Title: **TOURISM AND ANARCHISM**

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ABSTRACT

This paper aims to contribute to the application of political philosophies to the tourism domain. There has been a growing critique of the dominance of neoliberal theories within the tourism sector and tourism literature. Nevertheless, the present paper argues that engagement with full range of political philosophies would benefit tourism research. The application of various political philosophies, such as anarchism, may assist the development of new research areas within critical tourism studies and advance debates on contemporary issues of poverty, inequality, injustice and natural degradation. Anarchism has been rarely mentioned in tourism studies, however its focus on justice, freedom and solidarity as well as its scepticism towards both the government and the corporations may contribute to various streams of tourism research, as the present paper indicates. Considering the revival of interest in anarchism in related disciplines, such as geography, the present paper constructs a research agenda based on the adoption of anarchism as a political philosophy.

KEYWORDS

anarchism; politics; political philosophy; critical; alternative tourism

INTRODUCTION

Alternatives to the long established mass tourism phenomenon have been widely discussed within the tourism literature since the 1980s (Holden, 1984). Concerns have been raised regarding the dominance of the power of large corporations and of the state over local resident preferences (Britton, 1982; Liu & Var, 1986; Mowforth & Munt, 2008; Schilcher, 2007). The neo-colonial nature of tourism has also been discussed (Hall & Tucker, 2004; Scheyvens, 2012). Coupled with documentation of negative environmental issues that tourism may bring to destinations (Wearing & Neil, 2009), a number of alternatives to conventional mass tourism have been proposed. These have resulted in a variety of 'tourisms' including sustainable tourism (Gossling, Hall & Weaver, 2009), ecotourism (Wearing & Neil, 2009), community-based tourism (Johnson, 2010), volunteer tourism (Wearing & McGehee, 2013), pro-poor tourism (Scheyvens, 2012), hopeful tourism (Pritchard, Morgan & Ateljevic, 2011) and justice tourism (Higgins-Desbiolles, 2008). One criticism that has been directed at many of the aforementioned forms of alternative tourism is their inability to change power relations, resolve socio-cultural and environmental issues and contribute to a more just society (Blackstock, 2005; Buckley, 2012; Hall, 2007; Schilcher, 2007).

Meanwhile, the so-called critical turn in tourism has contributed to the extensive critique of neoliberalism (Ateljevic, Pritchard & Morgan, 2007; Tribe, Dann & Jamal, 2015; Tribe & Liburd, 2016). Neoliberalism has been characterised as promoting individualism, economic liberalisation, deregulation, reduction of government spending and increase of the role of

private sector in economy (Golob et al., 2009; Tribe et al., 2015). Since the collapse of Soviet Union, the neoliberal model of economic development is often seen as the dominant or even the natural world view (Golob et al., 2009; Mowforth & Munt, 2008; Steger & Roy, 2010; Tribe et al., 2015). Neoliberal approaches have been advocated to national governments by the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund. Critics of neoliberalism point out that governments of many developing nations were pressured to adopt neoliberal policies that favoured the developed world (Easterly, 2008; Sheppard & Leitner, 2010). While neoliberal policies supposedly promote free markets, Easterly (2008) and Sheppard & Leitner (2010) suggest that in reality neoliberalism favours certain actors, especially multinational corporations.

The power of the state is often called upon to regulate private sector tourism development, to force the private sector to reduce negative socio-cultural and environmental impacts and to increase the socio-economic benefits of tourism for resident populations within destinations (Edgell & Swanson, 2013; Mason, 2015). The actions of governments around the world in relationship to tourism development have been controversial. Alongside constructive interventions, there are a number of examples of governments expropriating land for tourism developers, curbing the human rights of local residents and designing policies that are considered to deliver disproportionate benefits to foreign based private sector (Li, 2004; Scheyvens, 2011; Wang & Wall, 2007). The aforementioned situation is not unique to tourism. Conflicts between the interests of the residents, large-scale private sector and governments as a result of neoliberal policies have also been critiqued extensively within geography and development studies (Anderson, 2006; Breitbart, 2012; Unwin, 2007).

In recent years, critical discussions have increased about the construct of postneoliberal, postcapitalist society (Mason, 2016; Varoufakis, 2016; White & Williams, 2012). Anarchism is a political philosophy that has been sceptical of both capitalism and the government and indeed of all authority (McLaughlin, 2016). Nevertheless, there has been a general absence of any systematic review and application of political philosophies in tourism research (Webster & Ivanov, 2016). Anarchism has rarely been mentioned in the tourism literature. Therefore, the present paper aims to engage tourism scholars in a discussion about potential applications of anarchist philosophy in the tourism context.

Firstly, the paper briefly reviews the meaning of anarchism. The author subsequently reviews and critiques several areas of tourism research from a perspective of anarchism. While the proponents of various forms of tourism discussed within this paper may not be aware of anarchism, this paper may raise such awareness and help connect developments in alternative tourism and critical tourism studies with broader current social and philosophical debates. A conceptual map is proposed that is formed around the two core dimensions of anarchism: autonomy and solidarity. Research themes and knowledge gaps that merit further research are then conceptualised in correlation with various branches of anarchist philosophy. The overall aim of the paper is to extend the application of established political philosophies in tourism context, stimulate political discussions within the tourism academy and seek alternatives that extend the critique of mass tourism and challenge the neoliberal dominance within tourism. Such discussions may lead to more creative yet more coherent propositions for altering tourism sector for the benefit of larger populations.

ANARCHISM

Definition

Anarchism refers to a grouping of political philosophies that advocates self-governing communities and attaches particular importance to personal freedoms, autonomy, solidarity, collectivism and to the ability of groups of people to organise themselves on the basis of volunteer principles (McLaughlin, 2016; Springer, 2013). Therefore, autonomy and solidarity are two important dimensions of anarchism. Different branches of anarchism are often in conflict. There are two major branches within the anarchist philosophy: individualist and social anarchism. Individualist anarchism places paramount importance on individual freedoms and considers all government as tyranny. The origin of this branch of anarchism is often attributed to Stirner (1995). Stirner's (1995) individualist or egoistic anarchism is focused on the absolute freedom of an individual and is sceptical of the socialist anarchism as communities may be coercive and limiting an individual's freedom. The anarcho-capitalist tradition evolved based on individualist anarchism and is rather strongly represented in the US among libertarians (Curran, 2006; McLaughlin, 2016). To a large extent, individualist anarchists focus their critique on governments rather than on markets. Since the present paper seeks alternatives to both state and market driven tourism, this branch of anarchism is not a focus.

