greatly contribute to the long process of healing.

Initial step towards avoiding the fearful imagination of tourism is understanding that tourism is not facing its first crisis; as a matter of fact, the discourse of tourism in the XXI century has been intrinsically connected with the state of crisis and overcoming its negative effects (Paraskevas *et al.*, 2013; Richter, 2003). Be it the overpopulation, gentrification, pollution, destruction of natural and human heritage, or terrorism, nuclear disasters, political instabilities and wars, tourism has long departed from the golden era of leisure time under the 3S – sand, sea and sun. Each crisis developed new modalities of travel and participating in tourism, out of which new consumer needs derived, as well as new ways of satisfying these needs. As a response to some of the crisis we are now talking about dark tourism (Lennon, Foley, 2000), exits from tourism (Delaplace, Gravari-Barbas, 2016), tourism of the ordinary (Gravari-Barbas *et al.*, 2019) and many other forms that have altered the way we conceptualize travel.

As tourism is not facing its first crisis, travelers are not afraid of traveling for the first time. Many events and processes led to increasingly higher numbers of reports from potential or actual travelers, underling feelings of unease and tensions connected to security issues at critical points of tourism (airports, heritage cites,

city centers) and mass character of transportation (air travel and security-originating fear of flying), ultimately resulting in a feeling of discomfort (Korstanje, 2011) when travel is imagined. The spatial and social diffusion of fear is not singular and monolith, as one might conceive, but differs among age groups, travel types and nationalities (Reisinger, Mavondo, 2005). Nevertheless, top three risks associated with tourism are those relating to terrorism, war, instability and health issues (Richter, 2003). One might expect that feelings of anxiety related to mass character of tourism - being part of the crowd and in huge groups of people will be joined with real health hazards posed by the Covid-19 virus into general feeling of discomfort and fear, feeling that will influence travel behavior and consumption patterns. Another point made by Richter (*ibidem*, p. 343) is the conflicting streams of (de)regulation between health issues and free travel – "There should be more, not fewer, requirements for entry to and return from some countries".

This time, although the crisis is global and fear is shared by both supply and demand sides, by countries, communities and individuals alike, will be no different. However, before we look into potential ways out of the fear-ridden imagination of tourism, let us consider some of the immediate consequences of newly imposed regulations based on the principles of social and physical distancing.

Some of the most important preconditions for traveling are the sense of safety while voyaging, disposable income and available time to spend away from the places of inhabitance. Pandemics has made all these a rather uncertain category for many of the world's potential travelers. Disposable incomes had already been altered in various ways: lowered in amounts as a consequence of lower absolute incomes, work from home cuts, obligatory leaves etc. and more importantly, it has been altered in the way that - what used to be travel money is now put aside "for troublesome days" that might come. In other words, immediate future of travel will suffer not only from the lack of disposable funds from part of the travelers, but from the "fear of spending" and self-imposed restrictive behavior from those whose incomes have not suffered cuts as well. In direct relation to the lockdowns, working from home, imposed periods of non-work and other

alternations to normal work routine of the societies affected by the pandemics lies the period of increased working activity after the regulations have been eased. This will consequently take away established holiday periods, alter the seasonality as we know it and make work/holiday calendar subject to change and shift. Sense of safety and the perceived risk of traveling (together with the absolute risk, cf. Haddock, 1993) are, for many reasons here already mentioned, main agent of change for the post-Covid-19 tourism and traveling. It is so more than the previous two as it affects all those potential holidaymakers who have not been concerned by the factors such as funds and free-time.

Regulations and restrictions proposed by the EU Commission (2020) and many of the receptive European countries include severe changes to accustomed levels of comfort, ease and relaxation associated with leisure, heritage, religion, tourism, and not only. Transportation, accommodation, activities on the destination and pretty much every other aspect of travel will be affected, and it will be the change that will bring the feeling of unease, anxiety and discomfort, rather that the real threat of infection. In other words, social and spatial space of travel and tourism will bear too much of the mundane in itself, too much of the same Covid-19 related restrictions that are resembling home, that it will not allow for the break from the everyday (Larsen, 2008) and immersion into the feeling of extraordinary. Some of the proposed necessary changes in hotel industry in one of the largest seaside destination in Europe – Greece will include the obligatory removal of all decorative items from hotel rooms, including magazines, coffee making facilities, even mini-bar items; radical changes to buffet restaurants or even removal of buffet meal plans, even severe limitations to the number of people in swimming pools.

Simultaneously, all forms of mass gatherings related to tourism will be forbidden or altered. Lines in front of major heritage sites, pilgrimages to holy places, even the ticket office lines for museums, theaters and amusement parks will undergo forceful changes, shifting the industry even more to digital ground. Consequently, with the social and physical distancing, majority of the services, goods and spaces of tourism will become more

exclusive, making the very travel more expensive activity and more exclusive social practice. How then to ponder about and react to the negative aspects of the newly formed tourism and travel realities?

1) *Information become ever-more important*. Travelers will go an extra mile to stay properly updated and informed about various aspects of issues impacting the potential or planed voyage. Societal confusion and potential dangers stemming up from "fake news" disseminated through alternative media outlets will eventually cost travelers more than the effort invested in obtaining proper and trustworthy information. Because proper information will mean more experiences during this period of extended exclusivity of travel, intentionally fake news or unconfirmed sources will mean exactly the opposite. This will bring under the spotlight official, governmental and destination websites and editorial board based portals, a fact that should be taken most seriously by various destination management actors. Journeys will be more thought of, prepared and calculated, as certain portion of spontaneity will surely drop due to explained exclusivity. This will bring more meaningful travel experience and less mindless and carnivorous devouring characterized by mass tourism. One will choose one island instead of doing island hopping, or one city to explore instead of regional tour. Focus will be on quality, not quantity.

2) *Traveling local*. In the atmosphere of fear, anxiety and discomfort, high prices and long hours regarding air travel, reducing the travel distance will play a major role in decisions to take part in tourism. Several reasons might be considered that go in favor of such a projection: a) travel insurance will hardly be available in the form we know it now, as guaranteeing medical care while on the trip becomes increasingly difficult with Covid-19 dominating the health landscape; b) in the unwanted case of medical need, or even corona virus infection while traveling, complete homebound journey might still be feasible; c) risk of closed borders greatly drops if traveling locally means crossing no borders (even Schengen ones) or only one. Being able to imagine getting home safely and in case of need or emergency will play a big part in making potential travelers feel secure and comfortable

while deciding to travel. Tourism professionals should take part in that process.

3) *Think small, explore alternative*. Since large gatherings, crowded sites and mass transportation becomes unavailable, travelers' focus might shift to various forms of alternative, small scale, marginalized or alternative forms of tourism practices. From staying in small family-run hotels, rented AirBnB apartments or other forms of accommodation that guarantees reduced contact levels, to meeting the locals instead of meeting the location, to making your own food instead of eating out. Tourism of the ordinary (Gravari-Barbas *et al.*, 2019), of exploring our own "back yard", even our own city will be on the rise, as in the reduced possibilities to travel, we will have to perform more the role of a tourist and imagine the setting of tourism. Major rise might be expected in regional or even local celebrations, feasts and festivals, as the carnivalesque atmosphere per se has the capacity to shortly suspend the social norms and grasps of the mundane and make space and time of the extraordinary (Bakhtin, 2009).

4) *Flexibility will be much appreciated*. All forms of flexibility, from booking modifications and cancellations, ticket changes and refunds, special offers and added value deals will become ever more important in reducing the fear, anxiety and distress feeling related to traveling. Pandemics and various forms of lockdowns made us static, stationary and left with a feeling of powerlessness; anything that brings back the ability to influence the course of actions in our own favor, such as flexible travel deals, anything that brings back the feeling of control of our own lives, such as refundable vouchers, will break ice among the potential travelers and strengthen the decisions to travel.

Tourism greatly impacts our everyday life, no matter whether we are traveling or staying put, and it will keep on doing so. Understanding the ways it might adapt to post Covid-19 realities will not only make the industry and its employees adaptive to changes, but also proactive to future epochs when all of today will be a matter of the past.

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If visitors won't go to Heritage, Heritage must go to visitors. Digitisation of Heritage in time of Corona

Sanja Iguman*

Abstract:
The purpose of this paper is to examine some of the numerous circumstances that the whole world faced in 2020 due to the unprecedented Covid-19 outbreak. By sourcing the inspiration in Heritage Studies, the focus is on the impacts that Coronavirus has had on travel, cultural tourism and that way on art, culture and heritage itself.
In addition, the paper introspects how did the globalization and rapid technological development bring to the immediate transition from material/traditional ways of preserving and interpreting heritage to the digital/virtual ones.
Through some examples, we will see the challenges that heritage managers and stakeholders have faced in this state of emergency, but also some of the best practices that allowed people to consume heritage from their homes.
Due to the fact that the Coronavirus pandemic is still active at the moment of writing these lines, precise and thorough analysis of the matter are still impossible. However, some initial reflections are more than welcome, since this situation will definitely have long-term impacts on our society and needs to be addressed immediately and seriously.
Keywords: *Covid-19, Digital, Heritage*

The beginning of the 2020 marked off the beginning of a great change that occurred on our planet. So many things will never be the same after the Coronavirus pandemic. In this short paper, we will see the changes that refer to heritage, with some reflections on tourism and travel. In addition, we will see how heritage managers have coped with these radical changes in order to ensure that people stay in touch with heritage even through the lockdown.

The present situation is unavoidable consequence of the globalization process, which currently demands social (although I prefer to use *physical*) distancing, redrawing from real/material dimension, into the digital/virtual one.

* Sanja Iguman, University of Bergamo, sanja.iguman@unibg.it.

However, what is fascinating is the speed of the adjustments and transformations that have been made since the very beginning of this crisis. Most certainly, one of the reasons for this fast transition from traditional to digital consumption of heritage (but also art, culture, etc.) is thanks to the years of its "preparation" – the process of heritage digitisation.

As soon as the pandemic was proclaimed (somewhere even before that), most governments have taken measures to restrict movements of people and access to certain areas. These measures brought to countless museums, galleries, and heritage sites to be partly or (in majority of cases) completely closed down. According to UNESCO, this includes the closure of natural and cultural World Heritage sites in the 167 countries they are located in:

- The List includes a total of 1,121 natural, cultural and mixed World Heritage sites;
- For some types of sites such as city centres, urban ensembles or agricultural landscapes access may be still possible to certain public areas of the sites, while other parts of the site may be closed, including site museums, visitor centres, religious or emblematic buildings;
- For some countries, sites are being re-opened, such as in China;
- While sites are closed, monitoring activities by site management may continue, especially for natural sites, including anti-poaching units, monitoring by satellite images or drones and emergency interventions, for example in case of fires[61]."

At this moment, we still do not have precise analysis of the effects that Covid-19 has had on any domain, since unfortunately, at the time of writing this paper, it is still quite active. However, natural and cultural heritage sites would most probably suffer less than institutions preserving heritage objects indoor – museums for instance. Pyramids, Chinese Wall or Grand Canyon exist for millennia, even without the assistance of humans (heritage

[61] https://en.unesco.org/covid19/cultureresponse/monitoring-world-heritage-site-closures.

workers). However, maintaining a gallery or a museum implies a series of commitments and large number of employees, depending on their size. According to the confirmations of ICOM, thousands of museums around the world are closed down, without a precise date of reopening. There is a realistic threat that some museums that are momentarily closed, risk to be permanently shut down due to financial concerns:

"In Italy, the cultural sector is expected to lose 3 billion euros in the next semester; in Spain, 980 million euros just in April. The American Alliance of Museums (AAM) estimates that a third of museums in the United States will not reopen. Thousands of museum professionals in particular those in freelance and precarious employments are on the verge of losing their subsistence or already did" (ICOM, April 2020)[62].

These risks do not refer only to large museums and galleries, but to the small ones, perhaps even more. Freelance artists, small artistic and cultural associations suffer much more from the financial loss and their survival depends on their governments` help. One of the numerous examples that confirms this notion is coming from Serbia where all the national competitions for the 2020, in the spheres of art, culture and heritage have been cancelled.

All the competitions within the project "Novi Sad 2021 – European Capital of Culture" have been stopped as well. Finally, cultural sector in Serbia will be excluded from the planned financial help within the re-budgeting process after the Covid-19 pandemic.

This is very problematic if we have in mind that art, culture and heritage are essential parts of the identity of the peoples and nations they belong to. Museums as cabinets of curiosities, depositories of knowledge, accumulated for centuries, have a key-role for the present and future of humanity, which actually becomes even more apparent in times of uncertainty such as the ones we are living now (Howard, 2003).

Art, culture and heritage are increasingly becoming intertwined with tourism when it comes to cultural development, identity

[62] https://icom.museum/en/news/statement-on-the-necessity-for-relief-funds-for-museums-during-the-covid-19-crisis/.

formation, economic growth and social cohesion. UNWTO estimates that Cultural tourism accounts for almost 40% of all international tourism (Richards and Marques, 2018). However, according to the latest report from UNWTO on the 28th of April 2020[63], the present restrictions on travel represent the most severe ones in history - with 100% of destinations now having restrictions in place.

Being aware of the previously said, heritage managers did physically close the doors of museums, galleries and other similar institutions due to the Covid-19 pandemic, but on the other hand, they made them accessible to their audience more than ever, by opening the virtual doors, almost always for free. Plenty of museums and galleries have seized this occasion to re-engage with their audiences and reach new ones through creative and innovative digital solutions such as virtual tours, collections, concerts, videos, games, courses and conferences that can be attended from home.

ICCROM, ICOM, UNESCO, EUROPA NOSTRA and numerous other institutions, organizations and associations around the world are working fast and hard to launch initiatives to support cultural industries and cultural heritage at this challenging time. For instance, Europa Nostra has launched a platform called Digital Agora, which aims at sharing and promoting best practices related to culture and cultural heritage from across the world, but in a digital form. The idea by Europa Nostra is that through Digital Agora, citizens, heritage organisations and stakeholders are encouraged to connect, interact and learn from each other, in this difficult time of the COVID-19 pandemic (Europa Nostra Agora launched, March 2020)[64].

Due to the rapid technological development in the recent years, we have already seen both the offer and the need for the heritage digitisation. Thanks to it, we are able to preserve documents, works of art, videos, sounds and other material in a digital form, but also to interpret them in such a way. Here are some examples from Serbia that have been vastly explored during

[63] https://www.unwto.org/news/covid-19-travel-restrictions
[64] https://www.europanostra.org/europa-nostra-agora-launched/).

the Covid-19 pandemic, although most of them have been created years before:

- Virtual tours of the heritage sites such as fortresses and archaeological excavations:

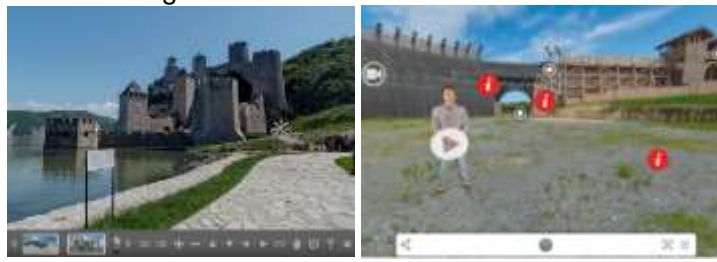

Figure 1 – Virtual tour of the Golubac Fortress[65] and Virtual tour of the Viminacium, Roman city and the legionary fort[66]

- Virtual tours of the landscapes:

Figure 2 – Virtual tour of Loznica city and the surroundings[67]

- Virtual tours in museums:

Figure 3 – Museum of Vojvodina[68]

[65] https://srbija-projektieu.rs
[66] https://viminacium.futuring.rs/sr#domus-2
[67] http://togl.rs/virtuelna-tura/index.html
[68] http://www.muzejvojvodine.org.rs/images/virtuelni_muzej_vojvodine/virtuelna_stalna_p_muzika.html

As we can see, now more than ever, it is simple to travel and visit museums and heritage sites "from our sofa". We can even find the titles on the Internet similar to "do you really need to go out, when you can enjoy the visit from your home", etc. In my view, here we could easily cross the line and turn the contemporary benefit into a permanent threat. What will happen if we decide to permanently avoid standing in the lines, physical visits, consuming art, heritage and culture on the spot, interaction with people and at the end, leaving our homes?

Firstly, due to the lack of the maintenance and protection, reduced funding, as well as loss of related beliefs and activities, we will increase the possibility of closing places of tangible heritage where actually physical consuming of it takes place, that way jeopardizing thousands of job positions.

Further, what about Heritage itself?

"Heritage is the contemporary use of the past […] The interpretation of the past in history, the surviving relict buildings and artefacts and collective and individual memories are all harnessed in response to current needs which include the identification of individuals with social, ethnic and territorial entities and the provision of economic resources for commodification within heritage industries." (Ashworth, Tunbridge, 1999, p. 105).

We are taught of the impacts that tourism has on heritage: physical, environmental, socio-cultural and economic. These impacts happen when people physically overconsume heritage. But what happens when people do not consume it? A site, an object, a tradition, a building becomes heritage only when people (through a certain span of time) assign to it a certain value: historical, symbolic, spiritual, aesthetic or social (Thimothy, Boyd, 2003). Therefore, without consuming heritage, does it lose its value and significance? This doubt particularly refers to intangible heritage, which definitely loses its value if it is not practiced, used, seen, read, tasted… because then the risk is that it becomes forgotten, neglected, and eventually that it loses its value.

The strongest impact this lock-down has had on heritage is most certainly on intangible one. Small and large festivals, events, activities that have normally been carried out annually now have been postponed. The problem is that intangible heritage is something to be experienced directly; therefore, no digital tool can substitute it properly. Certainly, storytelling, archival documentation, audio/video transcriptions help to preserve the memory of intangible heritage, but practicing/experiencing it, at the moment, is impossible.

The fact is that during the Covid-19 pandemic, digital technologies saved many jobs in various sectors; our social relations; our mental wellbeing by providing various contents for the time of physical isolation and the contact with our friends and families. However, this somehow confirmed that we are dependent on them, that rapid digitisation of all our life is now taking over material life. This fact is quite controversial and thought provoking: digitalization is helping us while showing that it very much dominates our lives.

To conclude, once again and this time in a harsh way, we have been reminded that we live in a small world, with a strong need for global solidarity and co-operation, where the significance of individuality, borders and nationalities has been questioned. Also: "Maybe it is time to start identifying and promoting a new kind of world heritage that is not employed to bolster national pride and generate financial benefits for a limited group. We might be better served by a world heritage that reaffirms the many interconnections and common interests between all branches and specimen of humanity – and indeed between humans and other living beings on this planet" (ICOMOS, Heritage Futures Webinar).

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Part IV

BEHAVIOURS AND SOCIAL IMPACTS AFTER A PANDEMIC

Commons and the tourism sector facing a pandemic

Roberto Peretta*

Abstract:
The outbreak of the Covid-19 pandemic took the tourism sector by surprise. Discussion about resilience started immediately, and has instinctively been bottom-up. A point that has emerged among Italian professionals and scholars is the local dimension of potential solutions. Separate issues, like sustainability to be granted on a territorial level to attract foreign visitors in the future, awareness that reaction against the pandemic either starts from local stakeholders or does not start at all, and the need of sanitization to be carried out massively throughout a destination, all may be referred to the concept of common goods, i.e. goods beyond individual properties – entities that have owners but are not owned personally. In a word, Commons. Strictly speaking, Commons belong to a prefeudal organization of societies, where pastures are shared and run smoothly by local communities. Commons like these are still alive here and there across the Alps and in Switzerland. Commons, however, are also at the origin of urban parks in the British Isles, and the field in which Elinor Ostrom was awarded the Nobel Prize in Economics in 1994. What's interesting, the digital protocol and language that billions of people have relied on to keep communicating during the lockdown after the Covid-19 outbreak are Commons, too. No one individually owns the World-Wide Web or initiatives like Wikipedia, nor – the keyword, again – Creative Commons.
Keywords: *tourism, pandemic, commons*

Online discussion among tourism professionals and scholars started immediately after the Covid-19 outbreak. This was not surprising. As the result of a combination among infrastructures, industries, services and people, the tourism sector does suffer instantly from any lacks in the infrastructures, industries or services involved. It happened worldwide after 9/11, on a regional scale after political turmoil, and locally after terrorism attacks (Zibanai, 2014).