Social anarchism is another group of anarchist philosophies that is sceptical of both private sector and of governments. Social anarchism can be further divided into collectivist anarchism, anarcho-communism and anarcho-syndicalism. All of these reject private property, and relate to the labour movement and socialism, but reject the dictatorship of the working class. As was foreseen by Bakunin (1990), revolution that installs a new dictatorship results in only a change of elites, but not in the structure of society. In addition, eco-anarchism and anarcho-primitivism are mentioned within this paper as the branches of anarchism that are based around the protection of and living in harmony with nature. The term 'anarchism without adjectives' is used within the paper in relationship to issues that to do not fit into a certain branch of anarchism. 'Anarchism without adjectives' is an attempt to reconcile different anarchist ideas (McLaughlin, 2016).

As defined by the United Nations World Tourism Organisation (UNWTO, 2008), tourism involves traveling to and staying in places outside the usual environment for not more than one consecutive year for leisure, business and other purposes not linked with paid work. Since this definition is rather general, there is no theoretical contradiction between tourism and anarchism.

History and application of anarchism

Some argue that anarchist ideas were apparent in Ancient Greek and Chinese philosophy, though the conventional history of anarchism begins with the Enlightenment and the French Revolution (McLaughlin, 2016). Godwin (2015) was one of the first to formulate anarchist ideas, although he did not call himself an anarchist. Anarchist philosophy developed substantially in the nineteenth century with Proudhon's (2010) *What is Property?* being one of the most influential publications. Both Godwin and Proudhon inquired what is just and questioned the legitimacy of both the state and the property. Therefore, anarchist tradition lies

to a large extent in the search for justice and in ethical concerns, while its Enlightenment origins suggest a certain optimism about the perfectibility of the human being. While a human being is imperfect, there is an unlimited potential for people to improve morally (McLaughlin, 2016). Bakunin (1990) and Kropotkin (2012) continued the anarchist tradition of approaching authority with scepticism and requiring any authority to be justified. The anarchist approach is rather different from Marxism, which focuses on economic analysis. For example, Kropotkin and Reclus were anarchist geographers who studied different ecosystems and societies at different periods of history and also across different continents (Springer, 2013). Kropotkin's political writings were informed by natural sciences (e.g. the importance of mutual aid for evolution: Kropotkin, 2012), history and anthropology (e.g. the study of social evolution and the role of the state: Kropotkin, 1995). Similarly, Reclus (2013) related social and natural processes in his writings. These have influenced more recent environmentalism. Springer (2014) contrasts Marxist and anarchist approaches in studies of human geography. He critiques Marxist approaches as being overly focused on industrialisation and unable to explain different historic and cultural contexts in which humans live and interact. However, Harvey (2015) notes that both Marxism and anarchism can contribute to academic enquiry and be complimentary (Harvey, 2015).

By the latter nineteenth century, the anarchist movement leaned towards militancy, resulting in a number of terrorist attacks, bombings and assassinations. Anarchism was increasingly associated with violence, thereby creating a negative image and publicity for anarchism as a political philosophy. There have been many misconceptions about anarchism. Both Kropotkin (1898) and McLaughlin (2016) were compelled to explain what anarchism is not prior to discussing what it is. For most of the twentieth century, anarchism was in the shadow of Marxism, which became the dominant philosophy on the left of the political spectrum (Springer, 2014). Practically, anarchist movements emerged and managed to control some territory during the Russian revolution and later in the Spanish revolution. However, these advances were suppressed by the Bolsheviks (in Russia) and by a combination of fascists and communists (in Spain).

In the latter twentieth century, anarchist philosophies evolved to accommodate the new post-industrial era (Bookchin, 1971) and the environmental crisis (Bookchin, 1982). The sustainable development paradigm, which aims to address environmental and social concerns, is continuously criticised for bringing insufficient change to address this challenge (Banerjee, 2003, 2008; Curran, 2006; Redclift, 2002). Austerity policies, combined with free trade agreements and the growing power of private corporations gave rise to the anti-globalisation movement, which also draws from the anarchist tradition (Curran, 2006). Since the late 1970s anarchism became associated with punk music and counter-culture, giving rise to so-called 'lifestyle anarchism' (McLaughlin, 2016). In common with other fields of social sciences, it is evident that anarchist philosophies have become more specialised and have moved away from grand utopias in favour of solutions to specific issues. In place of preparing for an exhaustive revolution, the priority shifted to finding space to increase one's freedom and solidarity, thus gradually changing social conditions (Springer, 2013).

Since the Global Financial Crisis, there has been an increasing discussion of how to move beyond capitalism, i.e. post-capitalism (Mason, 2016; Varoufakis, 2016; White & Williams, 2012). Advances in technology enable people to have higher autonomy. The Internet and the sharing economy stimulate both freedom from corporations and government, and also provide a platform for solidarity. Such ideas can be found in Bookchin (1971) and have been recently reflected upon by Mason (2016). Evidently, such technology is a double-edged sword. On the one hand, social media allowed for the organisation of mass protest movements such as Occupy and Arab Spring. On the other hand, it also allows for greater government oversight. Moreover, while sharing economy applications may appear to be based on solidarity and pose a threat to large corporations, they often benefit a minority of people (predominantly those already with substantial economic and social capital), benefit cities and resorts rather than rural areas and provide benefits to new corporations (Dredge & Gyimóthy, 2015; Pool, 2014; Schor, 2014).

There has been a recent revival of interest in anarchism, notably within the geography discipline. For example, the journal *Antipode* published a special issue on anarchism in 2012 (Breitbart, 2012). Springer (2013, 2014) is arguably the most vocal advocate of anarchism. Referring to critical geographic studies, he has contrasted the anarchist and Marxist perspectives. While this debate may be relevant for geography as a discipline, tourism studies would benefit from both perspectives, since political critiques are rarely undertaken in tourism (Bianchi, 2009). While geography employs Marxism to understand various groups, cultures, societies and phenomena, Marxism and neo-Marxism (i.e. those twentieth-century theories that extend Marxist theory) rarely appear in tourism journals. Bianchi (2011) demonstrates the relevance of Marxist analysis to tourism in terms of historic materialism and the capital-labour dichotomy. Fletcher (2011) discusses tourism's role in resolving capitalism's contradictions identified by Marx. For example, tourism helps transfer capital to new geographies thus helping to avoid over-accumulation crisis. Britton (1982) uses dependency theory which suggests that industrialised countries of the global North control the tourism development in the global South. Watson & Kopachevsky (1994) discuss tourism as a result of commodification of culture. The use-value, exchange-value and sign-value are applied to tourism products based on Marx's (1946) and Baudrillard's (1981) conceptualisations of a commodity.

Anarchist ideas have continuing relevance today for critical analysis and action research. Such topics as indigenous rights, animal rights, human rights, protest movements, autonomous communities, income disparities and social inequalities have been the focus of the special issue of *Antipode* that was mentioned above (Barker & Pickerill, 2012; Springer, 2014; White & Williams, 2012). Such issues have preoccupied scholars within critical tourism studies (e.g. Buckley, 2012; Higgins-Desbiolles, 2008; Johnson, 2010; Nielsen & Wilson, 2012), albeit without explicit references to anarchism. The foregoing section has demonstrated the rich history of anarchist ideas and their continuing relevance to socio-political processes. The application of anarchist philosophy to contemporary issues within the geography discipline suggests that it might also contribute to tourism studies by considering similar issues.

ANARCHISM AND TOURISM

The search for alternatives in tourism

Through the search for alternative socio-political structures that address world challenges, tourism academics have reflected on issues associated with tourism. Since the 1980s, academics have questioned the role that tourism plays in development (Britton, 1982; Gonsalves, 1987; Holden, 1984). Organised mass tourism was critiqued as recreating plantation economies and as benefiting corporations based in the developed North, at the expense of resources and populations located in the developing South (Hall & Tucker, 2004; Mowforth & Munt, 2008). This led to discussions about alternative tourism as opposed to mass tourism.

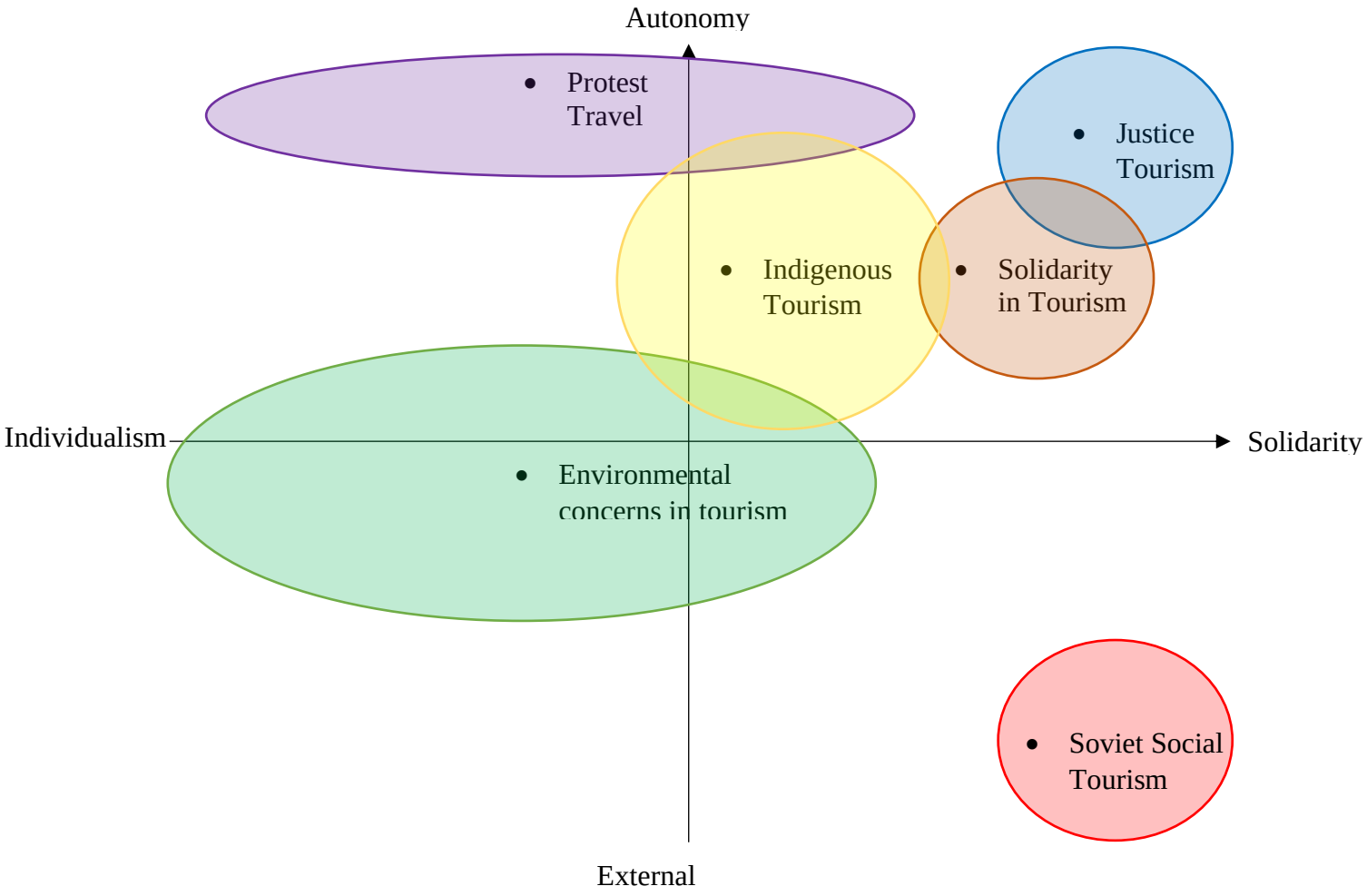
Britton & Clarke (1987) provide six alternatives to conventional tourism based on the scale of development and type of ownership, proposing that small scale locally owned initiatives deliver better outcomes for local communities. Similarly, Holden's (1984) concept of alternative tourism is largely based on a form of just development that is fair to the residents of developing country destinations. By the early 2000s, alternative tourism concept has become primarily understood in terms of niche products that differ from sun, sea and sand tourism (Robinson & Novelli, 2005). Such alternatives include ecotourism, indigenous tourism, cultural tourism, community-based tourism (CBT) and many other niche products. Except for CBT, these alternative types of tourism products do not necessarily alter the power relations between those involved, nor do they change the structures and beneficiaries of tourism development. CBT aims to provide destination communities with control over tourism development. Nevertheless, it has been also criticised for not doing enough to transform communities (Blackstock, 2005). Therefore, many forms of alternative tourism receive their share of criticism as being attempts to extend tourism geographies for the sake of industry growth, rather than improving the livelihoods of host communities or preserving environments (Blackstock, 2005; Hall, 2007; Higgins-Desbiolles, 2008; Schilcher, 2007; Wheeller, 2003).

The search for alternative tourisms continues, especially within critical tourism studies. For example, Pritchard, Morgan & Ateljevic (2011) have proposed hopeful tourism. Hopeful tourism is a perspective on tourism which draws upon humanistic and social approaches to tourism knowledge. In essence, hopeful tourism as a concept is related to education and research, aiming to instil moral values into students and further advance the knowledge of tourism as a force for the betterment of the world. Bianchi (2009) and Higgins-Desbiolles & Whyte (2013) critique such developments as focusing on culture and 'hope' within critical tourism studies rather than analysing and providing alternatives to political and economic structures that lead to negative impacts of tourism. As described by Higgins-Desbiolles (2008) and Scheyvens (2002), justice tourism appears the closest to the Holden's (1984) alternative tourism and to the anarchist principles of autonomy and solidarity.