* Roberto Peretta, University of Bergamo, roberto.peretta@unibg.it and University of Trento roberto.peretta@unitn.it.

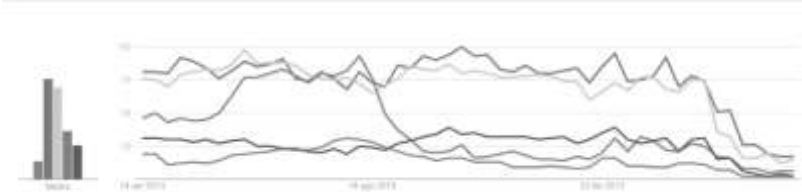

Figure 1 - Hotel reservations in Lombardy 2019-2020
Source: Google Trends, April 2020

A pandemic, like the one ignited by Covid-19, triggers a very powerful mix of disruptions in tourism. Transport is significantly halted, travels are regulated if not stopped, no tourism attractions can be accessed, and congregations of people – those concerning accommodation and dining included – are limited (European Commission, 2020; Italia, 2020).

1. Discussion in Italy

Professional and scholarly discussion after the Covid-19 outbreak has been intense in Italy, a country where the tourism sector is reckoned to account for some 13% of total national employment (European Commission, 2018). Among the initiatives which have been feeding the discussion, #tuscanytogether (a digital initiative by Regione Toscana, https://tuscanytogether.edubit.it/) and online webinars hosted by The Data Appeal Company (an Italian data business, https://datappeal.io/) should be mentioned for quality of interventions and authoritativeness of speakers.

2. Sustainability

A session at #tuscanytogether made clear that the sector's reaction to the Covid-19 pandemic can be effective only if destinations address the sustainability issue as a whole (Cagol, 2020). In fact, it is understood that no visitors may be entranced by a place where health conditions are dubious – even less so in the future – on a scene where travellers already appeared to prefer eco-friendly accommodation before Covid-19 burst out (Booking.com, 2019).

During a Data Appeal webinar held on March 30, 2020 (https://youtu.be/7e9bqhUR4oc) serious sustainability (and cost) issues were said to be expected on the accommodation side: how will hotels be able to sanitize lift buttons or air conditioning systems in real time?

Professionals taking part in the same webinar observed that selfishness led some destinations to make major communication mistakes on the first days of the outbreak. Indeed, the case of the "Milano non si

ferma" campaign ("Milan does not stop", https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Gr0Nsrz7W3s), launched by the City of Milan on February 27, 2020, may be mentioned to prove that sustainability was not considered a priority at all. The campaign endangered the destination's brand and – last but not least – contributed to the spreading of the disease. Less than a month later, the Mayor of Milan openly apologized (https://twitter.com/chetempochefa/status/1241861330224795650).

3. A voice from Val Seriana

During the Data Appeal webinar mentioned above, an apparently minor voice from the destinations world appeared to deserve attention. Serena Bonetti from Promoserio, a consortium acting as the local destination management organization, said that the reaction against pandemic in her Val Seriana and Val di Scalve – mountain valleys just north of a major concentration of Covid-19 – consisted in strengthening the community links, on both the digital and the interpersonal level.

> *Nel giro di pochissimo tempo si è passati ad avere il virus in casa. […] Come destinazione abbiamo cercato di mantenere un tono di ottimismo all'esterno. […] Ma una destinazione […] deve cercare anche di fare una riflessione su quello che sta accadendo all'interno, perché la destinazione si forma anche con gli operatori […].*
>
> *Sul nostro portale abbiamo creato una pagina con tutte le diverse iniziative degli amministratori locali e i servizi di consegna a domicilio […]. Abbiamo cercato di distribuire il nostro magazine, che è il nostro mezzo di comunicazione cartacea […] con storie delle persone che vivono il territorio. […] Un altro ruolo importante che abbiamo cercato di mantenere è il contatto, il fatto di essere di riferimento per situazioni di aiuto […], anche per camere in affitto per operatori sanitari e […] per una raccolta fondi per l'ospedale di Piario, un presidio locale che è di riferimento soprattutto per l'alta valle […]; queste […] esperienze ci aiuteranno quando dovremo ripartire.*

Instinctive reaction to the pandemic has been perceived as the key for tourism to be relaunched.

4. La Ville du quart d'heure

On a much larger urban scene, a bottom-up spatial organization of local life has been proposed by Anne Hidalgo, Mayor of Paris, France. The idea of "La Ville du quart d'heure" is based on similar experiences in

Barcelona (the "superblocks"), London ("Every One Every Day") and Portland, OR. On a district level, services should – and can – be made reachable by locals with no need of walking longer than for fifteen minutes. "Les mesures de confinement instaurées afin de lutter contre la propagation du coronavirus sont l'occasion de passer en ville à une autre temporalité, estime Carlos Moreno, professeur associé à l'Institut d'administration des entreprises de Paris" (Le Monde, 2020).

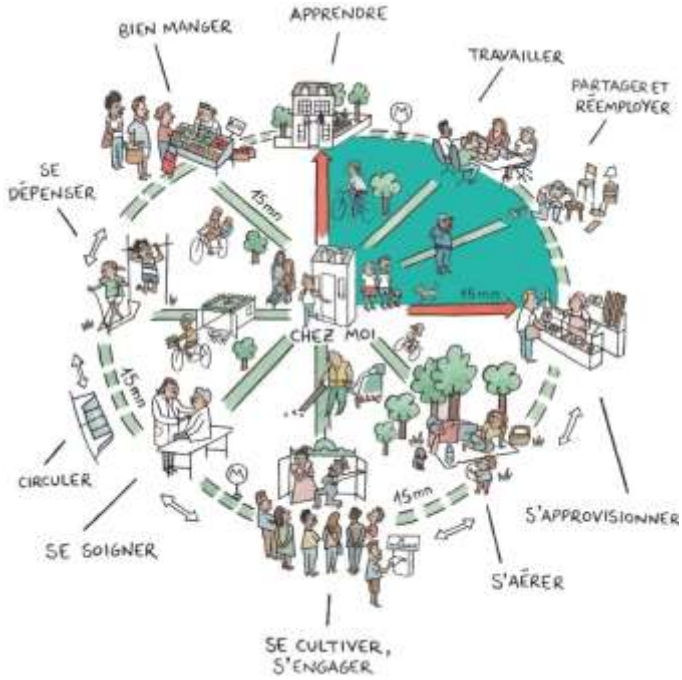

Figure 2 - Paris du quart d'heure
Source: https://www.citylab.com/

There is no reason to exclude a local management of tourist accommodation from this proposal.

5. Commons

The concept of Commons encompasses goods that a community shares, being they "an area of land for use by the

public" (from the Britannica "Commons" item), "the cultural and natural resources accessible to all members of a society" (from the Wikipedia "Commons" entry) or "a large area of open land in a town or village that people walk or play sport on" (according to the Longman dictionary of Contemporary English).

A research on "Shared ownership as a key issue of Swiss history" – related to a country where cases of prefeudal societal organization survive – was recently released by an authoritative academic publisher, as the first chapter in a collective book on Commons in a glocal world (Haller *et al*, 2019). The whole book provides a lot of relevant sources and suggestions.

Commons was also the keyword under which Elinor Ostrom (1933-2012), the first woman ever to win the Nobel Prize in Economics, was awarded the Prize in 1994 "for her analysis of economic governance, especially the commons". Here is how The Nobel Foundation summarizes her work.

It was long unanimously held among economists that natural resources that were collectively used by their users would be over-exploited and destroyed in the long-term. Elinor Ostrom disproved this idea by conducting field studies on how people in small, local communities manage shared natural resources, such as pastures, fishing waters, and forests. She showed that when natural resources are jointly used by their users, in time, rules are established for how these are to be cared for and used in a way that is both economically and ecologically sustainable (The Nobel Prize, 2009).

6. Digital Commons

A broader sort of Commons, on a global scale, has been represented during the pandemic by the World-Wide Web (and, well... webcams.). The role of the Web after the Covid-19 outbreak has been – as we all have been forced to recognize – crucial and invaluable. Information technologies (IT) have provided the only available ground where human communication is kept alive, and discussion held, under a lockdown. By the way, this matter of fact has confirmed that digital machinery and human lives have definitively intertwined (Floridi, 2014).

Figure 3 – The Rotterdams Philharmonisch Orkest performs the Anthem of Europe from their homes during the lockdown
Source: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3eXT60rbBVk

On the other hand, yet still under an IT approach, clashes between politicians and virologists about measures to be enforced to fight the spreading of the disease have brought the general public to reconsider the role of data. The consciousness has grown that any decision-making model involving challenges and solutions does require a reliable set of data, solid methodologies and a working information system in between (Laudon, Laudon, 2014).

Back to tourism, it should be noted that an approach based on information systems has been proposed to confront overtourism (Mich, 2020). A parallel question rises. Can a similar approach be embraced now, to help addressing the current "no tourism" crisis?

An analysis on the web presence solutions locally adopted by different destinations during the pandemic might play a role in contributing to an initial answer. This analysis is a task that both tourism professionals and students from the relevant courses in some Italian universities are currently performing.

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The crisis of labour in the tourism and hospitality sectors during the pandemic: discourses and strategies

Gabriella Alberti and Domenico Perrotta*

Abstract:
This article deals with the impact of the Covid-19 pandemic on tourism and hospitality workers. Our aim is to provide a preliminary description of the crisis of labour during the health crisis from two different points of view. First, we consider some official documents and reports published by the United Nations World Tourism Organization (UNWTO) during the health crisis, with the aim of analysing the UNWTO representation of labour in the tourism sector. Second, we describe the measures taken by the government of the United Kingdom to support the tourism sector as well as the responses of hospitality workers – and their unions – to the crisis. Recalling that in this sector labour conditions are often below the standards established by collective agreements and that severe abuses and violations of workers' rights have been reported, we argue that the representations of labour and the governments' strategies during the pandemic may prefigure a return to the "normality", i.e. to the severe exploitation of labour in tourism and hospitality.
Keywords: *Hospitality workers, Covid-19, UNWTO, Labour Unions*

1. Introduction

This contribution deals with the impact of the Covid-19 pandemic on labour in the tourism and hospitality sectors. The health crisis and the measures adopted by governments for the protection of public health have had an enormous impact on the tourism sector and, of course, on the millions tourism workers worldwide. Our aim is to provide a preliminary description of the crisis of labour in the tourism and hospitality sector, from two different points of view. First, we consider some official documents and reports published by the United Nations World Tourism Organization (UNWTO) during the health crisis, with the aim of analysing the UNWTO representation of labour in the tourism sector. Second, we describe the measures taken by the government of the United Kingdom to support the tourism sector as well as the responses of hospitality workers – and their unions – to the crisis. Recalling that in this sector labour conditions are often below the standards established by collective agreements

and that severe abuses and violations of workers' rights have been reported, in the conclusion we argue that the representations of labour and the governments' strategies during the pandemic may prefigure a return to the "normality", i.e. to the severe exploitation of labour in tourism and hospitality.

2. The representation of tourism labour by UNWTO during the health crisis

This section presents a brief discourse analysis of some official documents and reports published by the UNWTO between March 24 and May, 7 2020[70] and in particular, their representation of labour in hospitality and tourism.

The discourse analysis methodology can be defined as the "practice of analysing empirical raw materials and information as discursive forms […] discourse analysts treat a wide range of linguistic and non-linguistic data – speeches, reports, manifestos, historical events, interviews, policies, ideas, even organisations and institutions – as 'texts' or 'writing' […] In other words, empirical data are viewed as sets of signifying practices that constitute a 'discourse' and its 'reality', thus providing the conditions which enable subjects to experience the world of objects, words, and practices" (Howarth, Stavrakakis, 2000, p. 4).

The UNWTO is "the United Nations agency responsible for the promotion of responsible, sustainable and universally accessible tourism"; in its website (www.untwo.org) the UNWTO defines itself as "the leading international organization in the field of tourism", which "promotes tourism as a driver of economic growth, inclusive

[70] We considered the following documents: 1) UNWTO, *Impact assessment of the Covid on international tourism*, Updated 24 March 2020, www.unwto.org/impact-assessment-of-the-covid-19-outbreak-on-international-tourism; 2) UNWTO & Sustainable Development Goals, *SUPPORTING JOBS AND ECONOMIES THROUGH TRAVEL & TOURISM. A Call for Action to Mitigate the Socio-Economic Impact of COVID-19 and Accelerate Recovery*, 1 April 2020, https://webunwto.s3.eu-west-1.amazonaws.com/s3fs-public/2020-04/COVID19_Recommendations_English_1.pdf; 3) UNWTO, *COVID – 19 RELATED TRAVEL RESTRICTIONS. A GLOBAL REVIEW FOR TOURISM,* First report as of 16 April 2020 (https://webunwto.s3.eu-west-1.amazonaws.com/s3fs-public/2020-04/TravelRestrictions_0.pdf); 4) UNTWO, *International tourism and COVID 19* (Last update 06/05/2020). www.unwto.org/international-tourism-and-covid-19

development and environmental sustainability and offers leadership and support to the sector in advancing knowledge and tourism policies worldwide" (www.unwto.org/about-us).

During March and April 2020, while most part of the planet was affected by the Covid19 pandemic, the UNWTO published a number of documents (official papers, reports, analyses), concerning the impact of the health crisis on the tourism sector (Documents 1 and 4), travel restrictions (Document 3), and, most importantly, recommendations to "mitigate the socio-economic impact of Covid-19 and accelerate recovery" (Document 2). The document published on April, 1st, in particular, was written in the framework of the "Sustainable Development Goals", the ambitious program "to achieve a better and more sustainable future for all", launched by the United Nations in 2015, after the end of the "Millennium Development Goals" (for a critical analysis, see Sachs, 2017; Fama, 2019).

Our analysis highlighted three main meanings associated to "labour" in the tourism sector emerging from the discourse of the UNWTO.

Firstly, labour is presented as the major reason for supporting the tourism sector. In its recommendations to member states, the UNWTO highlights the importance of public support to this economic sector with the following argument: millions of jobs are at risk, but we know that after previous crises the tourism sector proved to be able to quickly recover and grow more than other economic sectors. For this reason, public support to tourism is believed to have a multiplicator effect for the whole economy in the present crisis, as evident in the following quotes:

> *"Tourism is a major job creator, especially for more vulnerable groups – women and youth. It is also a sector with proven capacity to bounce back and multiply recovery to other sectors. Coordinated and strong mitigation and recovery plans to support the sector can generate massive returns across the whole economy and jobs"* (Document 1, p. 11).

> *"The sector has recovered from crises before and, given its proven importance at every level of society, must be supported to sustain and grow jobs again; […] Following the global economic*

crisis, while employment across all economic sectors grew by 11% between 2010 and 2018, employment in accommodation and restaurants grew by 35%" (Document 2, p. 8).

It is worth underlining that these documents leave in the background other arguments for requiring State support. "Cultural" arguments appear of secondary importance (in particular, the fact that "tourism […] promotes solidarity and understanding across borders, while domestic tourism also helps foster cohesion within nations", Document 2, p. 6). Moreover, other economic arguments for claiming State support, such as the difficulties faced by major corporations (e.g. hotel chains, cruise corporations) are not cited or are given a secondary importance.
A second element associated to labour in the tourism sector is its *vulnerability*. "Vulnerable" groups – especially women and youth, as well as "rural communities" and "people with disability" – are those who compose the workforce in the sector and, in the current crisis, those who are in need of protection, "in accordance with international labour standards".

"We know that millions of jobs are at risk, that we need to protect the most vulnerable segments such as SMEs, self-employed, women and youth" (Document 1, p. 11)

"Recommendation 1: Incentivize job retention, support the self-employed and protect the most vulnerable groups […] Promote effective dialogue between companies and workers' unions in accordance with international labour standards; […] Introduce special protection measures to ensure that traditionally disadvantaged groups are not adversely affected, particularly women, youth and rural communities" (Document 2, p. 11).

Labour's "vulnerability" is precisely the major reason that seems to push UNWTO to ask for States' support of the sector in which those labourers are (or were) employed.

A third element concern the *digital* character of labour in the tourism sector and the development of "digital skills". The necessity to promote digital skills is cited in various recommendations in Document 2 (5, 11, 21). In the

recommendation 21, digital skills are considered in the context of the investment in "human capital and talent development" and are connected with the issue of "vulnerability": States should ensure that:

> *"more vulnerable groups such as women, youth, immigrants and people with disabilities are explicitly included in human capital strategies" (document 2, p. 28).*

The investment in digital skills – as an area of human capital development – seems to be prefigured as one of the ways to reduce tourism labourers' vulnerability.
It is not of secondary importance to take a look to the list of the organizations that contributed to the Document 2. Contributors include the main tourism corporations and their organizations: "Cruise Lines International Association (CLIA), International Air Transport Association (IATA) and World Travel and Tourism Council (WTTC)"[71] (Document 2, p. 2). In other words, this document has been subscribed by the organizations that represent the most important employers of those workers – defined as "vulnerable" – that the States should support and protect. However, reading the UNWTO recommendations, it is not clear how the measures aimed at sustaining the growth in employment in the sector can contribute to reduce tourism workers' vulnerability as well.

3. The crisis of labour in the hospitality sector: the case of the United Kingdom

[71] The WTTC "is the only global body representing the Travel & Tourism private sector and its numerous industries. The Council's Members are the Chairmen or Chief Executives of leading global Travel & Tourism companies, from all geographies and industries, including hotels, airlines, airports, tour operators, cruise, car rental, travel agents, rail, as well as the emergent sharing economy, enabling them to speak with one voice to governments and international bodies.Over 200 companies are now represented on the Council, accounting for two-thirds of a trillion US dollars in turnover, equivalent to 30% of the entire sector" (https://wttc.org/en-gb/Membership/Our-Members).

Some of these discourses about the importance of developing a "recovery" plan for the sector, the centrality of labour, and strategies for the sector to "bounce back" after the crisis can be found in debates at the national level, including in the declarations of employers' associations. Below we focus on the case of the UK. We therefore present a snapshot of the responses of both employers and workers (and their representatives) to the sudden closure of hospitality businesses and the consequences on hospitality workers' livelihoods, in the context of government's economic measures to alleviate the impact of the crisis on the national economy.

Since the lockdown enforced by the government on the 23rd of March 2020, according to the Office for National Statistic report, "81% of businesses in accommodation and food services had closed temporarily or ceased trading". The UK hospitality sector has been undoubtedly the most impacted by the lockdown, with predicted jobs lost reaching 1.3 million according to a research by labour economists at the Institute for Social and Economic Research at the University of Exeter (April 2020). The study shows Accommodation & food services being the worst hit, with an estimated reduction in lockdown of more than 80% employment, followed by Transport & storage with -40%.

According to the website "Visit Britain", the tourist authority representing the sector nationally, it is expected that the hospitality and tourism sector will record a black hole of about 15 billion if lockdown continues until August 2020, whereby a 54% decline in visits is predicted.

While Visit Britain describes 'Staff welfare' as the "most valued and important asset, and (that) our number one priority through this crisis is supporting and enabling our staff" they put it still at the 4th position in their list of priorities. What they rather emphasise is the role played by the tourism authority in ensuring a comprehensive recovery post-lockdown including by acting as "Government advisory"; representing employers' interests; providing the industry with the needed resources for support and communication; providing practical advice for business to survive the lockdown period and more broadly working on "a recovery

preparation" which does not miss any marketing opportunity during this period of pause for most companies.

Similarly to the language of the UNWTO, "labour" becomes important not for the intrinsic social aims of protecting work as the source of income and livelihood for hospitality workers, but as a factor in the wider plan to 're-launch' the sector and its growth. The role played by Visit Britain in lobbying the government as well as by the trade body Hospitality UK (representing employers) has been critical in obtaining state financial support. As critically argued by the authors of the Exeter paper (Richiardi *et al.*, 2020) the medium term patterns of employment in each sector will indeed critically depend not only on the Human resources strategies adopted by individual companies once the lockdown is released, but also by the scope and quality of the state intervention to support workers out of work.

The UK government has indeed been comparatively quite generous in terms of the support provided to employers and workers in the midst of the pandemic-induced economic crisis.

According to data from the British Chambers of Commerce (BCC), released on April 22, 2020 (*cit.* Richiardi *et al.*, 2020, p. 8), about 70% of surveyed firms have already furloughed staff (which is a kind of temporary paid leave workers are offered to avoid being made redundant). In the second week of May it was announced that the government Job retention scheme (which currently reimburses companies up to 80% of the gross wages for employees, pays all furloughed employees up to a total of £2500 maximum payment per individual), will be extended by the Chancellor (Minister for the Economy and social affairs) until October 2020 – albeit with greater contributions from individual employers towards the total £14bn a month cost of the scheme. The new element of part-time working as an option in the furlough scheme "to help businesses reboot their trade" makes the scheme closer to the German equivalent of "Kurzarbeit" extensively used already during the 2008 economic crisis, but that is currently predicted to cost the German state €40bn. (The Guardian, 13 May 2020).

The extent to which hospitality workers in the UK have been furloughed is difficult to assess given the difficulty to produce

"live" data on employment patterns and sectoral activity, but according to a survey of employers[72] conducted by the Office for National Statistic on April *eight out of ten* workers in the accommodation and food service sectors have been furloughed.

One of the reasons why the actual number of workers who are left without safety net in the industry is difficult to estimate and probably disguised by the official figures, is that there is large anecdotal evidence that entire sections of businesses in this sector operate "cash in hands" and workers lack formal contracts of employment and legal proof of work (including pay slips), that is those elements that would entitle them to government's benefits. These aspects, more difficult to evidence and measure and in particular the overlap between informal employment, temporary agency work, zero hour contracts and the presence of migrant labour in the hospitality sector, have been widely illustrated by decades of qualitative research (McDowell *et al*., 2007; Wills *et al.*, 2009; Janta *et al.,* 2011; Alberti, 2014). Migrant labour is critical especially in large urban centres like London where hundreds of thousands of migrants from Eastern Europe have found work in the hospitality sector since the Enlargement, but also more and more Southern Europeans who left their countries in search of work in response to the 2008 crisis. The "low-road strategy" of an industry historically characterised by low wages, high turnover, lack of training and career prospects (Dutton *et al.,* 2008), with widespread patterns of outsourcing as management strategy to cut labour and social costs for firms (Lai et al. 2008), and with overall lack of union voice and poor terms and conditions suggests that the UNWTO agenda for investing in human capital is still a far-away reality.

Research across Europe has shown more broadly the incidence of precarious employment, subcontracting strategies, and the use of temporary migrant labour in the tourism and hospitality sector (Iannuzzi, 2017; Jordhus Lier, Undertun, 2014).

[72] The survey included 6,150 businesses, together they had furloughed more than a quarter of their workforce.

Now that this unexpected crisis has hit this industry more than any other, the "real costs of flexibility" or indeed of precarious employment as reported more than a decade ago by the TUC Commission on vulnerable employment (TUC, 2008) are visible more than ever. The informality of employment relations characterising the sector will most likely result in the loss of income and endanger entire livelihoods, creating destitution and poverty for the most vulnerable categories such as ethnic minorities, migrants, women and youth without safety nets. Popular media outlets have reported how in the UK among those who have been made homeless by the crisis there are hotel staff who have not received help from the government. Migrant hospitality workers with uncertain migration status (including those who have not yet successfully applied for settled status in the Brexit transition) could potentially risk deportation if unable to show proof of work.

It is striking that despite the low incidence of union presence in the sector, exactly in the context of the pandemic-induced crisis, some large UK trade unions have achieved important results in terms of protecting workers' conditions. Union action in this sector has been visible in two critical areas: the application of the government retention scheme and health and safety rights.

At the time of the rolling out of the furlough schemes there have been various attempts by employers to use the crisis to change contractual conditions for hotel and restaurant workers.

For example, Hard Rock café and hotel owner Great London Hospitality (glh) Hotels Ltd, instead of inserting a temporary lay-off clause into workers' contracts by agreement for the duration of the furlough, have made this clause permanent and unpaid while trying to reduce the numbers of contracted hours. Often workers have been pressurised to accept these new terms as a condition to benefit from the retention scheme. Other employers like the British pub chain JD Wetherspoon has also adopted openly anti-union strategy, preventing staff from seeking advice from their union on their basic employment rights by including new clause into all communications on furlough arrangements. Some unscrupulous employers have also tried to avoid to "top up" the wages of the furloughed workers refusing to pay the 20% left,

whereby some have been left to live with less than £1000 pound a month. The union voice has been critical in naming and shaming these 'bad employers' in the public domain and at times unions have negotiated important workplace victories.

A positive example of union initiative protecting also the most vulnerable categories of hospitality workers hit by the Covid-19 crisis has been the action taken by Unite, the largest private sector union in the UK and Ireland, on behalf of members at the international hotel chain the Marriott: thanks to pressure by Unite, on the 22 of April *1,500 "casuals"* (precariously employed, non-permanent staff) received the state furlough payment to keep their jobs until June. At the same time the union highlighted how the situation emerged at the Marriott *"can't disguise the fact that the hotel and hospitality industry rely heavily on causal staff to keep the industry thriving and there may be some employers who are still not playing by the rules".*

While most hospitality workers had to stop, some of those involved in the hospitality industry have continued working during the pandemic, risking their health and safety similarly to the other "key workers" (health and social care workers, doctors, nurses, delivery workers to name some). Indeed, it is often forgotten that some hospitality and catering workers have in turn served the daily social reproduction of the pandemic front line staff. Unite the union has expressed concern about the lack of protective equipment for those hotel workers who have provided accommodation for the health staff in need of operating away from their homes, for instance in cases where hotels have been turned into "Covid19 isolation centres" or provided emergency housing to key workers and homeless people during the crisis. On 20 April they reported that "workers in these accommodation centres are not being given proper training and advice and are not being provided with the necessary personal protective equipment".

As hospitality is a highly embodied labour – where the service needs to be delivered in close proximity to the recipient– the question of workers' physical and mental health, and the (limited or absent) provision of protective measures for workers in this industry point out to the challenges ahead for the sector when the

lockdown will be released and businesses allowed to re-open. Hospitality presents itself again as a critical frontier to consider the challenges and not just the opportunities of "recovery" in terms of staff wellbeing and safety.

4. Concluding remarks

The case of the economic effects of the pandemic on the hospitality workforce in the UK and the immediate response by social parties, well illustrate all the specific elements of the vulnerability of labour discussed by the UNWTO, but neither seem to provide a longer term "high road" approach for improving workers' conditions and sustainable development, rather reflecting a "short-term" focus on quantitative employment recovery, linked to economic resilience. The UK case rather highlights the one-sided interpretation of the importance of maintaining "flexibility" – meaning *employers'* flexibility, to tailor the re-hiring of labour according to what is envisaged to be the gradual recovering in demand for hospitality and tourism services as the lockdown will be lifted. In contrast, truly sustainable strategies for decent work in the sector (the one promoted by the TUC being different from the developmentalist emphasis on "jobs" creation), seems to be put in the shelves for now that the sector is concentrating on how to "re-bounce" in the immediate future.

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Female empowerment in tourism in times of travel bans and afterwards

Kerstin Heuwinkel*

***Abstract**: This paper looks at the relationship between tourism and gender. Gender research in tourism started around 1990. Themes are women as consumers, negative issues such as sexual exploitation and the opportunities for female empowerment in tourism. Although many empowerment programs focus on the stereotyped idea of women as nurturing and caregiving human beings, tourism might be an incubator for change. The worldwide travel ban due to the Covid-19 pandemic affects tourism in an unprecedented way. As women suffer more from crises than men do, the pandemic is a serious threat for all programmes and changes that have been achieved in the last years. Regarding the time after the pandemic back to usual should not be the strategy either regarding environmental or gender issues. As gender is closely linked to power, control and hierarchies, tourism research has to address these sociological themes as well.*
***Keywords**: gender, female empowerment, sociology of tourism*

1. Introduction

Tourism is a complex phenomenon that is embedded in society and interwoven with social actions and practices. Values, norms and roles are social facts (Durkheim, 1983) which guide human behaviour in everyday life and tourism (holidays). The same comes true for beliefs, practices and power. As reality is socially constructed (Berger, Luckman, 1967) human beings try to influence and determine the construction procedures. Powerful actors can define in the discourse (Foucault, 1996) what is real in a way that serves their needs.

As consequence, tourism comprises a system of institutionalised beliefs and interests. It is not only constituted by time, place and cultural context but by gender as well (Figueroa-Domecq *et al*., 2015). Kinnaird *et al.* state that "[…] tourism processes are gendered in their construction, presentation and consumption, and the form of this gendering is configured in different and diverse ways which are both temporally and spatially specific" (1994, p. 2).

* Kerstin Heuwinkel, University of Applied Sciences Saarland, kerstin.heuwinkel@htwsaar.de.

In sociology, the concept of doing gender (e.g. Butler, 2004; Garfinkel, 1984) describes how femininity and masculinity are constructed and displayed. Goffman (1987) detected that femininity often includes subordination and powerlessness. This is displayed in advertisements and influences the way in which people think about female and male. According to West & Zimmerman (1987, p. 137) "Doing gender means creating differences between girls and boys and women and men, differences that are not natural, essential, or biological." Gender is created by society, i.e. powerful actors within society that can define values, norms, roles and rules of interaction in a way that certain behaviour is required from women and men. Competence "[…] is hostage to its production" (West, Zimmerman, 1987, p. 126).

This paper looks at the relationship between tourism and gender. It discusses the opportunities for female empowerment in tourism. Special emphasis is put on the effects of the Covid-19 pandemic as a worldwide crisis.

2. Tourism and gender

Women play an important role in tourism because they are producers, "objects" and consumers. Studies by Figueroa-Domecq *et al.* (2015) and Nunkoo (2020) show that tourism research is "surprisingly gender-blind" (Figueroa-Domecq *et al.,* 2015, p. 87). Main themes are gendered consume, gendered impact in the host countries, gendered labour and sexist work practices as well as theory building (ibid). The majority of the studies focus on aspects of women as consumers because this theme has a market relevance.

From a practical perspective, women are addressed in two ways. The first one reveals how women are (sexually) exploited in tourism. Although numbers can only be estimated prostitution tourism counts for at least 20 per cent of income in tourism (UWTO, 1995). In addition to this clear exploitation, the structural inferiority of women is the base for many tourism services. Woman accept poor working conditions, low salaries and missing career opportunities because they have no alternatives.

A more positive perspective is the theme of female empowerment in/through tourism. Based on the stereotype of

women as nurturing, hospitable human beings who love to clean, cook and take care of others tourism seems to be the ideal industry for them. Enloe (2014) notes that "Women in most societies are presumed to be naturally capable cleaners, washers, cooks, and servers" (p. 69). As a consequence, the main sectors that are mentioned when it comes to female entrepreneurship in tourism are hospitality (e.g. homestays), gastronomy (e.g. dining with locals) and handcraft (e. g. selling authentic souvenirs to tourists).

Tourism jobs that include technological or management skills are seldom addressed. Still, between 55 and 70 per cent of the tourism workforce are female (International Labour Office, 2013) and women are more likely to be the employer in tourism than in any other sector (UNWTO, 2019). At the management level, women are less present than at lower levels (*ibidem*).

Successful female empowerment programs combine training on the job with life skill courses, e.g. computer course, driver licence, finances. It is also taken into account that women can only work if their children are safe and well provided for. That is why many foundations combine programmes for women with school, leisure and sports projects (Heuwinkel *et al.,* 2020).

Regarding women as consumers, the prevailing image is the one of wellness seeking girlfriends who are looking for some days without household and family. Enloe (2014) puts this in a political context when she argues that "Men´s capacity to control women´s sense of their security and self-worth has been central to the evolution of tourism politics" (p. 82).

3. Women in times of crisis

Women suffer differently and more from the crisis than men. This especially comes true in regions where social inequality is very high, e.g. South Africa. But even in so-called developed countries, the risk for women is higher than for men. As they often only work part-time and without a permanent position, their jobs are the first to be cut. A reduction of the already lower salary is more serious. Furthermore, crises are used as an excuse that social programs are set on hold because the focus has to be on the core business. In some countries, the rhetoric changes towards a wartime communication which is male-oriented.

In addition to the economic risks, there are multiple burdens of family and children. The issue of domestic violence is particularly critical (UN Women, 2020). The uncertainty resulting from the crisis often leads to violence against women and children. Due to the exit restrictions and the ban on contact, social control loses its power and many crimes in the family remain undiscovered. Some countries, e.g. France and Germany, use supermarkets to provide information to women about help.

4. The Covid-19 pandemic and tourism

A worldwide travel ban in combination with shutdowns in many countries is an unknown and unexperienced situation. Looking at former crisis one can note that tourism, in the end, is a very stable system although it is quite sensible when it comes to short-term reactions (Heuwinkel, 2018, p. 157). Terrorism, tsunamis and earthquakes as well as social revolutions etc. result in a stop of tourism for a certain time. After a while, tourism numbers are at the level where they would have been without the crisis. The reason is that tourism is a central element of modern life and some authors (e.g. MacCannell, 1999; Bauman, 2000) see the tourist as a synonym for modern (wo)man.

Still, in contrast to former crises, the pandemic affects tourism and related sectors worldwide. Even if consumers will go back to normal as soon as possible the question is if the producers will survive the crisis and if they can pay fair salaries. Surveys (Kompetenzzentrum, 2020) show that even global players such as airlines have immense problems. Important elements of tourism such as gastronomy as well as cultural institutions are effected and might not be able to offer their services that are crucial for a rich tourist experience.

Back to usual is and should not be the strategy either regarding environmental or gender issues. It is a good time for addressing gender aspects in tourism although it will be difficult to put them on the agenda. To do so, young and qualified academics and practitioners are needed who can reflect on tourism as a complex social phenomenon and to processes of control and power (Swain, 2004, p. 102).

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Part V

SURVIVAL STRATEGIES FOR CULTURE, ART AND SCIENCE

The art & science of destination management

Terry Stevens*

***Abstract**: This essay first appeared in an extended format in 'Wish You Were Here: The stories behind 50 of the world's great destinations' by Terry Stevens and published by GRAFFEG and is reproduced by kind permission of the author. Since then the world of tourism has been devastated and reduced to almost zero by Covid-19 pandemic. As this version of the essay is published, countries are beginning to emerge from the lockdown. This will take place on a staggered basis and recovery will take a long time. In these circumstances, destination management will become the most important aspect of tourism regrowth. The research and findings discussed below will be critical to the success of the future development of sustainable and resilient destinations.*
***Keywords**: art and science, destination management, sustainable and resilient destinations*

1. Introduction

The destination has become the major focal point of interest in sustainable and resilient tourism development. A destination is, quite simply, a place where people want to visit; be it for pleasure or for business. At the heart of a successful destinations is a competent, well-resourced, destination management organisation (DMO). Despite the proven success of the destination management approach, it is far from being universally applied with the occurrence of effective and efficient DMOs being relatively rare. There are fine examples of internationally, well-respected, DMOs whose governance, activities and managerial models provide best practice information. This essay explores the shift from destination marketing to destination management following personal analysis of over one hundred DMOs around the world using a unique benchmarking instrument. The essay concludes by suggesting a modern agenda for sustainable tourism destination management with ideas for a new business model for DMOs and, in so doing, raising some important questions about the future nature and functioning of these organisations in the twenty first century in a post-Covid19 world.

* Terry Stevens, Stevens & Associates, terry@stevensassoc.co.uk.

2. Destinations and destination management: taking stock

A recent review of the 2019 release of Bob Dylan's 1975 *Rolling Thunder Revue* opens with the statement 'Oceans of ink have been spilt, entire forests felled, in pursuit of a subject we like to think we know, but that is, the wiser of us know and eventually discover, unknowable' (Cains, 2019). This observation can similarly be levelled at the cloudburst of publications on tourism over the past fifty years since it became a fashionable area of academic study. Within this canon of literature there has been some work focusing on destination marketing, management and, since 2012, literature specifically exploring DMOs (Morrison, 2013; Negruş, Coroş, 2016; Varhgese, Paul, 2014). Analysis of the literature on destination management shows that it has emerged as a focus of study since 2000, with almost 40,000 published papers appearing between 2000 and 2016 (68 percent of them published between 2010 and 2016).The more recent publications on the concept of the destination, including those by Beritelli, Bieger and Laesser (2014), Hristov, Zehrer (2015) and Pechlaner, Kozak and Volgger (2014), and those about destination management and marketing (e.g. Adeyinka-Ojo, Khoo-Lattimore, Nair, 2014; McKercher & Prideaux, 2014; Pike, Page, 2014), reveals a lively discussion taking place trying to define a destination and the role of the DMO. In particular, however, the work on destination management by Hölzl (Pechlaner, Hölzl, Tallinucci, 2005) supported by others (Klimek, 2017; Luštickŷ, Kincl, 2012; Seraphin, Gowreensunkar, Ambaye, 2016; Zlatković, 2016) helped generate the innovative thinking behind the St Gallen Destination Management Model. These findings, together with the real-time benchmarking work by S&A (Stevens, 2018), raise fundamental questions about the usefulness of present definitions of destination management and the way we consider the future work of DMOs.

As a result, the UNWTO's definition below of the tourism destination is regarded as being symptomatic of the shortcomings in dealing with the challenges related to destination formation, operation, and its impact measurement:

> *A local tourism destination is a physical space in which a visitor spends at least one overnight. It includes tourism products such as support services and attractions, and tourism resources within one day´s return travel time. It has physical and administrative boundaries defining its management, images and perceptions defining its market competitiveness. Local tourism destinations incorporate various stakeholders often including a host community and, can nest and network to form larger destinations*. (UNWTO, 2002)

3. 'The Times They Are A-changin': from destination marketing to destination management

In 1994, Gunn recognized the need for destination management, describing the need for a more integrated destination-wide approach involving all stakeholders in order to deliver a better matching of supply and demand in order to maximise the use of destination resources (Gunn, 1994). Subsequently, Laws (1995) produced one of the earliest references to include destination management in the title of a book whilst acknowledging that others had previously alluded to the need for a destination management approach and going beyond destination marketing activity (Gunn, 1972; Inskeep, 1991; Leiper, 1979).

It took a further ten years to legitimize the idea of destination management when, Ritchie and Crouch (2003) produced a management framework for the 'complex and multifaceted nature of all the factors that affect destination competitiveness'. Four years later, the UNWTO (2007) established a platform to promote destination management. It was clear that established destination organisations were coming under increasing pressure to evolve (Presenza, 2006) and, specifically, to move away from marketing to become management focused (UNWTO, 2011) with inclusive stakeholder engagement, more robust governance and stronger private-sector leadership (Gretzel, Fesenmaier, Formica, O'Leary, 2006; Hristove, Zehrer, 2015) and with greater consideration for the overall quality of life of local people (Pike, Page, 2013; Timur, Getz, 2008). These factors have immense prescience given today's issues associated with so-called 'over-tourism', concerns

about the quality of visitor experience (NECSTOuR, 2018), the need for more innovation (Hjaglar, 2015; UNWTO, 2019) and creating shared community value and wealth (Porter, Kramer, 2011; Serra, Font, Ivanova, 2016).