The following sections introduce themes that have been investigated by tourism scholars and that relate to anarchist philosophies. The selected themes are based on their evident relation to two dimensions that arguably form the core of anarchism: autonomy and solidarity (McLaughlin, 2016; Springer, 2013). The proposed themes are rather broad in scope in order

to provide a basis for further discussion of where anarchism might be applicable to the tourism research agenda. The below themes include: indigenous tourism, protest travel, environmental concerns in tourism, solidarity in tourism, Soviet social tourism and justice tourism. These themes can be perceptually mapped along two axes as demonstrated by Figure 1, namely: autonomy and solidarity. The figure places the themes in relation to each other. The size and position of each ellipse demonstrate how diverse the existing literature is with regards to the relationship between the theme and the two dimensions. None of these themes and types of tourism ideally match anarchist ideas. However, the below sections discuss how various branches of anarchism may help further promote autonomy and solidarity within various strains of tourism enquiry, and advance discussions of alternative tourism.

Figure 1. Perceptual map of anarchism-related themes (Source: Author).



Environmental concerns in tourism

Tourism relies on natural resources, yet it has negative simultaneous impacts on the natural environment. As a result, a number of types of environmentally friendly and sustainable tourism have been developed. After two decades of active research about the environmental sustainability of tourism the results appear bleak as the tourism sector is far away from sustainability (Buckley, 2012). As Wheeller has noted (2003), tourism research on sustainability focused on individual consumption and on reforming tourism products rather

than addressing the real issue of tourism: its high growth. As long as there are more tourists travelling, there will be more carbon emissions and more pollution. The trends in tourism directly related to nature, such as tourism in protected areas, are moving towards expansion of the private sector's role in protected areas in the face of reduced or at least stagnant public funding (Buckley, 2012; Eagles, 2014). In such context, it is unlikely that governments (which see nature as a cost) and a private sector (which seeks profitability) will provide solutions that are not detrimental to nature, particularly as both sectors are driven by the concept of perpetual economic growth.

Considering the insufficiency of aforementioned efforts to reform tourism for the benefit of the environment, tourism scholars may choose to look more closely at radical environmental movements that have been inspired by anarchism. Kropotkin (2012) was arguably the first anarchist to integrate environmental concerns into anarchism. Almost a century later Bookchin (1982) developed social ecology, which is also referred to as eco-anarchism. Inspired by anarchism, radical ecologists consider that the same principles of domination of one class of people over another apply to nature, where the ruling class aims to dominate nature. Such an anthropocentric attitude is viewed as illegitimate in the same manner as other hierarchies and means of domination. There is no basis for justifying a priority for humans over plants or animals and for the exploitation of nature for human benefit. Mainstream environmental policies and agreements that barely reform "business as usual" are met with scepticism and protest by radical ecologists (Curran, 2006). Engagement with radical ecology has been extremely rare in tourism, though Macbeth (2005) acknowledged it among other approaches to sustainable development. Yet, if tourism academics are to adopt a critical stance to the current degradation of nature, there is surely a place for employing eco-anarchism to reassess the tourism and nature relationship.

Indigenous tourism

Besides the issues of natural degradation, critical tourism studies have critiqued the impact of tourism on indigenous cultures. Barker & Pickerill (2012) have discussed the relationship between indigenous and anarchist activism. The two groups often find common ground on issues of state authority and the suppression of human rights by large corporations. Indigenous peoples around the world share the history of oppression through colonisation processes which resulted in the loss of lands, livelihoods and cultures and marginalisation. Anarchists sympathise with indigenous populations acknowledging the essential immorality and illegitimacy of colonisation (Barker & Pickerill, 2012). Moreover, some anarchists, such as Kropotkin (2012), draw their inspiration for an anarchist society from indigenous communities. Nevertheless, it may be challenging for indigenous and anarchist activists to work together, since anarchist activists of the New World still represent the settlers who occupied indigenous lands. In cases when anarchists co-operate with indigenous people, their lack of knowledge or lack of sensitivity to indigenous culture may result in inappropriate behaviours or the appropriation of culture (Barker & Pickerill, 2012).

Indigenous issues have featured prominently within tourism. Various streams are evident within the tourism and indigenous people research. These include domains of:

- indigenous tourism as a product

- tourism as a means for socio-economic development of indigenous communities
- use of indigenous knowledge for and involvement of indigenous people in sustainable management of natural resources, especially protected areas
  (Nielsen & Wilson, 2012; Tremblay, 2010)

Focus on the indigenous communities as a group entity suggests the importance of solidarity and cooperation. Tourism is seen as an opportunity to provide economic benefits to indigenous communities making them more prosperous and independent. However, little research has been done by tourism academics in understanding how indigenous peoples travelled prior to colonisation. This topic could adopt Kropotkin's (2012) analysis of indigenous communities and an anarcho-primitivist stance. Anarcho-primitivism critiques industrialisation and suggests that modern civilisation would benefit by learning about social organisation and living in harmony with nature from indigenous cultures. Australia may be able to provide an interesting case for this line of enquiry considering the very long history of indigenous people in Australia prior to colonisation and the existing literature on aboriginal tourism in Australia.

Most indigenous tourism research studies have attempted to find allies among the state authorities and have suggested that government (i.e. the colonial state) should implement plans and programs that support indigenous tourism development leading to better socio-economic situations, preservation of culture, autonomy and self-determination (Nielsen & Wilson, 2012). Higgins-Desbiolles, Trevorrow & Sparrow (2014) demonstrate the difficulty of managing such relations between indigenous people, government and private sector. Assessing indigenous tourism from an anarchist perspective may be a useful means of engaging sceptically with the possible roles of government in becoming the advocate for indigenous rights and livelihoods considering the history of colonial states.

Solidarity in tourism

One principle of social anarchism is community life based on collectivism and solidarity. Kropotkin (1995; 2012) argued for the abolition of the state and wage labour in favour of direct democracy, free association and mutual aid. In essence these represent his vision of anarcho-communism. Moreover, Kropotkin (2012) discussed the topic of solidarity and cooperation as a driving force for the survival and evolution of the species. McLaughlin (2016) suggests that anarcho-communism is more closely aligned with the agricultural sector and with traditional agricultural communes, while anarcho-syndicalism focuses more on industrial relations and organisation of labour in an industrialised society. Bakunin's collectivist anarchism can be applied to both industrial and agricultural contexts (McLaughlin, 2016).