In 2009, the British Chambers of Commerce argued for DMOs, their concerns directed at Visit Britain (VB) and the UK Government in a hard-hitting report about the inadequacies of the structure of tourism, especially below the sub-regional level (BCC, 2009). Two years later, Robinson (2011, pp. 4-5) argued that:

> *The spotlight is on destinations, as the key entities to implement the Government's tourism strategy…..Tourism growth needs much more than marketing, but few DMOs have embraced tourism management. The Government's Strategy prescribes that DMOs cover tourism management, and be private sector led. This means that DMOs must be formalised and strengthened.*

Despite this unambiguous call for change, there was little evidence of a shift away from marketing towards a management focus and, with destination management appearing as an agenda item in international tourism-related conferences throughout 2011, British Chambers of Commerce continued to bemoan the absence of destination management, directing criticism in particular towards Visit Britain (Visit Britain, 2010).

Clearly, destination management is not an easy job. Success is based on the complex combination of the stewardship of tangible and intangible assets within a defined geographic area (Neqruşa, Coroş, 2016). In order to assist destination organizations to deal with their 'new' role as managers, a library of advisory materials has emerged to help make the shift in a systematic way. The advice takes the form of: simple checklists (Brooks, Forman, 2003); detailed guides on destination management (Australian Government 2016; Scottish Enterprise, 2008; UNWTO 2007; Visit Wales, 2019); reviews of international best practice (The Communications Group plc., 2018); and large compendiums covering all aspects of the subject such as Morrison's *magnum opus* (2019) built on his earlier work (2013).

Negruş and Coroş (2016, p. 267) concluded that:

Destination success is a combination of tangible and less intangible attributes… All these factors determine the visitor experience. While some of these are beyond the control of the DMO, for a large-part, organisations can assure their managerial process. The DMO managers have a strong influence on destination success (and) through DMO performance evaluation, there can be identified areas for economic improvement, efficiency, capacity and effectiveness in achieving strategic and operational needs, which can further increase the destinations competitiveness.

Yet, despite a decade of advocacy for change, the emergence of DMOs has been slow to take place and destination management is still in its infancy with only few competent DMOs. Nevertheless, the UNWTO (2019) recognises there has been increasing awareness of the need for management of tourism destinations, with DMOs having a broader mandate that includes strategic planning, coordination and management of a full range of activities within an adequate governance structure that integrates different stakeholders, including the community, and operating with common goals: 'These developments stem from the urge to achieve an optimal management of the destination and a collective vision in pursuit of a common goal, the competitiveness and sustainability of the destination' (UNWTO, 2019, p. 1). The main goal is a strategic approach to link-up the complex and, often, very isolated, fragmented and occasionally diverging elements for the better management of the destination.

Yet, much of the literature implies that there has been no real break-through in terms of the application of a consensual approach to destination management, with some concluding that there is a distinct lack of DMOs (Adeylinka-Ojo, Khoo-Lattimore, Nair 2014), and pointing to a shortage of empirical evidence about impact of destination management in creating competitiveness. Stevens & Associates' (S&A) research addresses these concerns, revealing a significant number of DMOs with a competent managerial approach bravely forging ahead with new dynamic models of governance, getting to grips with contemporary issues by breaking the rules associated with collaborative working in order to drive new forms of partnerships and innovation. The

experiences of these exemplar DMOs are now discussed illustrating that their approach is based on science and art: the alchemy of destination management.

4. Benchmarking successful DMOs: revealing the art and science of destination management

S&A's destination benchmarking embraced this holistic, symbiotic systems approach in the analysis of destinations of all types and locations from around the world. In addition to examining performance and process measures of the destination, S&A deployed a specially designed Simple Multi-Attribute Rating Technique to assess the opinion of key tourism and community stakeholders about the reputation, competency and efficacy of the way their destination was managed using a Likert technique to derive an overall score for the destination with sub-scores for different dimensions of the destination and its management.

This model was based upon the pioneering research developed for the evaluation of winter tourism destinations in Canada by Crouch and Ritchie (1999), subsequently refined by Hudson in collaboration with Ritchie and Timur (Hudson, 2000; Hudson, 2003; Hudson, 2004; Hudson, Ritchie, Timur, 2004). Using this approach, in discussion with Hudson, S&A now has data for over one hundred destinations collected between 2003 – 2018, making it possible to benchmark these destinations both at a particular point in time and / or at a particular stage of their over an extended period of time and permitting destinations to objectively benchmark with their competitor set.

In 2018, the results from the benchmarked destinations were anonymized and collated into a set of graphs revealing some obvious, consistent patterns, showing that the destinations are doing the same things well and the same things badly. This was surprising considering that the information reflects a large number of destinations, each with unique settings, different assets and characteristics and surveyed over a fifteen-year period. The results illustrate how the management of the destination is perceived by their key stakeholders:

The activities they all do particularly well are:

- Visioning with strategy and action plan

- Clear positioning
- Strong leadership with a well-resourced, well-governed, private sector led DMO
- Innovative approach to market-focused product development
- Dynamic funding models
- Regular reviews of competitors
- Investment in market research and trend analysis
- Good community engagement
- Commitment to sustainable and ethical development

The activities they all intend to improve upon in the future are:

- Human resource development
- Accessing new sources of capital investment
- New methods of harnessing social media for marketing
- Enhancing local access and transport for residents and tourists

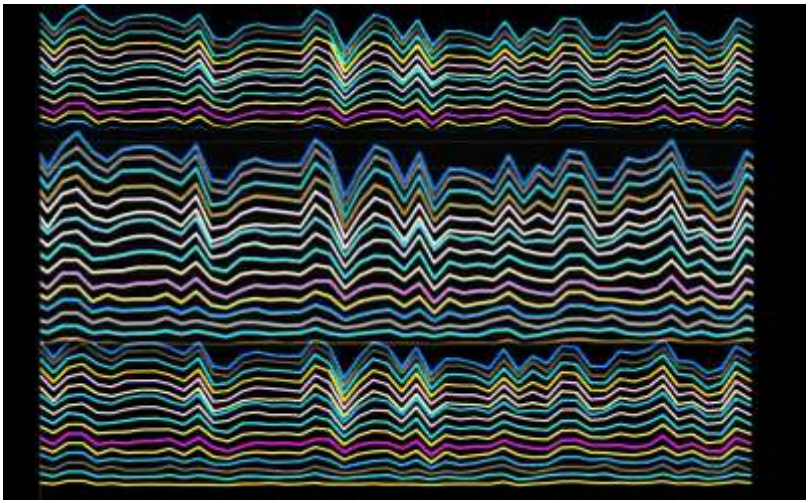

Figure 1 - The Collective Results if Fifteen Years of Benchmarking International Exemplar Destination Management Organisations.
Source: S&A, 2018©

In many ways the conclusions from studying these DMOs can be summarised as follows; interestingly, these findings are comparable to the conclusions of the 2018 *'St. Gallen Consensus on Destination Management'* and their five 'domains of destination management'. They are:

(a) the need to reconsider and to review the prevailing definition and geography a destination;
(b) the importance of destination management and a well-run DMO;
(c) the need to regularly review the role, function, organisation and funding of DMOs;
(d) destination success is highly dependent upon the clarity of its positioning, the nature of its tourism offer, and sustainable and ethical foundations;
(e) commitment to innovation creating sustainable experiences for the visitor and quality of life for the residents in line with the United Nations Development Program's *Sustainable Development Goals* (UNWTO / UNDP, 2017; also NECSTOuR, 2018).

It is now possible to draw some conclusions about the success factors for destinations. A discussion of some of these factors follows together with reflections of the likely future agenda for destination management and DMOs.

5. Successful, sustainable destination management: some reflections

Destinations are places where people want to be for whatever reasons and motivations. The destination must be accessible, there must be a critical mass of things to see and do as well as places to stay and, for the destination to work successfully, it must be professionally and competently managed. This means that a 'managerial' approach involving a DMO should be adopted, taking into account the size and scale of the destination's geography, its tangible and intangible assets and resources, its stakeholder base and its visitor experiences. These simple truths resonate with Vanhove's (2005, pp. 132-138) observations that the fundamental product of tourism is the destination experience. Competition, therefore, is centred on the destination and for most tourists this

experience takes place in a rather small geographical area - an entity which, from a tourism management point of view, is managerial.

The analysis reveals ten shared, dominant, managerial characteristics:

(i) *Compact:* the destinations are relatively small in scale averaging between 1,800 – 2,500 km² kilometres in size and all less than 3,000 km² but having the flexibility to expand and grow geographically on a temporarily according to the strategic needs of a particular visitor experience, event or product promotion - an approach that is defined as the dynamic geometry of destinations.

(ii) *Coherent:* the destination's geography, geomorphology, topography, natural and built heritage and infrastructure makes them coherent from visual, social and cultural perspectives creating a strong sense of place and form that is easily understandable to the visitors;

(iii) *Customer focused and contemporary:* destination managers are well-informed, through systematic research, annual benchmarking and frequent customer engagement, about tourism trends, visitor behaviour, perceptions and expectations allowing them to develop dynamic strategies responding to this market intelligence on a frequent basis;

(iv) *Cohesive*: the destination makes sense as a logical construct for all stakeholders as perceived from different dimensions (topographical, territorial, cultural and historic, political, economic and strategic);

(v) *Critical Mass*: the destination must have a clear vision, strategy and costed action plan ensuring the development of an appropriate, competitive, sustainable and balanced range of products, experiences, facilities and infrastructure to reflect its brand position and meet the needs and expectations of its residents and its visitors;

(vi) *Competent:* the destination must be competently managed by a dedicated, well-resourced, well-organised and committed team of local people. These teams tend to be structured and functioning as an efficient, a not-for-profit company with community intent, led by a board of private sector and

community representatives with a strong leadership ethic operating collaboratively with strong networks and communications channels driving investment using innovative methods of raising capital and revenues;

(vii) *Consistent*: the destination must ensure that the 'promise' made, implicitly or explicitly, to visitors through its marketing are delivered on a consistent basis. The complicated, multi-faceted nature, of the tourism system makes the co-ordination and management of the components the most challenging aspects of destination management;

(viii) *Creative and innovative:* creating an environment that stimulates, fosters and supports innovation and creativity is, as will be discussed in greater detail later, of increasing importance to achieving successful, sustainable destinations;

(ix) *Competitive*: driving success is the need for a destination to be competitive in a national and international context over-time. Creativity and innovation are key factors of competitiveness and DMOs need to be acutely tuned to recognising and applying innovative thinking to all aspects of their work;

(x) *Collaborative and co-created*: 'together stronger' is oft used to encourage a collegiate, open, inclusive and transparent approach to destination management characterised by common trust and a shared set of objectives.

6. Fu(turism)o: The future agenda shaping the work of DMOs

There is no shortage of information, advice and evidence about tourism futures and changing market demands (Arsenault, 2016; Yeoman, 2012) making it relatively straight-forward to predict that DMOs are going to have to carefully consider how they deal with increased demand for customised experiences, the shared economy, increased desire for authentic, ethical and wholesome local experiences and how to harness social media to connect with local stakeholders and the global market place.

What is less easy to forecast is what tourists will want from the destination with expectations that go beyond the basic satisfaction, requiring researchers to revisit models of behaviour as they relate to tourism (Šimková, Holzner, 2014; Yousaf, Amin, Santos, 2018). At the same time, the host-guest relationship needs

to be re-evaluated in order to gain a better understanding of what the resident wants and expects from its tourism industry and how tourism is managed in respect of their quality of life (Alonso, Nyanjom, 2016; Uysal, Perdue, Sirgy, 2017). In other words, a new agenda for managing destinations is rapidly emerging that will change the way DMOs function and fundamentally challenge how success is measured, where reputation is becoming more important than performance. A recent collection of essays (Lois-Gonzales *et al*., 2014), opens-up this discussion by exploring the cultural elements of 21st century tourism, suggesting new product developments that will be linked to reappraising the landscape, heritage, nature and spirituality in a destination. In exposing these scenarios, the authors start questioning tourist typologies, re-thinking destination positioning and challenges the roles, responsibilities and, maybe, the very existence of DMOs.

Tourism is increasingly about finding larger purpose in our lives and in the world. It is changing mindsets. According to a SKIFT (2019) report:

> *Experience development is key and an essential and highly sought-after part of the travel eco-system, but the concept has spread so widely that experience tourism as we know it today has lost its edge. To compensate we need to start going deeper towards the transformational value and how it helps the traveller become the person they aspire to be. It is all about customer centricity delivering personalisation and personal fulfilment.*

These trends are creating new types of opportunities for destinations, and we are now on the threshold of the emergence of a new generation of DMOs which must become more 'responsible' organizations, not simply being reactive. Symbolic acts and doing what is right, not just in narrow terms for the tourist and the destination, but for society as a whole will become ever more important (Mendiratta, 2013). These are big responsibilities indeed for the humble DMO.

7. Concluding remarks

The 'responsible' challenge for DMOs has very strong echoes of the optimism of the early luminaries of our tourism experiences,

such as William E Brown (1971) who, in *Islands of* Hope, discussed the importance of the visitor experience and the intersection with responsible environmental management:

> *…to move from (simply) managing the resource itself to managing the people who use it. First and foremost, the experience that the visitor gets (in a destination) is the critical thing – not from the political administration approach, size or the way it is organized but from the dimensions of life that visitors can experience such areas* (Brown, 1971, pp. 7-8).

The future success of DMOs will require fresh thinking about all aspects of their work. In 2018, S&A identified a new model of successful destination management which represents a significant shift from the traditional reliance on the five Ps of tourism development) to the five Rs (Stevens, Associates, 2018) comprising:

- **Recognition** – recognising the importance of tourism to the destination and the rural/urban economy and communities.
- **Relationships** – the building of relationships (vertical and horizontal integration) ensuring a shared vision and strategy for tourism based upon common trust and common values.
- **Relevance** – of products, experiences and the destination to the interests and needs of emerging markets and the host communities.
- **Responsibility** – the development of a sustainable, empathetic, sensitive and responsible approach to tourism development respecting the assets of the destination, its environment, socio-cultural interests of the tourists and capacity of the host community.
- **Respect** – for the interests and wellbeing of all parties including the host community, business community and the visitors to the destination.

In the pursuit of destination competitiveness, the destinations that excel go their own way with a bespoke, objective, mission and vision and clear management strategy. The DMOs that

are succeeding are open minded. They are willing to innovate and to try new ways of working. They adopt the adage, 'change your thought and it will change your mind', and they apply the relevant elements alchemy to their work once the destination leaders understand that the job to be done is doing what is right for the wealth of their community and the visitors.

In summary, therefore, DMOs are about creating the vision, implementing a dynamic strategy and managing the reputation and performance of tourism by delivering the promise across their destination by adopting a clear leadership role, driving collaboration through internal and external networks, normalising innovation and creativity in all aspects of the work of the organisation, delivering exceptional visitor experiences using tourism to create shared values and wealth across the resident community. So, if vision, strategy, positioning and co-ordination are then the key and the key to co-ordination is the establishment of a well-resourced, competently managed destination management organisation.

DMOs are the lodestars of twenty first century tourism. The destination is the key to the future. The destination is a managerial unit and now, more than ever before in the history of tourism, there has to be an integrated, collaborative and collective view taken as to what type, nature and scale of tourism is both sustainable, resilient and acceptable within a community. This will involve every voice within a community contributing to the debate about the destination's carrying capacity at different times of the year. It is no longer about the tourism and visitor economy versus everything else.

It will be based on a COMMON VISION, COMMON SENSE, COMMON VALUES, COMMON INTERESTS, COMMON HONESTY, COMMON RESPONSIBILITY, COMMON RESPECT AND COMMON TRUST.

COMMON RESPECT AND TRUST are two-way concepts that are shared not just within the destination amongst all the stakeholders but also with the visitors intending to visit the destination. In April 2020, the Secretary-General of the UNWTO, Zurab Pololikashvili, announced that "trust is the new currency of our new normal. And tourism is ideally positioned to be the vehicle

to channel trust". Just as the visitor will expect the destination to respect and trust them and their demands so too should the destination expect the visitor to respect and trust the interests of the host community. In these three SIMPLE words we now have the beginnings of a new concepts and with it a new language - a fresh lexicon and glossary of terms - for the tourism industry…… some of we may have seen before but have never given them the RESPECT AND TRUST they deserved.

Here is a selection of the fresh perspectives to help design the new future for tourism:

1. **THE INVITED GUEST** - We are moving away from traditional marketing to a situation where destinations will INVITE guests to be part of their community based on analysis of safe markets, tested markets, testing and tracing technologies and other metrics to find the best mix
2. **THE TOURIST CORRIDOR** - The development of agreed routes or specific geographies for tourists to travel that are based on agreed border crossings and controls, strategically managed travel networks and roadside service stations becoming health testing centres and potential field hospitals
3. **THE ADMIRED AND DESIRED DESTINATION** - These and other ways that a destination commands **respect and reputation to be places that people believe in**
4. **THE DESTINATION CARRYING CAPACITY -** The need for a full destination asset audit and a collective decision within the destination as to its carrying capacity viewed from the perspective of evidence, data, discussions and intuition measured from the perspective of these different dimensions of capacity: environmental, physical, economic, touristic, health, psychological, perceptual, cultural, linguistic, value v price and managerial competency.
5. **COLLABORATIVE COMMUNITY TOURISM** - putting all of the above together.

In short it is time to re-set all the buttons on the tourism control system.

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Survival strategies for cultural institutions: making space and open licenses

Iolanda Pensa*

Abstract:
I present two strategies that could contribute to the current and future survival of cultural institutions: making space and open licences. Cultural institutions have the ability to "make space": creating it, inventing it, transforming it, proposing alternatives to other places, conserving and giving access to extraordinary and unpredictable sites. In our current predicament, with our mobility reduced and rationed, the key is to reflect not on the space that the institutions have created, but on the sense of their space. It is not simply a question of re-opening what has been closed but of finding new ways to reproduce the profound sense of what institutions do through their places. Cultural institutions can redefine their space also through open licenses. A simple way to understand how licences work is to think of the contents of cultural institutions as something unmovable, which licences help to turn into something that can move from one place to another. Thanks to open licenses, the material of cultural institutions can be copied, used, distributed, combined and modified (which is what open licences authorise), with a determinant impact on the very idea of "public". The public needs to be re-thought of, not only as visitors to an exhibition or a website, but also as those who safeguard and enhance the value of their heritage and benefit from it, use it, transform it, re-elaborate it to create social and economic innovation.
Keywords: *Cultural institutions, Pubic space, Open licenses*

The extraordinary moment in time that we are currently living through has brought an indeterminateness into our lives that we have never known before. We are experiencing situations that we had never even imagined possible, restricted by an almost permanent lockdown while we learn what "social distancing" means. We don't know when this state of emergency will end and the only realistic outlook is a widespread economic crisis accompanied by the dramatic climate change.
Preparing for the future means exercising our brains to imagine a new future. How can we visit a museum or an archaeological site while observing social distancing? How can cultural institutions be

* Iolanda Pensa, SUPSI University of Applied Sciences and Arts of Southern Switzerland, iolanda.pensa@supsi.ch.

sustainable and survive a large-scale economic crisis? And how can cultural institutions re-think their role in a context of present and presumably also future crisis?

There are countless institutions that conserve and produce culture, as well as making it accessible, and the only thing they may have in common is that they are historically and constantly on the look-out for new models, roles and approaches. Paradoxically, what defines who they are and what they do is their own specific network, which marks their borders in order to identify and bring together for example museums (ICOM), libraries (IFLA), ecomuseums (regional laws) and heritage (laws with national inventories and UNESCO). But the panorama is much richer and more variegated and there is room for both non-profit and for-profit bodies, for archives, cultural centres, galleries, theatres, music production companies, publishers, conference halls, development cooperation organizations, cinemas, independent spaces, local circles and – if I may add, to emphasise the role they play in producing knowledge and culture – schools and universities.

In view of the new future that we are called upon to build, I would like to call your attention to two strategies that could contribute to the survival and to the rebirth of cultural institutions: making space and open licences.

1. Making Space

Studying public art in Douala, I found that one of the most interesting features of producing art in run-down districts is their ability to “make space”. It is not a metaphorical skill but, quite literally, the ability to produce public works of art in contexts where they are not expected to be produced, where they have had to shift mountains of rubbish, create a square, negotiate the corner of a house. "Making space" is an operation that involves making both physical and mental space, it is often exhausting, but it is an effort that doesn’t go against the grain of cultural institutions.

The prime feature of a cultural institution is effectively that of being a space. Physical or mental space, a space in which to produce, conserve and enjoy. But even more decisively such institutions have the ability to “make space”: creating it, inventing

it, transforming it, proposing alternatives to other places, conserving and giving access to extraordinary and unpredictable sites.

In our current predicament, with our mobility reduced and rationed, the key is to reflect not on the space that the institutions have created, but on the sense of their space. It is not simply a question of re-opening what has been closed but of finding new ways to reproduce the profound sense of what institutions do through their places. Is it the experience of the object at the centre of attention? Is the aim to stimulate knowledge and learning? Is it an attempt to revive an era? Is it maybe an alternative to the park as a fun place to visit on rainy days? Is it the very nature of the place that we need to focus on, to be re-imagined and recreated? Or perhaps transformed.

Virtual experiences can enable us to immerse ourselves in a different time frame, just as publications and studies can contribute to knowledge and learning. In circumstances like these, a mountain museum can find itself and its raison d'être rather in an alpine scenario than within the four walls of its building with few visitors' self-distancing? An object can perform its function better if kept in a safe place and maybe duplicated with a 3D printer to circulate from house to house among the students. Or even a visit can be booked, allowing for a different relationship with the object, in an empty room, on your own for a few intense minutes.

We have become accustomed to thinking about our heritage and our institutions as contributors to tourism, a site to be visited, a beauty spot to be explored, a nature park to walk or jog through, an ancient village that creates the setting for our holidays... But it is not the vocation of cultural bodies or sites to contribute to tourism: their vocation is to conserve, spread and produce culture, maybe with positive fallout on tourism too. The fact is that the repercussions can also affect other spheres: our quality of life, education and training, design and innovation... The central aspect is to consider these spaces – physical and mental as they are – as players, as the protagonists of the social and economic fabric of an area. Their role can change just as tourism can change. While former sanatoriums have been converted into hotels and wellness

centres, they could just as easily go back to being sanatoriums, holiday homes could become new out-of-town residences, restaurants could become delicatessens or take-aways, art and culture venues must take part in the transformation of our society. And one of the ways in which they could do that is by means of open licences.

2. Open Licences

Licences are authorisations. In practice, any person or organization can decide to authorise unlimited use of their material. Without spending money, open licences create a new life for photographs, maps, texts, data, content, software, hardware, collections... Maybe a simple way to understand how licences work is to think of the contents of cultural institutions as something unmovable, which licences help to turn into something that can move from one place to another.

Collections, images, catalogue texts, in-depth scientific analyses, captions: all the material of cultural institutions is static and immobile, stuck in glass cases, libraries, archives and Internet sites. Every now and then it occurs to a curator to rotate the works deposited, to create temporary exhibitions, to display the collection online (perhaps signing an agreement with a major company) or to allow somebody to select certain objects for an exhibition (maybe precisely someone originally from the culture from which the objects had been pilfered). But cultural heritage tends to stay put and only moves under strict supervision. This could be understandable if we were talking just about objects, but in actual fact we are also talking about digital documentation or documentation that can be digitalised. Over the last twenty years, the acronym GLAM (which stands for Galleries, Libraries, Archives and Museums) has spread, especially among communities that support free knowledge, to indicate the cultural institutions' digital heritage; in fact, when we speak about digital documentation, this is present in a similar way in all types of institutions and the specific differentiation between the various types of institutions and their physical space evaporates.

The odd thing is that anyway – even when we talk about digital documentation – the material of cultural institutions

continues to stay put. This is mostly due to a mentality problem that makes it difficult for curators to even contemplate the idea that their role as custodians of unique objects, sites and materials, should not stretch to reproductions. Digital material must be safeguarded but abundance (I mean the creation of multiple copies in several places) is the best way to protect it. Making digital material available, allowing it to be copied, used, distributed, combined and modified (which is what open licences authorise) neither damages nor debases the original, but it gives cultural institutions' material a new life: it offers people real access to their heritage, it creates new ways of appreciating the value of those resources and of using them. What's more, it enables cultural institutions themselves to benefit from the help and cooperation of their public. For decades already, selling the right to reproduce art works has already proven to be unsustainable economically, so why not take another approach?

Of course, this change also requires a seismic shift in the very idea of "public". The public becomes those who construct their own use of the collections, perhaps creating products based on the pattern of a textile (as has happened to works in Amsterdam's Rijksmuseum) or services using data belonging to the institutions (such as the hackathons organised also by the European Union); it could be someone who identifies the subject of an image preserved in the archives, who restores the scanning or corrects the caption of a work (as has happened since institutions such as the German federal archives or the British Museum or the Swiss national library opened their digital collections by uploading them onto Wikimedia Commons). The public needs to be re-thought of, not only as visitors to an exhibition or a website, but also as those who safeguard and enhance the value of their their heritage and benefit from it, use it, transform it, re-elaborate it to create social and economic innovation.

An example of how people participate in documenting and protecting heritage is the Wiki Loves Monuments photography competition, in which volunteers from all over the world have uploaded the inventories of cultural assets onto Wikidata (or have made them themselves when not available) and have then photographed these assets creating a massive repository of

images with a open licence at the disposal of everyone, even of the cultural institutions themselves.
Open licences create culture and new spaces for culture: they allow cultural sites and institutions to expand beyond the confines of the space that they know how to create on their own.

In conclusion, to encourage reflection on the physical and mental space of art and culture, I suggest two books, choosing them short and brilliant: the now classic "Non lieux" by Marc Augé published in 1992 and "Primitive Art in Civilised Places" by Sally Price dated 1989. More complex but important to mention are texts by Henri Lefebvre, "Delirious New York" by Rem Koolhaas dated 1994 and "La ville poreuse" by Bernardo Secchi and Paola Viganò dated 2011. To approach the social and political meaning of open licences, I suggest Larry Lessig's videos on TED.

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Are we living the future?
Museums in the time of Covid-19

Gemma Tully*

Abstract:
This paper addresses visions for the future of museums prior to the outbreak of Covid-19. Aiming to assess whether the societal shifts triggered by the pandemic have caused museums to move towards or diverge from anticipated scenarios, the analysis will consider the lessons the sector can learn in order to re-imagine the role of museums in a post-Covid-19 future.
Keywords*: Museums, Future Studies, Covid-19*

How can we conceptualise, plan and shape the future? These are questions that have preoccupied philosophers since Plato outlined an idealised framework for society in *The Republic.* Although we cannot predict the future, we can apply theories and methods that enable us to anticipate it more effectively (Dator, 1995, 1). This paper aims to provide a brief overview of visions for the future of museums (by which I also mean galleries) before the outbreak of Covid-19 and to assess the impact of the pandemic in terms of accelerating change and provoking practitioners and museum audiences to re-evaluate 'new' future priorities.

1. How can we model the future?

Numerous cross-disciplinary approaches exist which attempt to visualise the future. These range from short-term economic modelling to longer-term methods of forecasting and backcasting as encompassed by Future Studies (e.g. Robinson, 1982; Godet, 2001; Weiner, Brown, 2005). Forecasting works on the premise that we cannot control the future but that potential outcomes can be managed to maximise sustainability through continual evaluation and adaption of business models. Building from the present, it is a top-down, expert-led method which focuses on quantitative social, political and economic data in order to set out the 'most likely' future trends (Robinson, 2003, p. 841).

[76] Gemma Tully, University of Cambridge, gt278@cam.ac.uk.

Backcasting starts with the proposition that the future is too unpredictable to forecast and that the most likely trends may not be the most desirable. Thus, it offers a form of scenario analysis in which a favourable future is imagined – irrespective of current trends (e.g. Holmberg, Robèrt, 2000). While quantitative data play an important role, qualitative assessments of stakeholders' idealised futures are critical to the approach. Backcasting, therefore, is seen as a problem-driven, bottom-up technique in which co-produced data facilitate discussions on the feasibility, strategies and policies needed to work towards a desired end point (Robinson, 2003, pp. 841-843).

Museum professionals have been slow to engage with forecasting and backcasting - and strategic planning in general - in order to work towards 'preferred museum futures' (Smith, 2006, pp. 541-542). Until the end of the 20th century, and the technological explosion caused by the inception of the Internet – plus theoretical shifts towards 'The New Museology' (Vergo, 1989) – most museums continued to chart a course based on yesterday's assumptions. As technological change is predominantly the precursor of socio-cultural and environmental change (McLuhan, 1964), the exponential growth of digital tools over the last 25 years has forced the sector to reflect more deeply on the opportunities and uncertainties that may shape future museum practice.

Over the last two decades, museums have begun to utilise a combination of the aforementioned techniques to create a new guiding vision. Big data projects, assessments of government policy and socio-economic modelling have enabled institutions to forecast global trends: increasing engagement with digital tools, decreasing state funding for the arts, growing interest in interactive and experience-driven leisure pursuits and so on (Mu.SA, 2016). Backcasting, largely through qualitative user evaluation, has revealed calls for greater public participation in museum decision-making and the development of content, alongside the need to refocus on the social value of museums (Gensler, 2015). These anticipated futures are far removed from traditional perceptions of museums as object-centred, custodial spaces with a mission to disseminate expert knowledge to passive,

on-site audiences. The emphasis has shifted to position museums as people-centred institutions for the active co-production and sharing of stories associated with the natural and cultural world both in person and online (Taylor, 2007).

The outputs linked to this paradigm shift manifest differently at national and institutional levels as approaches are increasingly tailored to meet stakeholders' needs (physical and virtual) and the specificities of local contexts. The result has been significant diversification of the museum offer around the globe. This is perhaps best demonstrated by the recent inability of members of the International Council of Museums (ICOM) to agree an updated definition of 'the museum' even though there was general consensus regarding the 'most likely' components of future museum practice (pre Covid-19) (ICOM 2019). As it is not possible to discuss all future trends in detail, the following analysis will offer a brief outline of the likely/desired future before highlighting the areas that dominated the sector's response to the Covid-19 crisis.

2. Future-proofing 21st Century museum practice

The concepts of ***museums as businesses*** and ***museums as community hubs*** are the two core pillars that many within the sector believe will support the future of museums (Rectanus, 2006; Smith, 2006; MuSA 2016). The foundations of these pillars are ***digital tools*** which are forecast to play an increasingly important role in all aspects of society, from e-commerce to co-production (IDC, 2019). Contained within this structure are numerous practical and ideological components that the museum sector has begun prioritising through strategic planning. Museums continue to place ***collections and authenticity*** at their heart, recognising these elements as their USP within an increasingly competitive tourism sector (Smith, 2006; Taylor, 2007; Rea, 2019). From the business perspective this relates to the value of collections as economic assets alongside the practicalities of their management and exploitation, from acquisition to disposal. For communities, the authenticity of collections is central to engagement and the linchpin for sharing trusted narratives in an increasingly virtual, 'fake news' world. Collections, therefore, represent museums' key resource for creating ***social value***. In this

relationship, digital tools enhance the potential of collections to form the hub around which museums can contribute to cognitive, spiritual and emotional development and well-being among their users (Museum Association, 2017).

Connected to collections is the issue of ***sustainability.*** Regarding administration and business logistics, this encompasses overheads and incomes streams: museum architecture (energy efficiency, rents, repairs), access (physical and virtual), retail, staff, content development (events, exhibitions, resources), policy, marketing and data collection. But it also includes vital elements of social responsibility/social value: museum ethics, diversity, repatriation, intellectual and emotional access, provision of community services and the evaluation of users' needs and experiences. All aspects of sustainability are tied up with perceptions of museums as safe spaces and trusted institutions (Kendall, 2013; Dilenschneider, 2019). As such, there is a delicate balance to maintain in terms of developing an ethical, yet reciprocal, relationship between the 'business' of sustaining an institution financially and the social value of sustaining the 'community' who shape a museum's outputs. It is for this reason that participation, co-creation and sharing (online and in person) (Simon, 2010), as well as the role of museums in facilitating debate (Janes, Sandall 2019), are perceived to be increasingly important.

To enhance the success of the aforementioned components, museums are adopting more ***networked*** approaches. Drawing from the business model, this involves employing and/or collaborating across sectors and sharing resources. Particularly evident in terms of audience segmentation research (Morris, Hargreaves, McIntyre, 2016) and emerging partnerships with the wider creative and cultural industries (ICOM, 2015), the approach is central to maximising innovation, reach and service quality. The growth of the network model also applies to the development of 'clusters' of organisations (Porter, 1998). In the museum context this has resulted in skills exchanges (e.g. NEMO's Learning Museum Network, n.d.) and visitor-sharing through proximity and mutual promotion (Tien, 2010).

Examples of museum clusters which have emerged in the last five years include the city-wide Museo delle Storie di Bergamo

(https://www.museodellestorie.bergamo.it/) and Bath Museums networks (Museums and Heritage Advisor, 2016), alongside regional cultural tourism offers such as the Baltic Museums Network (http://balticmuseums.ning.com/) and the Council of Europe's Cultural Routes (CoE n.d). Networking therefore has diverse benefits to museums and their localities in terms of finance, visibility and enhancing user experiences.

The digital tools supporting increasingly integrated business- and community-driven museums include: responsive/interactive websites which facilitate virtual and in-person engagement and retail, social media platforms, virtual reality, alternate reality, virtual tours/exhibitions/artefacts (including reconstructions and digitisation of collections), crowd sourcing, artificial intelligence and gaming, alongside online collections management and administration platforms to name just a few (e.g. Padilla-Meléndez, Águila-Obra, 2013; Jewett, 2014; King *et al*., 2016; Vas *et al.*, 2018). It must be noted, however, that just as digital tools are shaping future museum practice, the specific needs of museums and their users are leading to digital innovations. This is particularly evident in terms of meeting the challenges of 'born digital' collections, copyright/open access, collections databases, crowd sourcing, digital reconstruction and virtual repatriation (Dawson *et al*., 2011; Karp, 2014).

Having briefly considered the future-looking components of museums' social, technological and business offer, what initiatives and challenges have dominated the sector during the Covid-19 crisis?

3. Museums without walls

With most nations experiencing some form of lockdown, UNESCO estimates that 90% of the world's museums (approx. 60,000 institutions of all sizes) are having to deal with some form of closure (UNESCO, 2020). There is no doubt that closures are financially difficult. The National Trust which manages collections across 300 historic houses in the UK has forecast losses of 200 million GBP before the end of the year (BBC, 2020). At the end of April, the iconic Museum of Bags and Purses, situated in the UNESCO listed Amsterdam Canal Ring, was the first museum to

announce permanent closure as a result of the crisis (Dutch News, 2020). Over ten major US museums, including the MET, had announced significant staff cuts by early May (Kenny, 2020). With visitor services and learning employees appearing to be the worse effected, and swathes of institutions likely to follow suit, the trend is worrying for future visitor experience and engagement opportunities. In an attempt to ward off further cuts and closures, in April 2020 the Association of Art Museum Directors (AAMD) relaxed its guidelines on deaccessioning and use of endowment funds, essentially giving the green light for North American Museums to sell items from their collections (Smee, 2020). While forecasting suggests further financial downturn, there is still room for optimism as challenging conditions have also highlighted the sector's enormous **social value** and potential to **innovate**.

In a difficult financial climate, museums increasingly need to generate income independently and prove their utility. Quantifying value provides comparable metrics of effectiveness. While it is easy to record intrinsic data – number of visitors, total income – social value is harder to capture. Over the last five years, museums have adopted a range of tools from Social Return on Investment (SROI) to General Social Outcome (GSO) analyses, to show their wider social and environmental impacts (Bollo, 2013). These approaches focus on the potential of museums to create stronger and safer communities, strengthen public life, and enhance health and well-being (Matarasso, 1997; BOP, 2012). Analyses require a great deal of time and external support, and are frequently criticised for over-estimating social benefits (Bollo, 2013, pp. 55-56). It is for this reason that the overwhelming evidence for public engagement with museums during Covid-19 is so important. The data also provide hope that when museums reopen, users - both old and new - will rush to consolidate online experiences through in-person visits which will help counteract financial threats.

Unprecedented demand for virtual access to museum exhibitions and collections during the crisis clearly evidences the social value of museums and has encouraged institutions to rapidly improve their virtual offer. Following the sharing model developed by businesses such as Airbnb and Uber, museums had already begun to provide access to high resolution digital images,

information and resources about their collections (Mu.SA, 2016, pp. 16-17). Prior to Covid-19, however, it was only large organisations such as the Rijksmuseum and the MET that offered comprehensive online databases and copyright-free image use (*Ibidem*, p. 68). Thus, while the majority of museums were digitising collections, the scale of projects and the level of public access varied greatly. Taking the British Museum as an example, the institution saw traffic to its website double over the first two weeks of March 2020 as parents searched for home-schooling resources and international 'visitors' took virtual tours (ITV, 2020). As a result, the institution brought forward the launch of its revamped digital collections platform making 4.5 million objects and 1.9 million images open access under Creative Commons Licence 4.0 (Sherna, 2020). In addition, the museum has been adding to its wider online offer; promoting teaching resources and podcasts, as well as encouraging users to actively engage through social media via the wider #MuseumsFromHome movement.

It's not only the larger institutions that have been inspired to enhance their digital platforms as a response to public demand: smaller museums with only a handful of staff have arguably had to be even more creative in supporting the needs of new and traditional users. Live museum art classes and learning sessions are taking place online for the first time, attracting those who used to take part on site alongside new international participants. Museum blogs are expanding to offer home-schooling support and curatorial insights (e.g. Explore Saffron Walden Museum, n.d.), and museums of all sizes are calling on the public to contribute to active collecting by sharing experiences and artefacts from the pandemic (e.g. Dye, 2020).

Networking has also been vital to museums. From a flux of new collaborations with Google Arts and Culture, to the rapid mobilisation of independent and local authority museums to share skills and expand their reach (e.g. #LocalMuseumsUnite), museums are proving their social value to each other, as well as their communities, beyond anything seen before. International organisations such as UNESCO and ICOM are also playing a vital role by bringing heritage professionals together through webinars and discussion groups (ICOM, 2020).

The other area in which the social value of museums has really shone has been the provision of creative and emotional support. The Uffizi Galleries, for example, have developed a social media campaign with the hashtag #UffiziDecameron, aimed at engaging, inspiring and supporting the public through its collections. A personal favourite has been the huge public response – beautiful and often hilarious – to museum-led social media challenges to share drawings (e.g. @royalacademy #dailydoodle, Fig. 1) or physically recreated artworks (Porterfield, 2020, Fig. 2).