In contemporary socio-economic thought, the ideas of solidarity and mutualism have resulted in the emergence of solidarity or social economy. The term broadly refers to public-sector non-profits, market-based social organisations, and civil-society organisations (Smith & McKitrick, 2010). Co-ownership and self-management are at the core of the solidarity economy. Solidarity enterprises often take the form of associations, cooperatives, community projects, and family-based enterprises. Many rural cooperative and community-based organisations are somewhat reminiscent of Kropotkin's mutual aid concept as they focus on voluntary exchanges and mutual help, albeit the social economy does not reject the monetary system like Kropotkin

(2012). In some cases, self-organised workers of a bankrupt business take it over, and such a worker-run business then becomes part of the solidarity economy as well (Lechat, 2009). These organisations are more closely aligned with the anarcho-syndicalist concept.

Several types of tourism organisations comply with the social economy concept. Johnson (2010) views community-based tourism (CBT) in the context of the social economy. CBT is an alternative approach of tourism development that emphasises the central role of local communities and emphases the role of community development. Most CBT initiatives are small scale, rural or regional, and are at least partially owned and managed by a community (Tolkach & King, 2015). As a result, CBT may benefit from analysis based on Kropotkin's (1995; 2012) mutual aid and anarcho-communism.

Worker-recuperated enterprises are another type of solidarity enterprises. One such case in tourism is Hotel Bauen in Argentina which was recuperated by the workers after bankruptcy in 1990 (Higgins-Desbiolles, 2012). The worker-run hotel provides an example of a tourism organisation which is run according to the principles of equality and democracy, where solidarity is fostered. This model is especially close to anarcho-syndicalism (McLaughlin, 2016). While Hotel Bauen is in operation, it appears to need renovation (TripAdvisor, 2016). This is an interesting case for understanding the challenges of not being backed by capital and financial institutions, nor by government. While CBT and worker-run organisations appear highly focused on solidarity, it is often argued that such initiatives require external support from government or international organisations, thus they may not be fully autonomous. Indeed, it may be argued that those CBT initiatives and worker-run organisations that manage to connect to international tourism distribution channels, attract tourists and acquire knowledge to improve their products are the ones that benefit communities the most through generating higher income (Tolkach & King, 2015). Further research on managing interaction between community initiatives, government and private sector is required.

The aforementioned tourism examples for the solidarity economy suggest that other modes of organisation can exist within the tourism sector beyond private businesses. Tourism initiatives that adhere to anarchist organisational principles may operate within existing nation-states. As Springer (2014) has suggested, anarchism does not necessarily require a revolution, but allows a focus on everyday insurrection and alternative organisation of society today, rather than in the distant future. Nevertheless, tourism research related to solidarity economy should understand opportunities to expand the areas of solidarity and autonomy, but also undertake a realistic assessment of areas of necessary interaction with the state and the capital and limitations of solidarity economy.

Soviet social tourism

It is apparent that the Soviet Union was a dictatorship, therefore contradicting anarchist thought. Nevertheless, the example of Soviet tourism is mentioned here as an example of a tourism system that is not capitalist and has been previously implemented on a large scale. The aim of this example is to demonstrate a possible alternative tourism system, implemented on the large scale, which addresses the common critique of alternative tourism, namely that it operates on a small scale (Weaver, 2011). Indeed, tourism in the post-Stalin Soviet Union can

be divided into two: vacations organised by the state and trade unions, and so-called 'wild' independent trekking and camping holidays (Assipova & Minnaert, 2014).

State-organised recreation and tourism were developed in Soviet Union as a means of developing good socialist citizens. Cross-cultural exchange, health and wellbeing, and education were among the stated purposes of tourism (Andreeva, 2011; Assipova & Minnaert, 2014). Within the domestic tourism, citizens could engage in multiple state-organised tourism activities. Workers received vouchers to sanatoria from their trade unions for wellness tourism and to restore their health to be productive citizens. Trekking and camping were also initially encouraged by the state and many Soviet citizens organised clubs or went trekking and hiking with their colleagues and friends. In some years, these independent 'wild' tourists, who were uncontrolled by the state, would outnumber state-sponsored vacationers (Assipova & Minnaert, 2014). Youth tourism is another significant form of domestic travel: many summer camps were built across the Soviet Union (Andreeva, 2011; Assipova & Minnaert, 2014). The Soviet tourism was not driven by a profit motive nor by a private business model. The opportunity to participate in tourism was driven by the state through trade unions and educational institutions as well as by individual initiative of trekking and camping tourists (Assipova & Minnaert, 2014).

The case of the Soviet Union demonstrates a different way of organising tourism. The state provided opportunities for wellness tourism and active trekking and camping tourism through trade unions. Soviet tourism can be viewed through the prism of anarcho-syndicalism, although anarcho-syndicalism considers the state as an oppressive force for workers and advocates for worker control of means of production (McLaughlin, 2016). In this case, it is possible to imagine a large-scale tourism system where worker-run co-operatives and trade unions are able to organise tourism that will ensure each worker ability to travel through a voucher system similar to that used in the Soviet Union. While there has been some research done on social tourism in the UK and Continental Europe (McCabe, 2009 Minnaert, Maitland & Miller, 2009), more critical research is required into human resource issues (Baum, 2007) and social tourism (McCabe, 2009) in an attempt to envision a greater role for trade unions and worker-controlled enterprises in tourism system.

Protest travel

On an opposing extreme to the regulated Soviet social tourism is highly autonomous protest travel. Surprisingly few academics have investigated traveling to participate in solidarity events and protests. As has been acknowledged in the tourism literature, anti-globalisation protests are an example of this phenomenon (Higgins-Desbiolles, 2008; Robertson, 2006). The anti-globalisation movement stages protests and demonstrations in places where meetings or summits of powerful governments (such as G8) and international trade and finance organisations are held. The anti-globalisation movement practices resistance to imposition of capitalist policies by governments, international institutions and private sector (Curran, 2006). Some protesters travel internationally to such events. The place of tourism in such anti-globalist narrative is an area worthy of further discussion. Another prominent cause for protests is

environmental concerns. In an autobiographic study, Hales (2013) describes his travel to participate in protests against a planned coal seam gas mine.

Though protest travel obviously rejects authority, participation in protests may be either more individualistic or communal. Due to the lack of research on the topic, it is difficult to estimate the extent to which domestic or international travel occurs in order to participate in protests and demonstrations and how the protesters travel. Traveling internationally for anti-globalisation protests using, presumably, services of multinational transport companies or contributing carbon emissions by flying to participate in climate change demonstrations are paradoxical issues that warrant further investigation. Tourism studies might benefit through engaging with anarchist philosophies and research on travel for protests, demonstrations and activism.