Figure 1 - Example of the #RAdailydoodle challenge (Twitter)

Figure 2 – Example of the @Getty challenge (Twitter)

Increased engagement with all of the above shows the vital social role for museums in providing comfort (Clow, 2006; Museums Association, 2017) and bringing disconnected communities together to offer a sense of unity and security in difficult times. This emotional support is enhanced through the cognitive values of engagement, stimulating creativity and lifelong learning which, thanks to digital tools and dedicated staff, can take place anywhere with an internet connection. Forecasting may suggest museums have difficult times ahead financially but backcasting, looking at where practitioners and users want the sector to be, plus what museums have demonstrated they are capable of, provide a clear path. Thus, I believe the business model will remain a key part of post-Covid-19 museum practice to optimise financial sustainability. I also believe that the 'business' of museums will be even more strongly driven by their social value as community hubs (physical and online), from which the authenticity of collections (the USP) – thanks to evolving digital tools and social demands – will enable an increasingly diverse range of users to explore, contribute and connect with institutions and each other.

4. Addendum

While supported by the real-world museum developments described above, my optimism for the future was reinforced thanks to my students from the Università degli studi di Bergamo. During lockdown, those taking *Museums Resources* developed proposals for new museums. Without doubt, these were the most inspiring outputs I have seen in 10 years of teaching. Idealistic yet realistic, these museums built from the principles of business and tourism studies while encapsulating students' interest in food, art, climate change, and world cultures (including The Museum of Epidemics, "Where the worst is just history!"). Centred on the needs of communities - local, visiting and online - the students' museums set out their visions for the most desirable future. Sustainable, socially conscious, diverse and inclusive, empathetic and co-produced, combining tangible and intangible heritage, art and science within technologically and data driven networks and financially sound business models, the work captured the best of

future strategies for museum practice both from before and during the Covid-19 crisis. For me, it is this response to museums that we should look to as a model that uses all available tools to create a unique and essential role for museums in post-Covid-19 society.

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Contemporary art and tourism: global and local

Raffaella Pulejo*

Abstract:
On the background of worldwide art events, contemporary art practices contemplate experiences on a local ground, as well as a reflection on the concept of space, time and social interaction. In these times of emergency, artists' works might suggest new paths in the tourism domain.
Keywords: *emergency, contemporary art, tourism.*

May You Live In Interesting Time was the title of the last international art exhibition held in Venice in 2019. As the curator Ralph Rugoff stated, the title was a phrase mistakenly cited in English as an ancient Chinese curse evoking periods of crisis and turmoil, which characterize also the present time[78]. The artists participating in the 55th Venice Biennial would have contribute to rethink our present, in respect of the political, social, and environmental conflictual changes in the context of the globalized world. If artists are believed to envision the future, this was even truer in the times that had to come shortly afterward: right before the end of the Biennial, in fact, an exceptional and devastating flood ("acqua alta") in Venice caused damages to the fragile cultural heritage and drastically made decrease the expected number of tourists. Looking backward, though, that event was a little thing compared to the pandemic that in the following months suddenly voided the often overcrowded streets of the lagoon city, leaving us with the digital images of monuments and squares of metaphysical, heart breaking beauty. One after another, cities in Italy and around the world appeared on TV and computers screens in a way we had never seen before.

Although we were worried for the health emergency, the unattainable beauty of the empty streets and the lonely monuments, a collateral effect of the disaster, hit our imagery. We would have like to be *the* unique, privileged spectator in the iconic

* Raffaella Pulejo, Accademia di Belle Arti di Brera, raffaella.pulejo@gmail.com.
[78] https://www.labiennale.org/en/art/2019 (consulted on April 2020).

squares and museum's rooms that in the life before the pandemic we had known, instead, in a swarm of people. We were realizing that something was missing *before* the pandemic in our approach to art, and *after* the epidemic outbreak, we were suffering the frustration of seeing only through black mirrors disposals the unexpected scenarios we could not *physically* experience.

From this premise emerge some contradictory feelings, that will be discussed in this paper: firstly, the conflict between *mass/massive events* intrinsic to contemporary art fruition and the desire for a private, *personal connection* to art; secondly, the spread between the limited *visual* approach to the art and the need for a more fulfilling *experience* involving all our senses; finally, the different perception of the concepts of *time* and *space* in relation to the movement restrictions imposed during the lockdown, and that will continue to a certain extent also in the near future. All these aspects, - mass events, visual communication, free traveling - characterize the culture consumption in the time of globalization, when culture, economy and traveling deeply intertwine (Harris, 2011; Meneguzzo, 2012). The break of this interconnected factors is causing the tourism system falling apart, being culture one of the main industry in it.

It has been argued from many quarters that the pandemic might mark the end of globalization or, most likely, its slowing down. All analysts agree that in this *suspended times* our activities might shift from global to local. How this shift can be attained, though? And how can it specifically refer to contemporary art?
The purpose of this contribution is to look at some artists' practices in order to find in their strategies suggestions for approaches to art alternative to those led by the globalized system. The examples I will refer to, obviously, are not exhaustive or representative of the plurality of languages coexisting in contemporary art, but just functional to open a different perspective in our discourse.

1. Mass events and contemporary art

More than cultural heritage, the contemporary art system is intrinsically settled on a cosmopolitan and dynamic life style. Since the early Twentieth century, the system of exhibitions and the

growing network of big recurrent international events such as biennials and art fairies, have been the main vehicles through which contemporary art has been disseminated in a larger audience beside that of the specialists. The Venice Biennial, established as early as 1895, was the first manifestation of this kind. It was structured with national pavilions like the World Fairs, and was centered on cultural and commercial competition, providing a model for many others Biennials spreading lately around the world. The primary purpose of this international exhibitions was to report on recent artistic innovation. After the 1960s, though, best commercial galleries, traveling exhibitions, and in a lesser extent museum, were providing information on artistic developments, so that the Biennials' displaying moved from presentations organized by country of origin, to a unifying theme assembled by engaging figures of curators (Altshuler, 2013). Since the beginning, those events have become big touristic attractions, moving a multitude of people around the world, a tendency which grew enormously after the 1980s along with the number of visitors. These manifestations were sponsored not only by an art market quite overambitious, but by big investors has well, interested in promoting the development and the gentrification of specific areas. This is the case, for instance, of the Biennial of Anren, Chengdu in China, one of the latest to be founded in 1917 also in order to promote the urbanization and the building industry in that region[79].

The extension of massive manifestations of contemporary art balances, on the other side, the shortage of public contemporary art museums and the scarse engagement of national States in strategic policies in this regard, particularly in Italy. One need only think that Milan, where converge the majority of private contemporary actors in the art system (commercial galleries, private foundations, exhibition venues, private run museums, and the higher concentration of artists in Italy), does not have yet a public contemporary art museum. It is worthy to say that Bergamo,

[79] https://www.biennialfoundation.org/biennials/anren-biennale/ (consulted on April 2020)

instead, is an exception with the first Museum of Modern and Contemporary Art in Lombardy opened in 1990.
While cultural heritage, rooted in the history, is unanimously recognized, preserved, and exhibited, contemporary art needs constantly to legitimate itself as "art". Since the Avant-garde's subversion of the traditional Fine Arts at the beginning of Twentieth century, many heterogeneous materials, techniques, and processes fall under the definition of art, so that a large part of the public feel 'suspicious' in front of unconventional art works. The body of contemporary art is an ongoing construction, not yet stable in our unanimous judgement. Commercial galleries addressing to specialists, and international manifestations such as biennials and traveling exhibitions attracting a larger public, represent the main agents for the dissemination of contemporary art, in order to affirm, stabilize, or influence its appreciation and economic value. This complex machine is now forced to drastically slow down, forcing us to rethink our methods of approach to contemporary art out of the "herd effect". Some suggestions come directly from artists' practices.

2. From *sight* to *experience*

Since the second half of the Twentieth century, some artists have been questioning the mainstream of the modern art system, its conventional places of diffusion (from biennial to museums), its social rituals (openings, vernissage), its economic dynamic following the capitalist rules of profit. Never before in history artists were so largely *against,* willing to *act* as critical subjects in the midst of society, although paradoxically they had to rely on that system to be recognized.
Their interventions span from explicit social actions to more poetic works, but the common ground of their work is the attempt to *engage* the spectator, changing his/her position from that of a comfortable contemplation to that of an involving participation.

In early Twentieth century the American philosopher and pedagogist John Dewey stressed the concept of art as experience (Dewey, 1934, 2007), a perspective on which we can rethink our relationship with the art world from a resilient position. In fact, while the pandemic speeded up a digital reconversion of all our

activities, from smart working to virtual museum visits, this will stay as a valid tool in the times of high emergency, but it would not substitute the need for physical experience on the long distance. In the plurality of contemporary art languages, a lineage of artists has emphasized the centrality of the body in the aesthetic experience. This notion concerns the artist as well as the spectator. American land artists, for instance, in the late '60 and '70 used to work in remote sites, away from urban and anthropized places, using nature itself as the matter of their intervention. These artists were criticizing the museum as a suitable place for contemporary works, and the status of the art objects as merchantable goods. Their works could be ephemeral, like Michael Heizer's *Dissipate* (1968) in the Black Rock Desert, Nevada, consisting of transient rectangular excavations on the ground; or like Dennis Oppenheim' s *Whirlpool Eye of the storm* (1973), a vapor trail discharged from an aircraft in the sky over the Mojave Desert, California. Other works were permanent although designed to change in time under the exposure of the natural agents, like Robert Smithson's *Spiral Jetty* (1970), a walkable spiral of rocks on the water of the Great Salt Lake, Utah. These kind of works imply the idea of the solitary journey as a personal, intense experience and shift the meaning from the artistic object/action, to the subject who experiences it. The *Spiral Jetty* and other similar land art works are managed by the Dia Art Foundation which provide the maintenance of the sites and help in organizing the visits[80]. It is interesting to notice that the *Spiral Jetty* had a pick of visitors during the Covid -19 emergency in United States, since the isolation of the site and the guarantee of social distances in the vaste natural spaces were further reasons of attraction[81].

In Italy, the artists' relationship with nature is more connected to the history of the places. For instance, the *Grande cretto* (1984-1989, 2015) by Alberto Burri, rises up on the ruins of Gibellina Vecchia, covering with a walkable concrete cast the original streets network of the old village razed to the ground by 1968

[80] https://www.diaart.org/visit/visit-our-locations-sites/robert-smithson-spiral-jetty (consulted on April 2020)
[81] https://tipsforfamilytrips.com/spiral-jetty/ (consulted on April 2020)

earthquake. Like the *Spiral Jetty,* it offers a double view: one aerial from above, visible through photos which allow to appreciate the aesthetic formal qualities of gigantic the work; the other physical, when one experiences the work by walking it through.

The artists' search for alternative spaces in the nature as well as in the urban setting, influenced consequently also the conception of museum. In the last decades, a trend defined as "post-museum" is characterized by the diffusion of open-air museums, many of them dedicated to contemporary art installations, and strongly engaged in reviving local traditions, as well as in establishing a more personal involvement of the spectators (Vinella, 2018) [82].

3. Time and space

Walking has a long tradition in art as an autonomous aesthetic practice, considered a way to redesign one's own inner map of a territory (Careri, 2006). The act of walking brings back to the human scale the notions of time and space. These notions have been quite *altered* during the pandemic experience while we were pressed, from one side, by the *heaviness* of the forced immobility, and, from the other, by the *dematerialization* of our digital lives. In a way, we must regain possession of the space in a new condition of (temporary) social distance. Walking as an act of liberation and appropriation has been practiced by many artists according different strategies. Richard Long in the work *A Line Made by Walking* (1967), consisting in an ephemeral line of flattened grass made by repeatedly walking on it, made just a *presence* statement. Guy Debord 's practice of the *dérive,* based on principles of chance and leisure, made emerge a psychogeography of the urban space which subverted the power hierarchies inscribed in the city plans (IS, 1958). Regina José Galindo, dips her feet in a basin filled of blood and walks from the Constitutional Court to the National Palace in Guatemala City to denounce the assassination of

[82] http://www.parchidartecontemporanea.it/category/parco-di-sculture/ (consulted on April 2020)
https://www.artribune.com/turismo/2017/07/parchi-arte-italia/ (consulted on April 2020)

civilians during 36 years of civil wars. The list of the artists adopting this strategy of work can be long, and whatever are their narrative, all those works share the condition of functioning like *disposals* activating a process in the spectator.

The shift from global to local can be understood more extensively than an invitation to temporarily shorten our itineraries because of the travel ban, rather it can change our position of passive spectators of spectacular, worldly events, to engaged actors in the art discourse. Social distance and mobility restrictions might force us to look at contemporary art less in terms of consumption and more in terms of experience. At the beginning of the past century Marcel Duchamp said that "is the spectator who makes the picture". Never before as during these "interesting times", we might try Duchamp's challenge.

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The right of access to culture in crisis contexts

Patrizia Anesa*

Abstract:
Over the last few years many scholars have endeavored to raise awareness about the need to protect the right of access to culture, both from an individual and a societal perspective. A profound discussion of the relevance of the right to culture proves to be particularly necessary in crisis contexts, and this study aims to reflect on the fulfillment of cultural rights during the 2020 Covid-19 pandemic emergency, which has considerably affected its realization at a global level.
Sketching out interpretive touchstones for the definition of cultural rights, this paper offers some theoretical groundings, as well as the description of some practical exemplary cases which have emerged in the current critical context. More specifically, it discusses the role of digitalization in preserving the right of access to culture. Ultimately, this analysis shows that this current historical moment offers both exceptional opportunities and pressing challenges for the actual protection of this right.
Keywords: *cultural rights, access to culture, digital cultural heritage.*

1. Cultural rights

The notion of the right to culture is intended in this work as referring to the right to access, to participate in, and to enjoy culture, with particular attention on cultural heritage. It is an emerging yet fundamental right, which has progressively gained recognition under international law. More precisely, the 2003 UNESCO Declaration defines cultural heritage as "an important component of the cultural identity of communities, groups and individuals, and of social cohesion, so that its intentional destruction may have adverse consequences on human dignity and human rights", thus linking the right to culture to a wider conceptualization of human rights. Article 27 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (United Nations, 1948) also states: "everyone has the right freely to participate in the cultural life of the community, to enjoy the arts and to share in scientific advancement and its benefits." Another crucial aspect to be borne in mind is that the fulfillment of such rights has to take place

[83] Patrizia Anesa, University of Bergamo, patrizia.anesa@unibg.it.

according the individual's choice, as stated in the UNESCO Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity (2001) [84].

Cultural rights cannot be used as a justification to limit other rights enshrined in most contemporary juridical systems. A clear example arising in the context of the Covid-19 emergency is the right to health, whose preservation may appear to hinder the full enjoyment of the right to culture, which has seemingly been neglected by the containment measures adopted globally. At the same time, efforts have to be made to protect and safeguard the promotion of culture and its accessibility, by experimenting, expanding, and developing ways of enjoying the cultural arts[85].

2. 2020: A catastrophic year for culture?

With the spread of the Covid-19 pandemic, many countries around the world have progressively closed access to museums, cultural heritage sites, and monuments, as well as places devoted to other cultural activities such as theaters or music venues, with the cancellation of a large number of events[86]. In this critical context, creative initiatives based on new technology have proliferated against the backdrop of the current profound health, social, and economic crisis. Individuals, communities, associations, organizations, and companies around the world have adopted new digital tools to produce, exchange, visit, access, and share, cultural products, events, and sites.

[84] In this respect, it should be noted that "all persons have the right to participate in the cultural life of their choice and conduct their own cultural practices, subject to respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms" (UNESCO Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity, 2 November 2001, art. 5. See http://portal.unesco.org/en/ev.php-URL_ID=13179&URL_DO=DO_TOPIC&URL_SECTION=201.html (accessed 5th April, 2020).

[85] These ways have often been considered less valuable than more standard and traditional practices, but are now appearing essential in critical contexts.

[86] This has had enormous social and economic effects on all those operating in the field, but such discussion goes beyond the scope of this paper, which focuses predominantly on how the crisis impacts access to culture, with a specific (although not exclusive) focus on the visual arts.

These processes are not new in that institutions have often digitized their repositories in order to respond to the needs and the expectations of new target audiences (Moens, 2018). Through these practices, cultural products and experiences are dematerialized and can be supplemented by the latest scientific information, as well as by interactive activities. Digitization is also useful in terms of collection management, research, marketing, and for educational purposes.

The diffusion of the Internet and new digital technologies has made the realization of cultural rights available through new ways of accessing culture for several years now, and users have gradually become familiar with different types of digital initiatives. Their evolution during the 2020 pandemic has been particularly significant, from a technological, social, and cultural perspective. Digital heritage platforms, virtual museums, online exhibitions, interactive tours, digital cultural flashmobs, and live stream cultural events, inter alia, have burgeoned and have experienced great expansion and profound revitalization.

The crisis context engendered by the current pandemic represents an opportunity for a refinement of these platforms, as well as for a redefinition of the paradigm of access to culture. Indeed, the urgent needs generated by this emergency have given new impetus to the experimentation of ultra-modern communicative tools and have boosted the fruition of these initiatives through a wider platform of potential users. Consequently, people who had not utilized these new forms of cultural access before have found themselves exploring new possibilities, examining new tools, and considering instruments that had, perhaps, not previously been of interest.

3. Evolving paradigms

A virtual experience is not intended to unproblematically replace the physical one, but it constitutes an alternative, complementary way of accessing culture. At the same time, the innovative processes implemented (or expanded) during the Covid-19 pandemic display a series of benefits which clearly contribute to the preservation of the right to culture from a variety of perspectives. Evidently, the initiatives developed during the

crisis in 2020 have allowed people from different sections of society and geographical origin to access cultural heritage that had become physically unavailable due to varying reasons, such as the closure of monuments, tourist sites, and museums, or due to the unavailability of means of transport and the closure of borders.

Beyond this objective, the new initiatives have been beneficial to a series of other users. Indeed, there are several circumstances under which certain destinations may remain precluded to a visitor, who can instead access them remotely. This is the case, for instance, for people with different forms of disabilities, who may encounter difficulties when travelling to certain destinations, especially remote ones or ones that cannot guarantee equal accessibility to all. Also, people on a low income may find it problematic to regularly enjoy cultural visits due to the expense of entrance fees to some of the sites or events which may otherwise be of interest to them. As Shaver and Sganga aptly state, "[r]ealizing the right of everyone to cultural participation requires the elimination of discriminatory barriers, as well as special measures to prevent limitations of geography, language, poverty, illiteracy or disability from blocking full and equal participation" (Shaver, Sganga 2010, p. 647)[87]. Although they may have other objectives as well, some of the current initiatives seem to contribute to the full realization of these rights.

There is still a relative scarcity of literature seeking to theorize the impact and consequences of digital innovations for the enhancement of public participation with cultural heritage in the long term, especially as regards marginalized and disempowered sections of society. Thus, the usage of new tools should be

[87] See UN Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (CESCR), *General comment No. 20: Non-discrimination in economic, social and cultural rights (art. 2, para. 2, of the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights)*, 2 July 2009, E/C.12/GC/20, available at: https://www.refworld.org/docid/4a60961f2.html (accessed 5th April, 2020) "Non-discrimination and equality are fundamental components of international human rights law and essential to the exercise and enjoyment of economic, social and cultural rights" (art. 1, para. 2).

problematized in that it can represent a form of empowerment, but at the same time it can divide and intimidate.

This study does not purport that new forms of accessing culture can fully substitute the traditional ones, nor does it suggest that advanced tools automatically guarantee an access to culture which is fair and equitable. In this respect, the digital divide (seen from a geographical, social, demographic, or educational perspective) casts a shadow on the very democratic access to culture which digitalization itself aims to enhance. Consequently, such dynamics may even be seen as revealing the potential magnification of inequality in terms of accessibility and equitable public participation. Hence, I contend that detailed consideration of the type and quality of public access to digitized processes should not be discarded in the discussion of how to preserve the right to culture in crisis contexts.

Digitalization is colonizing tourism practices resulting in a radical transfiguration of the experiences that visitors to places of interest are becoming familiar with, as well as the role of professionals. This new paradigm of accessing culture profoundly affects the professional ethos of those operating in the field, to the extent that it may even alter current organizational structures and polarize the ability of the professionals to operate in a crisis context, with some positions having difficulty surviving a completely new contextual framework. Tourism industry roles are changing and are most likely at a pivotal point in their evolution. They are currently trying to keep pace with new stimuli, especially from a technological perspective, while preserving their cultural identity. New professional figures are involved, ranging from engineers to security experts, from privacy specialists to programmers and data scientists, among others. At the same time, the professions more traditionally associated with cultural experiences also need to modify their approaches and develop new competences, thus becoming digital curators, digital guides, digital narrators, etc. Clearly, the processes underpinning these new cultural initiatives are innately interdisciplinary and require the strong collaboration between different fields such as computer sciences, arts, digital humanities, communication, museology, new media, etc.

4. Initiatives

As previously mentioned, due to the Covid-19 epidemic, with millions of people around the world progressively forced to self-quarantine and with numerous countries imposing lockdowns, different institutions, museums, galleries, individual artists, collectives, etc. have promoted new digital initiatives (or expanded existing ones) to make their art available to the public.

One of the main ongoing digital initiatives is the *Google Arts & Culture* platform, which involves over 2000 museums, collections, and archives from all over the world and allows people to access a wide range of images and materials made available by the partners. The initiative was launched in 2011 by the Google Cultural Institute, and the initial partner museums included, inter alia, the Tate Gallery (London), the Metropolitan Museum of Art (New York) and the Uffizi (Florence).

The activity has progressively expanded and has reached a significantly higher level of popularity during the Covid-19 emergency. Thanks to the platform, users can view selected high-resolution images, take virtual tours, and access additional information. The project is inherently multicultural in that it hosts materials from institutions in over 40 countries and it is available in 18 languages. Any search is customized, as the users can proceed according to specific criteria of their choice: by artist, collection, historical period, geographical location, etc., thus making this approach highly participatory.

Figure 1 – Step inside Italy's museums (Google Arts & Culture)[88]

[88] See https://artsandculture.google.com/ (accessed 7th April, 2020).

The *Google Arts & Culture* initiative does not focus exclusively on exhibitions or art collections in places which are currently closed because of the pandemic, but more in general on different cultural products that some people may not be able to access physically. One example is the section "10 Incredible Locations for Street Art Around the Globe"[89] through which people can enjoy the view of different forms of street art, from Buenos Aires to Melbourne.

In several galleries and museums around the world many exhibitions scheduled in 2020 have also had to be closed to the public. Some of these exhibitions have been made available digitally, as is the case of *Rembrandt and Portraiture in Amsterdam, 1590-1670*, at the Museo Nacional Thyssen-Bornemisza in Madrid[90].

Figure 2 – Rembrandt and Portraiture in Amsterdam, 1590-1670 Virtual tour[91]

[89] See https://artsandculture.google.com/story/iAWxzhmS3pNmLQ (accessed 7th April, 2020).

[90] An online tour though the rooms of the exhibition is available at: https://static.museothyssen.org/microsites/exposiciones/2020/Rembrandt/index.htm (accessed 7th April, 2020).

[91] See https://www.museothyssen.org/exposiciones/rembrandt-retrato-amsterdam-1590-1670 (accessed 7th April, 2020).

The museum's website allows the user to navigate through the rooms of the exhibition, view selected items, and read the related descriptions and comments.

ArT you ready? is an initiative promoted by the Italian Ministry of Culture and Tourism which took place on Sunday 29th March 2020 and consisted of a digital global flashmob. Following the hashtags *#artyouready* and *#emptymuseum*, people were "invited to publish the photos taken in museums, archaeological parks, theaters, exhibitions, libraries and archives for the whole day, giving preference to those without people".

Figure 3 – ArT you ready? (Italian Ministry of Culture and Tourism)[92]

The initiative collected images of empty cultural sites with the aim to sensitize people to the fact that although those sites may be currently physically closed, they are still 'alive' and their activity continues. It was also an opportunity to 'bring together' art lovers and to share material, comments, and ideas during the pandemic.

5. Discussion: New challenges and opportunities

Cultural practices have inevitably been subsumed by the technological revolution and have metamorphosed. The developments that they have undergone in the last few decades,

[92]See https://www.beniculturali.it/mibac/export/MiBAC/sito-MiBAC/Contenuti/MibacUnif/Comunicati/visualizza_asset.html_1421405590.html (accessed 7th April, 2020).

as well the current thrust to innovating processes, are altering, probably not only temporarily, the paradigm of access to culture. Transferring an offline product to an online context implies a profound reconceptualization of the cultural experience, and the ways the related narratives are recontextualized have a huge impact on how cultural heritage is accessed. The digital audience is becoming more and more active, and with direct choices in their level of involvement. In this respect, people are also invited to like, share, and comment on the materials they see, making their feedback immediate and visible. Beside fulfilling other objectives, these practices contribute profoundly to creating a wider and stronger community of users, who are united by similar cultural interests.

These participatory dynamics can be seen as a source of empowerment and can contribute to guaranteeing the fulfillment of fundamental rights, such as that of access to culture in critical contexts where the circumstances may lead to its neglect. On the negative side, the perception of permanent availability may discourage careful attention on the part of the user and hinder a more mindful experience. Moreover, the minimization of time and cost to access the material may have an unintended consequence – that of a perception of lack of value of the related cultural products. Instead, it should be kept in mind that digital does not mean perennial and unbreakable, but, rather, digital still means fragile and in need of care. The materials constantly need to be kept updated, and privacy protection measures, as well as defense strategies against hacking attacks, have to be cautiously implemented. In this respect, digital advancements also bring with them concerns regarding privacy, intellectual property, security, and use of data.

New technological methods to enhance access to culture have simultaneously proliferated in different countries, and given the higher level of contextual similarity due to the global crisis, it is desirable that future avenues for research in this field account for contrastive explorations to evaluate the different approaches adopted. The user's experiences in online and offline environments thus need to be further investigated with the aim to include an emic perspective from the audience.

Consequently, we need to move beyond a merely pragmatic approach in order to offer a broader reflection on these new forms of cultural practices from both an ontological and an epistemological perspective, as well as a social one. Although the discussion of the single cases and their practical applicability can be revealing, we need to gain finer abstractions of such cases in order to reflect on this new order of experiences and how it is conceptualized by both the producers and the audience, by adopting an interdisciplinary viewpoint.

The transformation of products or events into a digital format does not merely imply an alteration of the way material is accessed, but also their incorporation within a broad digital and particularly visually-oriented culture. Thus, digital technologies are not simply functional to the cultural experience, but they profoundly shape the essence of such experience (Moens 2018). In other words, the technology is not neutral and it mediates the way we access cultural heritage. Therefore, such initiatives should not be passively accepted as a perfect replacement for other forms of fruition, and constant philosophical and cultural reflection needs to take place. This critical discussion should also involve the wider audience, who should be invited to reflect upon the role of the technology, not only as an instrument but also as a mediator and an interpreter of cultural practices.

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Going Dark: Theater in the Time of Covid-19

Gloria Pastorino*

Abstract: *Since New York City theaters were ordered to close on March 17 to avoid a faster spread of the Corona virus, they are facing the hardest challenge of their existence, with astronomical losses of revenue and jobs. The reopening has been postponed to after Labor Day (September 7) and it is unclear if audiences will be ready to return to spaces where they will need to be in close proximity to one another, even taking precautionary measures. While several small venues have already closed their doors for good and others are barely afloat, having been forced to furlough most of their staff, a decision from Congress to fund a stimulus for the Arts is awaited. The industry and all the other sectors depending on it (restaurants, taxis, hotels, bars, etc.) will suffer but theater won't die.*
Keywords: *theater, financial impact, Broadway.*

For a New Yorker, it is impossible to think about the city without thinking about brightly lit marquees on Broadway, the Met, BAM and St. Ann's Warehouse in Brooklyn, the Public's Shakespeare in the Park, smaller musty theaters in lower Manhattan, or improbable venues on second floors of out-of-the-way buildings, basements, and deconsecrated churches. All New York's a stage and the city's intellectual ebullience depends on countless professionals who make us forget about pollution and overpopulation to partake of the excitement and stimulation theater offers us daily. When Producer Scott Rudin on March 10 offered $50 tickets for all unsold seats to five of the most coveted new and older shows on Broadway from March 12-29 (*West Side Story*, *To Kill a Mockingbird*, *The Lehman Trilogy*, *Who's Afraid of Virginia Woolf?* and *The Book of Mormon*), it seemed too good to be true – and it was. Not because we could not get tickets: we could and they were something the average person cannot usually afford, but New York City Mayor Bill De Blasio, following New York State Governor Andrew Cuomo's orders, at 9AM on March 17 ordered the closure of all theaters and gatherings of over 50 people, effective immediately. The date is not random: March 17 is St. Patrick's, a day in which bacchanalia follow an 11AM parade of

* Gloria Pastorino, Fairleigh Dickinson University, gloria.pastorino@gmail.com.

about 150.000 people, watched by about 2 million. Smaller off-Broadway theaters, cabarets, cinemas, and other performance venues soon followed. In less than a week everything shut down. The timely measure helped prevent an even more deadly spread of the virus but also came as a disappointment to countless people who had tickets to shows and who had not realized yet the lethality of Covid-19. To date (May 14), there are 187.000+ tested and confirmed cases in the city, 22.000 of whom resulting in death. Clearly, the decision to avoid crowds when there were barely 400 cases confirmed was a good one.

The original plan by Governor Cuomo had been to reopen on April 13 but, as the deadline drew close, it became clear that such a prediction had been optimistic. The Center for Disease Control and Dr. Anthony Fauci, constantly at odds with a President going rogue on live briefings from the White House, intimated caution and advised that another eight weeks would be crucial to contain the spread of the virus since numbers were on the rise and the apex was far from being reached. On April 4, an article on *theaterlife.com* summarized the non-rosy picture of an uncertain future: "Even after the rate of infection has decreased and the Empire State starts to return to a semblance of normalcy, large public gatherings such as Broadway shows and other live entertainments will probably be the last element of our lives to come back (Fig. 1).

Figure 1 – 42nd Street empty on Saturday 28 March 2020 at 8 pm
Source: Vladislav Grubman
https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:42nd_Street_on_a_Saturday_Night_during_COVID-19.jpg

After weeks of maintaining a six-foot space between each other, will New Yorkers and out-of-towners want to share armrests with strangers in a crowded space for two and a half hours?" (Sheward).[94] The article laments that there is no telling

[94] Shugoll Research, a national marketing research firm polled 2,762 theatergoers in the Washington area about their willingness to return to the theater and only 25% would return right away. The news, reported by *americantheatre.org* on 14 April 2020, contains other data that shows that money is a concern, but safety is the main one, https://www.americantheatre.org/2020/04/14/survey-shows-audiences-reluctance-to-return-to-the-theatre/?fbclid=IwAR2P0dp3ADB7Y-Fqmv0XzbNRJH_v89P5YHoa0HGq_G-Inyu5vvbq0UdV23E

how long theaters will remain dark. All awards will have to be postponed to the fall or to the following April/May, possibly combining the botched 2019/20 season with the possibly as incomplete 2020/21 one. On April 8 the *New York Times* reported the Broadway League's decision to keep the 41 Broadway houses closed at least until June 7, or possibly until July 4. Governor Cuomo commented that reopening would not be a priority, even though "the industry drew 14.8 million patrons last season and grossed $1.8 billion" (Paulson).[95] The ramifications of keeping theaters closed indefinitely are multiple: negotiations to extend health benefits for workers is only one of the many pressing ones. Sold tickets, for instance, have not all been refunded, in hopes that they will be used at a later date, but the questions of when it will be safe to be in such proximity to others in an enclosed space is still without an answer. On May 12 *Variety* reported that the shutdown would extend until Labor Day (the first Monday in September).

Productions that were in previews in March (such as Martin McDonagh's *Hangmen* or Edward Albee's *Who's Afraid of Virginia Woolf?*) announced right away that they would not return, Disney's $30 million Frozen the Musical announced its permanent closure on May 14, while others are still hopeful to resume in the fall. What needs to be understood is that, as vital for human beings as the arts are and as important as theater is for the intellectual life of New York City, closing theaters means depriving thousands of people of jobs not just in the entertainment business. In fact, New Yorkers attending plays regularly dine at restaurants (before or after the show) and use taxis, public transportation and parking lots, while tourists also fill hotels, planes, trains, buses, and bus tours: "A record 37.7 million hotel room nights were sold citywide last year, generating $623 million in estimated hotel occupancy tax revenues" (Doyle). In 2018 New York attracted 65.2 million

[95] Data confirmed by *Broadwayleague.com* on "Broadway Season Statistics," https://www.broadwayleague.com/research/statistics-broadway-nyc/ Accessed May 12 2020. $1.43 billion came from Broadway shows, 80% of which were musicals, according to *statista.com*, "Gross Revenue of Broadway Shows from 2006 to 2019." https://www.statista.com/statistics/193006/broadway-shows-gross-revenue-since-2006/ Accessed 12 May 2020.

visitors, 13.5 million of whom from abroad. Projected figures for the year 2019 were 67 million visitors, showing a constant growth for ten years in a row. When the theater season ended in May of last year, the *New York Times* reported that "attendance was up 9.5 percent. And overall grosses rose even faster — up 10.3 percent, leading to the sixth record-breaking year in a row" (Paulson). The article explains that "tourists make up 63 percent of those who attend Broadway shows, according to an annual study of audience demographics conducted by the Broadway League. Broadway, with new offerings all the time, is one of the major draws for tourists, and is heavily marketed by the tourism agency, which twice a year invites shows to perform at conventions of travel planners" (Paulson). This also explains the proliferation of musicals adapted from successful films (like *Mean Girls*, *Tootsie*, *Pretty Woman*, *Waitress*, *The Lion King*, *Beetlejuice*, etc.), which appeal to unsophisticated masses who want the experience of a Broadway show without the surprise of watching something too difficult to understand.

According to the Mayor's Office of Media and Entertainment (MOME), "there are 220 stages throughout the city, with over 51,000 seats in total spread among three main categories of theater venues: Broadway [500+ seats], Off-Broadway [100-499 seats], and Off-off-Broadway [99 seats or fewer]. There are 748 small venue theater organizations throughout the city: 600 production companies, 97 producing or presenting theaters (with a physical location) and 51 theater organizations that exist under a larger umbrella institution outside of Academia." The importance of the small venues should not be underestimated: it is often here that the best ideas are brewed, both for shows that are later picked up by theaters on Broadway (such as the immensely successful musical *Hamilton*, which has returned $400 million to financial backers after an initial investment of $12.5 million) or for television. Their economic impact is substantial as well: according to the study issued by the Mayor's office, they generate "approximately $1.3 billion in total economic output, over 8,400 full-time equivalent jobs and $512 million in wages in 2017." Notwithstanding the undeniable direct, indirect, and induced economic impact of the theater industry at large, not to mention

its invaluable cultural impact and outreach to schools and marginalized communities, its employees are not protected and gain substantially less than their equivalent in television, film, or other media. To make things worse, real estate costs in New York city make the survival of theater difficult even in optimal circumstances[96]; faced with a pandemic, several theaters have already been forced to close their doors for good. For instance, Long Island's Secret Theater, closed on May 6 after ten years of being in business. Its owner and executive director, Richard Mazda, pointed out that "according to the National Endowment for the Arts, the arts and culture sector of the U.S. economy adds nearly $60 billion more than construction and $227 billion more than transportation to the country's GDP" (Kaye). The Public, a historic nonprofit theatre with five stages in its main building, a cabaret bar (Joe's Pub), "The Mobile Unit" touring throughout New York City's five boroughs, and the free Shakespeare in the Park, will lose between $10 and $20 million by the end of August in box office revenue and philanthropic donations. Of course, its two Shakespeare plays at Delacorte theater in Central Park have been cancelled too. As a result, The Public "will furlough 70 percent of its full-time, permanent staff — about 160 people — from May 4 to Aug. 31, the end of its fiscal year. Most of the remaining staff, everyone who makes over $60,000 per year, will take up to a 25 percent pay cut. Eustis [the artistic director] will take a 40 percent pay cut" (Paulson). On April 27 the League of Independent Theater asked for full Rent Forgiveness, citing also the disastrous impact on cafés, bars, and small businesses that a theater closure would have. On April 27 filmmaker Rian Johnson and opera star Christine Goerke signed a petition to support legislation that "would extend a $600-per-week boost in unemployment insurance to January 2021" (McClintock) instead of ending on July 31, as stipulated by the CARES Act (a $2 trillion relief act for individuals, businesses, and government organizations). "We ask you to remember that the artists, craftspeople and technicians who are suffering irrevocable hardship have been members of an industry that has been an

[96] A relatively small rehearsal venue like *The Tank* pays $18,000 in rent monthly, while *HERE Arts Center* has an $11,000 mortgage on top of rent.

$800 billion part of the nation's economy," the petition reads. Congress still has to intervene.

In fact, the figure cited in the petition is lower than the actual one, according to *Forbes*: "the entertainment industry, which accounts for $877 billion, or 4.5% of the nation's GDP" (Seymour), as also reported by bea.org about the year 2017. Non-profit organizations account for "12.3 million jobs, or 10% of all private sector work, according to the Bureau of Labor Statistics. That makes the nonprofit sector the third-largest workforce in the country, behind only retail and manufacturing" (Seymour). The article comments on how it would be in the Treasury's best interest to fund more stimulus for the arts industry, notwithstanding the unfavorable opinion the current administration has of the humanities. It also reiterates that "the industry will be gutted without major federal help. Arts nonprofits have already suffered $4.5 billion[97] in losses as a result of the pandemic, and theaters alone are predicted to lose $500 million more by June, according to a new survey by Theatre Communications Group (TCG), a national service organization with over 700 member theaters" (Seymour).

What is the future of the industry when New York city will lose $7.4 billion this year alone? The near future has seen most theaters trying to adapt to the only way to reach an audience: through the internet. Many offer archival recordings or live streaming of plays adapted for the internet – solo acts, fund raisers such as Michael Urie's at-home revival of his *Buyer and Cellar* (which raised $200,000 in donations over the internet), or interesting adaptations for an on-line video conferencing scenario, such as Richard Nelson's Apple family play, the fifth of his series, this time set during the pandemic on a zoom call among the four siblings and one partner.[98] Among other similar initiatives from other theaters, *The Public* has also been hosting staged readings,

[97] According to a study conducted by Americans for the Arts, https://news.artnet.com/art-world/arts-organizations-lost-4-5-billion-pandemic-says-ambitious-new-study-1829262

[98] Available in streaming: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=R76oRm76mMM&feature=share&fbclid=IwAR1J1vR6QFHsn0LfQBgp0TjKyV_t1FchtK74XCM_T0-Gy429U8nUkZC0xtQ

commissioned mini-plays, launched a weekly on-line Shakespeare challenge, streamed performances, and has given the opportunity to watch writers at work, like Pulitzer-Prize-winner Suzan-Lori Parks. New York Theater Workshop has been leading master classes on directing, writing, performances, streaming conversations with artists, offering an open-mic night, as well as virtual networking events, and emerging artists opportunities to share their works-in progress. As reported in Variety, "Christopher Carter Sanderson**,** whose Gorilla Rep theater company has been presenting free Shakespeare plays around New York City since 1989, the shutdown is a chance to realize a long-held idea: a digital *Macbeth* filmed with faces in close-up, responding to the way that people interact with their iPhones. Now Sanderson is rehearsing a cast of more than 30 people on Zoom, then having them film their own lines individually, against a black background, and send them in to be edited into a full-length show. Rather than putting it up on the internet for free, Sanderson is hoping for a distribution deal—and that it might serve as one model for the future" (Midgette). The Tank has launched CyberTank, an online platform to allow its artists to continue producing new work online.