Justice tourism

As mentioned previously, justice tourism is perhaps the form that is closest to the anarchist philosophy. Historically anarchism is based on the search for a just society, as is evident in the writings of Godwin (2015) and Proudhon (2010). This concept is common across various branches of anarchist philosophy and is aligned with the concept of 'anarchism without adjectives'. As name suggests, justice tourism conceptualises tourism that is just, ethical and equitable. Scheyvens (2002) lists the following attributes for justice tourism:

- Builds solidarity between visitors and those visited;
- Promotes mutual understanding and relationships based on equality, sharing and respect;
- Supports self-sufficiency and self-determination of local communities.
- Maximises local economic, cultural and social benefits.

Each of these four points directly relate to the anarchist ideas. The sense of solidarity is one of the basic concepts in anarchism (Springer, 2013), therefore the relationship between visitors and host should be based on the same principle. Moreover, mutualism is one of the concepts often used in anarchism to describe an alternative mode of interaction between various actors. It strengthens autonomy of individuals, communities and organisations from the state and is based on the aforementioned sense of solidarity. The third attribute mentioned by Scheyvens (2002) is closely associated with the autonomy of communities from the state and international organisations, which is what anarchists strive to achieve. The fourth attribute is related to utilitarian approach to ethics, to which one of the dominant anarchist thinkers, Godwin (2015), was appealing.

As an alternative to capitalism, justice tourism is a useful conceptualisation of alternative tourism. However, its philosophical and theoretical core is not apparent. Scheyvens (2002) focuses on justice tourism as tourism for the 'Third World Countries'. However, the conventional tourism sector may also be deemed unjust in the developed countries. Higgins-Desbiolles (2008) places justice tourism within the anti-globalisation movement. Arguably, the anti-globalisation movement is an example of anarchist activism (Curran, 2006), which demonstrates the implicit influence of anarchism on tourism studies. Moreover, the aims of

justice tourism are to foster solidarity between travellers and residents, to involve tourists in social causes at the destinations and to support people's struggles against oppression. These may relate to anarchist activism.

Higgins-Desbiolles (2008) critiques capitalist and neo-liberal system within which tourism operates, however the critique of government's role in 'unjust' tourism is not apparent. In cases when government's role in tourism development is discussed, various stakeholders including tourism academics still advocate for an extensive government role within tourism development (for examples see Edgell & Swanson, 2013; Mason, 2015; Scheyvens & Russell, 2012; Tolkach & King, 2015). Expecting governments with poor human rights records to install policies that will allow for a just alternative tourism appears naïve. Anarchism is a sceptical philosophy which originates in questioning the legitimacy of any authority (McLaughlin, 2016). As such, anarchist tourism may represent a platform for a negative critique of existing government and corporate initiatives in tourism development and positive tourism developments, such as further advocating non-capitalist tourism based on ideas of solidarity, freedom and justice.

CONSTRUCTING ANARCHIST TOURISM

This section focuses on a construct of anarchist tourism as both a research agenda for academic enquiry and as a form of tourism. Each subsection highlights the extent to which governments and private corporations are necessary for tourism and the types of travel that can be undertaken outside those two sectors. The aim is not to suggest complete isolation from existing governments or corporations, but to identify where their influence is minimal and thus identify opportunities for further expansion of travel that is less institutionalised and is based on predominantly solidarity and autonomy. Firstly, the potential contributions of an anarchist perspective on ethics and justice to tourism field are discussed. Consequently, motivations for travel that appear congruent with anarchism are mentioned. The opportunities and limits for travel with little interaction with the capitalist economic system and governments are discussed. Anarchist mode for accommodation is then provided. The section concludes with the Figure 2, which summarises various themes mentioned within the paper.

Anarchist ethics, justice and tourism

As was mentioned previously, anarchism is rooted in scepticism for all authority, be that parental, religious, state, corporate or otherwise (McLaughlin, 2016). This is not to say that all authority has to be abolished. However, the legitimacy of all authority must be questioned. Parental authority may be legitimate, since a parent makes decisions for a child out of a sense of love and due to the fact that the child may not be able to make the best decision for him/herself. Governments sometimes assume such parental care over citizens to legitimise their authority. It is however unlikely that government officials act purely out of love and altruism; and citizens are adults that should be able to make personal judgments and should not be deprived of opportunity of doing so (McLaughlin, 2016). There is a need for a much deeper critique of the government role in tourism development than is currently present in the tourism studies. As previously mentioned, it appears that tourism researchers believe in the higher role of government in planning and developing tourism, which is supposed to benefit citizens

(Edgell & Swanson, 2013; Mason, 2015). Tourism academics have done too little to critique the self-interest of governments and the questionable legitimacy of government authority.

Founders of anarchism, such as Godwin (2015) and Proudhon (2010), discussed the injustices associated with government authority and with the property system. They appeal to the concept of justice. Godwin's (2015) writing in particular appeals to both justice and utilitarian ethics through which he envisions a just society. Godwin (2015) and Proudhon (2010) both saw private property as a basis for inequality, which in turn requires a mechanism of protection of the riches of one group from those less fortunate. The government is the mechanism. Godwin (2015) would argue that most crimes occur in essence due to poverty. Proudhon (2010) would add that the disproportionate accumulation of wealth creates a hierarchical society which precludes the elimination of poverty. He sees the government role as a safeguard of the wealthy. However, Proudhon was not only concerned with the elimination of poverty, but with provision of well-being for all.

Though the previous paragraph focused on two philosophers, the ample opportunities for further research within tourism are evident. One is further advancement of the concept of justice tourism (Scheyvens, 2002; Higgins-Desbiolles, 2008) and determining the place of justice in tourism. As previously mentioned, justice tourism is the closest to anarchist discourse and should be further promoted within tourism scholarship. More broadly, there is a need for further engagement of tourism academia with ethical philosophies despite some progress being made (Fennell, 2015). Since anarchism is largely derived from ethical concerns, it can enrich ethical debates in tourism.

Poverty elimination is another apparent issue that has been explored by many tourism researchers. A sub-category pro-poor tourism has developed. However, the concept is reliant on market forces within the capitalist system (Hall, 2007). Pro-poor tourism is mostly exercised by creating linkages between tourism enterprises and the poor. Advocates of pro-poor tourism suggest private businesses, which are inherently profit driven, put the profits at risk in order to change their supply chain and methods of business operation. If one is to be sceptical about such altruism of private businesses, then pro-poor tourism model becomes apparently deficient.

Wellbeing is the third point mentioned in the review of Proudhon (2010) that could be further elaborated within tourism studies using anarchist philosophies. The Soviet tourism system aimed to provide tourism opportunities among all citizens (Assipova & Minnaert, 2014). So-called social tourism has also been developed in Europe with evident social benefits to low income families (McCabe, 2009; Minnaert, Maitland & Miller, 2009). How social tourism can advance via civil society and labour organisations to encompass more people, is a question worthy of further research. While UNWTO and ILO propose travel as a right, many people around the world have too many hurdles to afford it at present.

Travel motivations and activities at the destination

Of various anarchist travel motives, activism, solidarity and education are dominant and recurrent themes in the current review. From the anarchist perspective, travel is seen as a means of achieving activist objectives of protesting against oppression, networking with like-minded activists and organising a movement. Learning about different struggles that communities face

around the world and different initiatives that activists develop to resist oppression and to organise autonomous communities appear prevalent in current discussions (Anarchistnews, 2015; Securon, 2015).

These motives are evident in travel to Zapatista communities in Mexico (Berg, 2008) as well as visiting other autonomous communes, such as Exarcheia, in Athens, Greece (Securon, 2015), or Christiania in Copenhagen, Denmark (Cathcart-Keays, 2016). However, many visitors to Exarcheia and Christiania are also likely to simply gaze upon a community that rejects conventional social organisation and represents a social experiment. This would constitute the so-called 'revolutionary tourism' (Bianchi, 2009), which is a market product similar to many other historic or cultural tourism products, and thus is not aligned with anarchism. In Zapatista territory, tourism is more long-term, more engaging and more pro-active. For example, Zapatistas organise educational and social events attracting foreign visitors (Berg, 2008). Tourists travelling to and visiting these communities look for alternative models of social organisation, or even as Ferrell (2012) suggests they look for 'a breathing space' away from the over-regulated and over-commercialised home environment.

Not all anarchist tourism is necessarily activist or educational. To be an anarchist should not be restricted to stereotypes of angry young men lighting Molotov cocktails, which is a 'lifestyle anarchism' that has been critiqued by many theorists of anarchism as counter-productive and devoid of the philosophical substance of anarchism as a political philosophy (Curran, 2006; McLaughlin, 2016). For example, instances when an individual or a group undertakes leisurely travel to visit friends or to go hiking, trekking or camping with little interaction with the profit-driven private corporations and the state and is primarily organised independently or through mutual aid from other individuals or non-profit organisations may be considered anarchist.

Transportation and border-crossing

Tourism is based on the study of space and movement through space. The freedom of movement, the availability of public spaces, various ways of social organisation within a location and between locations have been studied with application of anarchist philosophies (Ferrell, 2012; Springer, 2014). National borders, visa policies, restrictions to access to places, surveillance, autonomous spaces within an urban or rural area are among issues geographers studied by employing anarchist philosophies. The same issues apply to tourism.

Transportation, long-haul travel and travelling across borders are likely to involve participation in the capitalist system and involve interaction with government, thus limiting anarchist tourism. While local and short-haul travel can be organised through personal networks, ride sharing, walking and cycling, the flights necessitate participation in the capitalist system as there are no co-operative and worker-run airlines. Cycling can be considered one of the most anarchist ways to travel, as it does not exploit any workers, does not require ongoing interaction with the capitalist economic system and provides freedom for a traveller. Ferrell, (2012) refers to cycling movements which aim to confront rigid traffic regulations, restrictions of use of public spaces and infrastructure and highlight unsustainability of dominant economic models as anarchist. Some risky transportation options that allow longer travel distance include sneaking onto freight trains, cargo ships and lorries and hitchhiking. These options may be

alluded to as drifting (Ferrell, 2012). Despite drifting and the so-called 'hobo travel' having existed for a long time, such travel has been rarely discussed within the tourism academia. Ferrell (2012) suggests that drifting and trespassing are currently becoming more widespread due to the increasing regulation of space, conversion of previously public spaces into private and the increasingly careful branding of cities. A debate employing various political stances regarding the need for an increased regulation of space and travel due to national security and other concerns would benefit tourism studies.

Crossing borders and travelling internationally is sensitive for anarchists as they have to submit their freedom to governments of two states: one allowing a person to leave the state and another allowing a person to enter the state. Cross-border travel represents an interesting case, since the anarchist interest here coincides with the corporate interest of reducing regulation that limits movement of people and goods. One of the major activities of UNWTO (2016) is advocacy of visa openness and travel facilitation. The difference between the anarchist and the corporate perspective on border openness relates to the two types of globalisation that have been discussed by Higgins-Desbiolles (2008): grassroots justice-based globalisation and corporate profit-driven globalisation. In essence, a more just globalisation would prioritise people-to-people linkages and be people-oriented rather than capital oriented. The many existing international networks of grassroots organisations serve as examples of such alternative grassroots globalisation (Higgins-Desbiolles, 2008; Springer, 2014). Thus, being sceptical about the globalisation promoted by corporate interests does not require severing linkages between people across borders and having a strictly local mindset. On the contrary, the advances in informational technology and transportation provide more opportunities for people's interaction and movement around the world, with government policies and corporate interests often inhibiting such opportunities.

Accommodation

Accommodation options for anarchists unwilling to contribute to private corporations are growing due to the expansion of the internet and emergence of the sharing economy. While the extent to which sharing economy represents an alternative to neoliberalism is debated (Dredge & Gyimóthy, 2015), such websites as Couchsurfing that provide opportunities for people to share accommodation without requiring to pay are close to anarchist solidarity and altruism (Ince, 2016). There are multiple internet-based forums that also provide ideas for travel and accommodation. Squat The Planet (2016) is an online travel community that is based predominantly on anarchist ideas. Mason (2016) and Varoufakis (2016) emphasise the opportunity of sharing economy and other online technologies to significantly democratise world economy. However, many of the current sharing economy platforms have been critiqued as contributing to inequality (Dredge & Gyimóthy, 2015; Pool, 2014; Schor, 2014). Networks and interpersonal connections provide an opportunity to travel and stay with activist groups in autonomous communes and squats. For those less interested in travelling as a lifestyle anarchist and a drifter, co-operatives and recuperated worker-run hotels and guesthouses are other alternative forms of accommodation. Higgins-Desbiolles (2012) has demonstrated one such case on the example of Hotel Bauen, Argentina. These different alternative accommodation modes merit further exploration in order to contribute to increase in democratisation and