It is easy to get discouraged by these numbers and by politicians' obtuseness, but theater, the creative spirit behind it, and its teaching and healing powers have survived for millennia. Money will be lost, but theater will not die. In an interview with Marc Swed on *The Los Angeles Times*, Director Peter Sellars sees these pandemic months as an opportunity to re-evaluate priorities: "Finally, the conversation is not being dominated by money .. but by something else … maybe, just maybe, we will emerge differently." Sellars does not just see this as a moment of growth, but as a chance to stimulate creativity: "I'm hearing from so many students. One guy has a whole film festival going on in Brooklyn. Films made in people's apartments. It's a counter-virus film festival, and they now have 20 features proposed to be shot in the next month." Perhaps we have been focusing on the wrong things. Theater is about the circulation of ideas and, even though the economic losses are going to be huge, people will bounce back with renewed enthusiasm. For every theatre closing, eventually, another one will open. No artist has ever started in the theater

thinking he or she would get rich. As Sellars says, "It's always scary. But if it's not scary then you're not making art and you're not living life. That's the job description."

* Since the article was written, Governor Cuomo has officially delayed the reopening of arts and entertainment venues to "phase four", which may not come until the beginning of the new year.

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Part VI

TOURISM TEACHING FACING CRISIS

PMTS students during Covid-19 outbreak: a survey

Stephanie Pyne and Federica Burini*

After the outbreak of the pandemic, the Master's Course in Planning and Management Systems of the University of Bergamo continued teaching activities with on-line classes and workshops. In a very short period, students and professors had to adapt to a new way of communicating, mainly based on an on-line platform for hosting meetings or live events, with various possibilities for students to interact with professors (for example, chats, webcam and microphones, and screen sharing).
In order to understand their reactions to such a new situation in their lives and their learning, students participated in an internal survey, the results of which are analysed in this chapter. The response rate was very good, with 96 students completing the survey – half from first year and the other half from second year. Eighty per cent of respondents were from Italy and twenty per cent from many other countries, including Azerbaijan, Belarus, Brazil, Cyprus, Georgia, Greece, Hungary, India, Lithuania, Mexico, Moldova, Nigeria, Pakistan, Russia, Turkey and Vietnam, which provided a very good representation of many cultural backgrounds and approaches.

Almost 30% of students were in Bergamo Province during the Covid outbreak, while 50% were in other Italian provinces and 20% had gone back home or were in other foreign countries.

In general, many students were directly involved in Covid-19 pandemic especially with respect to their families and friends, in addition to being very scared about the future.

1. Students participation to online lectures

The majority of the respondents (96%) followed the online lectures, which they considered to be a useful method for assuring the continuation of their educational programme and academic careers. A minority (10%) also considered these lectures important

* Stephanie Pyne, Carlton University, Ottawa, stephanie.pyne@carleton.ca and Federica Burini, University of Bergamo, federica.burini@unibg.it.

for daily programme engagement. The overall evaluation of class organisation was positive (88%), with a minority of responses by students who found that the online lectures were not as easy to follow as face-to-face or analogue lectures; or, that the online lectures were not a sufficient replacement for the analogue lecture mode.

Students provided many suggestions about technical aspects of the online lecture delivery, including those concerning connectivity issues, lack of consistency in professors providing re-watchable lectures, and the need for all professors to receive instructions about the use of the system before delivering lectures. The major issue for students was with the length of lectures, and many expressed the need to receive slides before class, in order to better follow the online lecturer. Solutions highlighted by students included recording of lectures in order to make them available for those students who work or have challenges regarding attendance.

It is interesting to note the manner in which students specified their uncertainties and views, including their need to better understand Covid-19's impact on tourism processes and their need to delve deeper into understanding this situation.

2. Students' engagement in the emergency

After the outbreak of the pandemic, many students helped with the emergency response processes by engaging in volunteer activities. Some worked on ambulance crews, or provided counselling and other support to their municipalities. Some participated in sewing face masks for family and friends or giving masks to community initiatives addressing the needs of homeless people. Others worked as photographers and journalists, contributing to promoting news and activities related to Covid-19 sponsored by the Government. Many students provided assistance to other people, including babysitting, taking prescriptions to older people in their neighbourhoods, or working on a casual basis in an asylum seekers reception centre.

Some students reported on their traineeship experiences abroad. A portion of these started their traineeships abroad before the

pandemic outbreak began. Others who started after the outbreak reported being able to complete traineeship requirements via distance working activities.

3. Students' perceptions of the Covid-19 impacts on tourism

The most important perception declared by the students was their preoccupation with health conditions, especially those of grandparents or relatives living distantly from them, either in their home country or home village or city. Many expressed the suffering they were experiencing, given the distance of their beloved and the impossibility of maintaining in-person relationships. Correspondingly, those who were far from their families at the moment of the outbreak declared their need and willingness to find the earliest available flight to return home.

Economic and job conditions are also an important issue for students, as many of them are living far from home and must work in order to pay rent and bills. However, due to the emergency response, many had to stop working.

Apart from personal worries students also declared their preoccupation with the global situation after Covid-19 and the impacts of this pandemic on tourism. They identified the following themes:

- *Economic factors and tourists' perception*

Some students stated that the year 2020 would be the worst in terms of tourism activities in comparison with previous decades. Fewer people will likely be able to travel due to short term economic conditions. Small and medium sized businesses are shutting down. Hotels and tourism-related organizations have stopped services and will have to reorganise their activities. All global airlines are at the risk unless the governments help them financially.

Elements of risk identified by the students include: (1) reduced purchasing power of people due to loss of jobs or the reduction of family income, which will impact destination choices or the even the possibility taking a vacation; (2) a difficult recovery phase regarding the many SMEs of Tourism; and (3), some people will be afraid to travel in the future. This is linked to an increase in intercultural unsteadiness involving a reduction in the image-

perception and fidelity of tourists, and concomitant negative economic and social effects. No more contact between cultures means no more flow of knowledge, and no more valorisation of tangible and intangible heritage sites in many areas of the world.

- *Mobility*

The pandemic has led to a stoppage of the international connections and long distance travelling, which will produce a fear of travelling abroad and increase the possibility for short distance travel and domestic tourism. Perhaps at the beginning, people will not travel far away from home, nor for a long period of time. Travel insurance will be mandatory or seen as necessary by tourists. As far as Italian tourism is concerned, the demand for Italian destinations will decrease.

- *Problems of developing countries*

This situation might cause a shift in attitudes toward remote and distant destinations when people are planning their touristic activities, especially those destinations that are located in developing countries.

Students also identified some **positive consequences following the crisis**:

- *Positive impact on the environment*

The Covid-19 crisis has contributed to a lower level of carbon emissions, less contamination, and a decrease in fossil fuel usage. Some students call this "a restart of the environment". After these difficult days, we will find new opportunities to live in our environment.

4. Students' suggestions for how to recover after the crisis

Students were also asked to suggest ways to recover tourism after the crisis, in light of their training in the Master's course. The following suggestions emerged:

- *Importance of marketing, communication and virtual accessibility*

It will be important to work on the communication and marketing of destinations in a way that will attract people, focus on the strengths of the destination and create a good image; so that potential travellers will perceive it as a secure and healthy place.

It will be important to help people to feel safe again, using social media to help people dream again. Italy, in particular, will need to promote its image with respect to travel.
After the Covid-19 crisis, people will depend increasingly on digitization, so virtual reality and 360-degree content should be used to inspire and attract travellers. Social media will also be very important for highlighting initiatives of local authorities relating to the safety of destinations.
Some students declared their interest in helping owners of small enterprises in the accommodation sector to find solutions for reducing prices through an increase of the domestic flow in the months following the crisis.

- *Short distance tourism promotion*

Some students thought about how to encourage one-day local tourism and putting the focus on domestic tourism while people remain afraid to go abroad. Small businesses are suffering the most from the current situation. Bringing attention to this reality and encouraging people to consume and buy from local sellers could help these businesses to recover.

Strong promotion of local and national activities, experiences and touristic sites will be central in recovering territories. At the same time, the creation of initiatives within a territory could help to recover it. It would be nice to see local people starting to support their own territories rather than wanting to travel afar.

- *Sustainable and individual tourism*

Open air individual activities and virtual tours of indoor activities will be very important in the future. Shifting from mass tourism to individualized, experience-based, sustainable tourism methods would lead to relatively smaller and lesser known territories increasing their fame, as well as protecting their environment while their communities benefit from the sector.
It would be great if we take advantage of this "break" to make tourism restart more slowly and in a sustainable way. It would also be useful to make tourists more responsible. This is possible if we provide people and tourist stakeholders with good inputs, such as Explora and UNWTO are doing. Explora is providing tourist operators with lectures on advertising and marketing and UNWTO

created a call for action in order to collect innovative ideas about how tourism could restart after the crisis.
Open-air activities, sports and avoidance of events that imply gathering will be the most important initiatives to promote.

- *Innovation and creativity*

It is important to encourage Innovative ideas to attract people and new ideas to help recover the sector, including "young" and uncommon products/services.

- *Community involvement and empowerment*

Promoting and supporting local involvement and empowerment will be very important in rebuilding destination image. Employing new technologies has amazing power in terms of attracting the attention of tourists.
It will be important to emphasize 'the local' in order to start from the roots of a territory, and to involve local people, including their goals, interests and objectives, in a participatory action approach. Creating solidarity and cooperation with local inhabitants and communities will be important, for example collaboration between the accommodation sector and local village people.

- *Networking and governance*

Some students expressed that they would be interested in working in destination management, in order to recover from this emergency and to create more networked systems that coordinate actions taken at the sub-regional level.
Some students highlighted that their Master's Course offers a multi-disciplinary approach that allows them to help in the field of tourism management, communication, cultural heritage and Arts. Adopting a sustainable approach and a long term planning view, they envisioned working together, combining their knowledge and applying it to particular destinations, regions and countries.

5. Thesis and traineeships projects after Covid-19 pandemic

Students expressed the importance of having the right gaze in approaching tourism after this pandemic. With their suggestions and analysis, they collectively communicated ideas regarding different forms of resilience and adaptation to the crisis, where

qualified competencies must be used for a more sustainable and critical perspective to tourism processes.
This is a very good response from our students who should be prepared in the next future to collaborate with institutions and stakeholders – during their traineeships and thesis preparation - not only for recovering tourism territories from the crisis, but also for catalysing the lessons learned for a renewal and innovation of tourism systems by avoiding to come out again with tourism pathologies.

6. Epilogue: Map-related tourism work before and during the Covid-19 pandemic

In the background, and separate from the survey and the online lectures, the visiting professor component of the course "Space diversity and intercultural diversity" involved teaching and learning about the role of historical geography and Cybercartography in critical approaches to tourism. In connection with this, two optional local field trips were held in November, 2019 in Città Alta, Bergamo. These field trips intersected with a number of themes, including the ongoing work of Indigenous (Haudenosaunee/Iroquois) photographic artist and curator, Jeff Thomas (https://jeff-thomas.ca/), who has an ongoing "Indians on Tour" project, and generously lent his "Toy Indians" to the class for the purpose of photographing them on the field trips.

The first trip to the Museo di Scienze Naturali and the second trip to the Botanical Garden steps (the Orto Botanico di Bergamo "Lorenzo Rota") and some other areas in Città Alta were analogue exercises – both in-person and on the land – that also involved interacting with digital technologies in terms of taking cell phone pictures of Jeff's 'Toy Indians' in various touristic poses. Students who participated kept in touch with each other and the visiting professor via social media and shared their photographs here as well. In the midst of the pandemic, work on adding these photographs to the Jeff Thomas and WATC Exhibitions Map in the Residential Schools Land Memory Atlas has begun (https://residentialschoolsatlas.org/index.html?module=module.jeff_thomas_and_watc_exhibitions#), offering an opportunity to share student work to keep in touch digitally. An example is

included below as thanks to the students for participating and as an indication of the potential for digital technologies and mapping, in particular, to contribute to the next future in tourism.

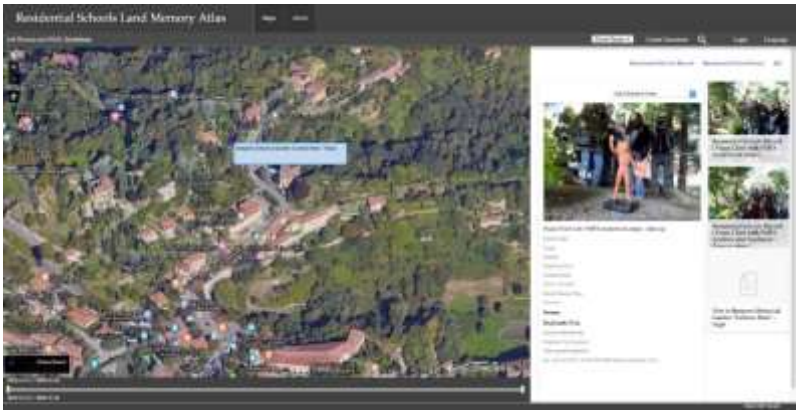

Figure 1 – Screenshot of map display, Peace Chief with PMTS students on Botanical Garden steps - close up (courtesy of Stephanie Pyne) https://residentialschoolsatlas.org/index.html?module=module.jeff_thomas_and_watc_exhibitions#eyJ0IjoieCIsImkiOiJlZjdlMTQzMWUyMjBiYTc5MGE5ZDU1YjlhNGRhMjIzZiIsInMiOjE1ODk3NTk2Mzg3NTh9).

The Authors

Gabriella Alberti
Associate Professor of Work and Employment Relations at Leeds Business School (UK). At the PMTS MA Course, she is a visiting professor and teaches *Tourism Practices and Society*.

Daniela Andreini
Associate Professor of Marketing at the Department of Management, Economics, and Quantitative Methods at the University of Bergamo. At the PMTS MA Course, she teaches *Tourism and Social Media Marketing*.

Patrizia Anesa
Senior Lecturer in English Language and Translation at the Department of Foreign Languages, Literatures and Cultures of the University of Bergamo. At the PMTS MA Course, she teaches *English Language*.

Rossana Bonadei
Professor of English literature and Director of the Department of Foreign Languages, Literatures and Cultures of the University of Bergamo. At the PMTS Master's Course, she teaches *Culture and Heritage*.

Elena Bougleux
Senior Lecturer in Anthropology at the Department of Foreign Languages, Literatures and Cultures of the University of Bergamo. At the PMTS MA Course, she teaches *Complex Societies and Tourism Governance*.

Federica Burini
Associate Professor of Geography and President of the MA course in Planning and Management of Tourism Systems at the Department of Foreign Languages, Literatures and Cultures of the University of Bergamo. At the PMTS MA Course, she teaches *Territorial and environment studies*.

Roberta Garibaldi
Senior Lecturer in Marketing at the Department of Foreign Languages, Literatures and Cultures of the University of Bergamo. At the PMTS MA Course, she teaches *Tourism Management*.

Kerstin Heuwinkel
Professor of international tourism management at the Faculty of Business Administration at the University of Applied Sciences, Saarbrücken (D). At the PMTS MA Course, she is a visiting professor and teaches *Sociology of Tourism.*

Andrew Holden
Professor of environment and tourism at Goldsmiths University London (UK). At the PMTS MA Course, he is a visiting professor and teaches *Environment and Sustainable Tourism.*

Sanja Iguman
Postdoctoral Research Fellow at the University of Bergamo.
At the PMTS MA Course, she has been a didactic assistant, mostly engaged in the courses of *Tourism Cultures* and *Heritage Management*.

Peter Keller
Professor of Tourism Management at the Faculty of Business and Economics, University of Lausanne (CH). At the PMTS MA Course, he is a visiting professor and teaches *Tourism and Hospitality Management*.

Andrea Macchiavelli
Senior Lecturer in Tourism Economics at the University of Bergamo. At the PMTS MA Course, he teaches *Destination Management.*

Stefania Maci
Professor of English Language and Translation at the Department of Foreign Languages, Literatures and Cultures of the University of Bergamo. She is Vice-chancellor of Education and student affairs at the University of Bergamo. At the PMTS MA Course, he teaches *English for Tourism*.

Federico Mangiò
PhD student in Business & Law at the Department of Management, Economics and Quantitative Methods of the University of Bergamo.

Milos Nicic
He is Researcher at the Center for Cultural Studies at the Faculty of Political Sciences of the University of Belgrade (RS). At the PMTS MA Course, he is a visiting professor and teaches *Tourism Cultures*.

Gloria Pastorino
Professor of Italian and French at Fairleigh Dickinson University (NJ). At the PMTS MA Course, she is a visiting professor and teaches *Museums and Media Studies*.

Iolanda Pensa
Senior researcher and head of research in the Culture and Territory area at the Laboratory of visual culture of SUPSI University of Applied Sciences and Arts of Southern Switzerland (CH). At the PMTS MA Course, she is a visiting professor and teaches *Heritage Management*.

Roberto Peretta
He is responsible of teaching in Information Systems for tourism both at the University of Bergamo and at the University of Trento. At the PMTS MA Course, he teaches *IT for Tourism Services.*

Domenico Perrotta
Senior lecturer in Sociology of cultural and communication processes at the Department of Letters, Philosophy and Communication at the University of Bergamo. At the PMTS MA Course, he teaches *Tourism Practices and Society.*

Andrea Pozzi
Fellow researcher in Economics and Business Management at Department of Foreign Languages, Literatures and Cultures of the University of Bergamo. At the PMTS MA Course, he is responsible of workshop activities.

Raffaella Pulejo
Professor of Contemporary Art History and Methodology and Theory of Art History at the Brera Academy, Milan, where she's the didactic coordinator of the graduate course of Visual Cultures and Curatorial Practice. At the PMTS MA Course, she teaches *Arts*.

Stephanie Pyne
PhD in Geography at Carleton University and member of the Geomatics and Cartographic Research Centre at Carleton University, Ottawa (CA). At the PMTS MA Course, she is a visiting professor and teaches *Space Diversity and Intercultural Geography*.

Greg Richards
Professor of Placemaking and Events at NHTV Breda University of Applied Sciences and Professor of Leisure Studies at the University of Tilburg (NL). At the PMTS MA Course, he is a visiting professor and teaches *Tourism Industry*.

Cinzia Spinzi
Professor of English Language and Translation at the Department of Foreign Languages, Literatures and Cultures of the University of Bergamo. At the PMTS MA Course, he teaches *Cross-cultural communication*.

Terry Stevens
Professor, Founder and MD of Stevens & Associates a multi-award winning, international, tourism consultancy and winner of the LUXLife Global Destination Development Expert 2019. At the PMTS MA Course, he is a visiting professor and teaches *Marketing Management*.

Simon Taylor
Professor of English law at the University of Paris Nanterre (FR). At the PMTS MA Course, he is a visiting professor and teaches *Tourism and Legal Studies*.

Gemma Tully
Research Associate as community archaeologist and museum professional at the McDonald Institute for Archaeological Research of the University of Cambridge. At the PMTS MA Course, she is a visiting professor and teaches *Museum resources*.

Jennifer Wells
Associate Professor of the Transformative Studies Doctoral Program at the California Institute of Integral Studies San Francisco, California (USA). At the PMTS MA Course, she is a visiting professor and teaches *Complex Societies and Tourism Management*.

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Università degli Studi di Bergamo
via Salvecchio, 19
24129 Bergamo
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