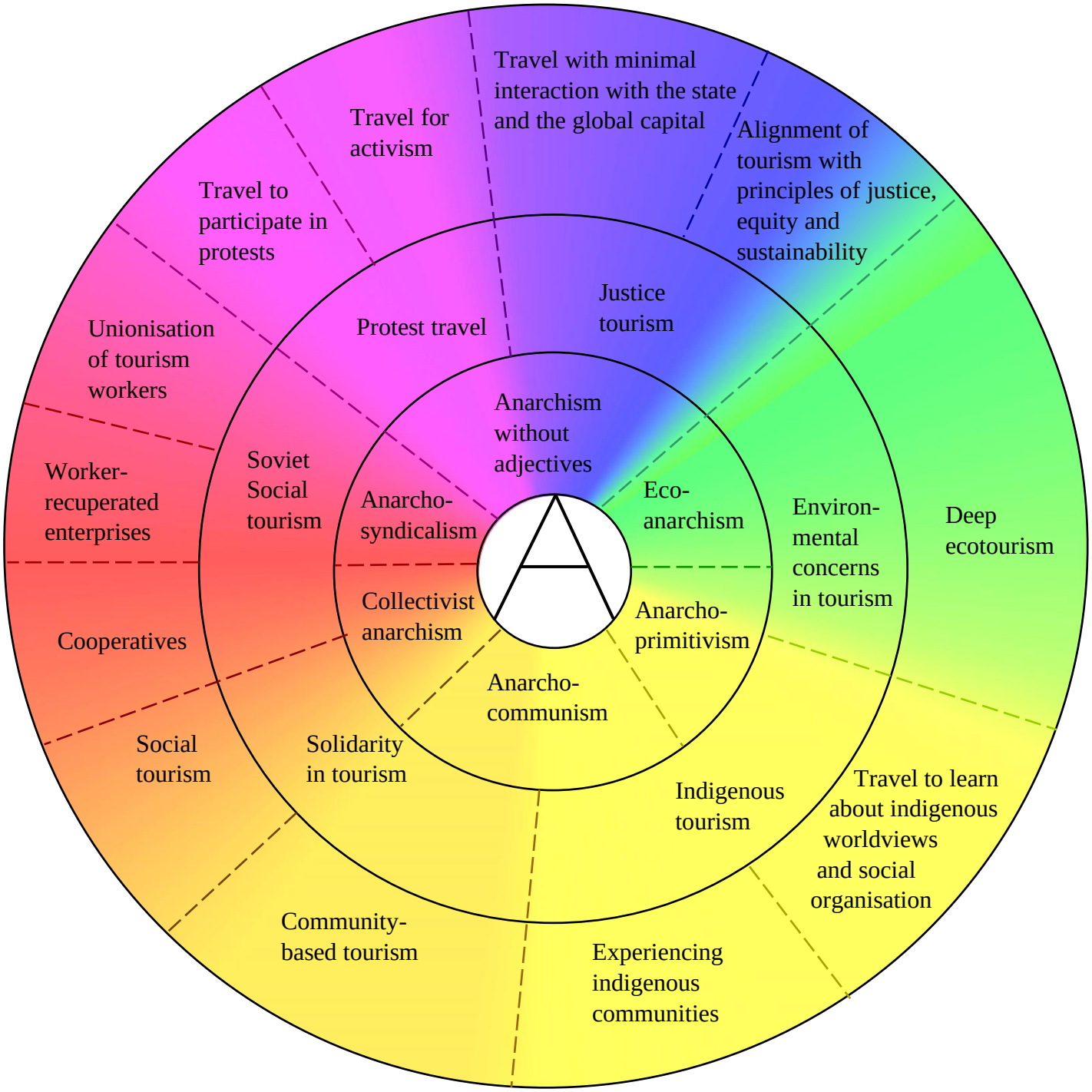
accessibility of travel for those unable to afford commercial accommodation and also for further increase in direct economic contribution of tourism to local residents.

The spectrum of anarchist tourism themes

Based on all the themes mentioned within the present paper, Figure 2 aligns various branches of anarchist philosophies with tourism research. The segments within the Figure 2 are presented with dash-lines and the colours spectrum to indicate that the borders between concepts are not rigid and various anarchist philosophies may be applied, however the concepts positioned next to each other are closer related. One may start reviewing the graph from the right. Eco-anarchism and anarcho-primitivism may assist in developing deep ecotourism. Anarcho-primitivism and anarcho-communism suit tourism research with indigenous communities. Anarcho-communism and collectivist anarchism may expand on topics related to solidarity forms of tourism, such as community-based tourism and social tourism. Anarcho-syndicalism can be applied to research agenda focused on human resources, cooperatives and worker-controlled organisations in tourism. Anarchism without adjectives may help further conceptualise justice tourism as well as currently under-researched activist and protest travel. It should be noted that these different concepts presented in Figure 2 do not perfectly match, and the purpose of the figure as well as the present paper in general is to suggest further avenues for critique and discussion on various themes in tourism research.

It is apparent that one may travel outside the capitalist economic system and have minimal interaction with the state. The only limitations are air travel and international travel as they necessitate contact with state authorities and private companies. Nevertheless, such reluctant interaction with the capital and the state should not necessarily preclude activist anarchists if they motivated to travel to build networks, educate themselves or others, volunteer and participate in political and solidarity events. Considering the current fragmentation of anarchist groups that is coupled with growing interest in anarchism as an alternative to dominant political and economic systems, gaining momentum and developing an alternative globalisation is more important.

Figure 2. The relationship between forms of tourism and anarchist philosophies (Source: Author)



CONCLUSION

The so-called ‘critical turn’ in tourism studies has stimulated the debate around tourism’s role in the oppression of communities, the negative impacts of neo-liberalism on destinations and contributions of tourism to inequalities (Mowforth & Munt, 2008). Despite the emergence of alternative tourism in the 1980s (Holden, 1984), envisioning a form of tourism that is alternative to capitalist and state-dominated forms has been conspicuously absent. Little tourism research has extensively applied various political philosophies. Even Marxist analyses are rare within tourism (Bianchi, 2009).

The present paper demonstrated how political philosophy generally and anarchism in particular can generate an extensive research agenda that may contribute to tourism. Firstly, two important dimensions for anarchism have been identified: solidarity and autonomy. Consequently, themes already established within tourism studies have been reviewed in relation to these dimensions. In particular, indigenous tourism, protest travel, environmental concerns, solidarity, social tourism and justice tourism have been discussed in relation to various branches of anarchism, namely: eco-anarchism, anarcho-primitivism, collectivist anarchism, anarcho-communism, anarcho-syndicalism and ‘anarchism without adjectives’. Further areas for research have been proposed using anarchism. Additionally, activist and solidarity travel, visiting autonomous communities, non-commercial transport and sharing accommodation through online and personal networks have been introduced as themes related to anarchism that have been rarely studied by tourism academics. The ethical and justice dimensions as well as scepticism towards all authority which lies at the core of anarchism provides additional rigour to critical tourism studies, positioning them within the broader socio-political issues and strengthening the relationship with philosophical discourse. In practice such applications should assist in spreading the benefits of tourism to larger amount of people, especially those less privileged, both tourists and residents of tourist destinations by establishing more just forms of tourism, person-to-person linkages, higher sense of solidarity and grassroots globalisation.

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