



Dissecting destination boycotts: Unpacking ethical dilemmas in politicized tourism

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ABSTRACT

Informed by political consumerism theory and employing a multi-case approach, this study examines the different factors influencing tourists' decisions to participate in or abstain from destination boycotts. Through an analysis of online narratives, the study identifies and discusses key manifestations of ethical dilemmas in tourists' boycott decisions, reflecting both the transformative potential of boycotts and doubts about their effectiveness. The findings indicate that participation in boycotts is driven by perceived egregiousness, the empowerment of change through tourism, and ethical and moral considerations. Conversely, rejection of boycotts often stems from the contentious nature of certain boycotts, skepticism about their effectiveness, concerns about local welfare, the desire to avoid collective punishment, and the double standard dilemma. By introducing the concept of 'politicized tourism consumerism', this study highlights tourism's potential to drive social change and offers novel theoretical insights into tourists' politicized tourism practices and their implications. These insights can help tourism stakeholders, including policymakers and businesses, develop strategies to address ethical concerns and boycott impacts, leading to more ethical and responsible tourism.

1. Introduction

In contemporary society, the landscape of tourism has evolved into a complex arena where travelers wield their purchasing power not only for leisure but also as a tool for political and ethical expression (Kuhzady et al., 2024; Seyfi et al., 2023c; Shaheer et al., 2023; Siyamiyan Gorji, Hosseini, et al., 2023; Vukomanovic et al., 2022; Zhai & Luo, 2023). The proliferation of digital and social media platforms has catalyzed a surge in awareness among tourists of destination issues (Mkono et al., 2020; Seyfi et al., 2023a, Seyfi et al., 2023b). While digital and social media platforms can effectively promote destinations (Siyamiyan Gorji, Almeida-García, & Mercadé Melé, 2023), these destinations often lack

control over the narratives that emerge about them. The rise of political discourse, as opposed to traditional promotional content, can motivate potential tourists to engage in activism through their consumption choices and practices (Kuhzady et al., 2024; Mkono, 2018; Seyfi et al., 2023c). This perceptual shift has given rise to "tourist activism," a phenomenon that is reshaping tourism consumption and exerting significant influence on destinations, businesses, and policies (Mkono et al., 2020; Yang, 2023). Central to this phenomenon is the increasingly prevalent practice of destination boycotts, where tourists unite to voice dissent against perceived unethical practices (Hosseini et al., 2023; Seyfi et al., 2020a; Shaheer et al., 2018, 2022; Su, Jia, & Huang, 2022; Yu et al., 2020).

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Prior research has documented a significant rise in tourism industry boycotts, a trend largely driven by the proactive engagement of tourists on digital and social media platforms (Kuhzady et al., 2024; Seyfi et al., 2023a, Seyfi et al., 2023b; Shaheer et al., 2018; Vukomanovic et al., 2022). These boycotts manifest in four distinct forms: destination, business, attraction, and event boycotts, each with unique characteristics and implications (Hosseini et al., 2023; Kuhzady et al., 2024; Massey & Randriamarohaja, 2019; Shaheer et al., 2022; Yousaf et al., 2021). Destination boycotts, often driven by political, environmental, or ethical concerns, constitute the majority of boycott calls and highlight the strong influence of socio-political issues on travel behavior (Shaheer, Carr, & Insch, 2019; Siyamiyan Gorji et al., 2022; 2023c). Tourists frequently engage in destination boycotts to express their political beliefs and push destinations to adopt ethical and sustainable practices (Seyfi et al., 2023c; Yousaf et al., 2021).

While considerable research has focused on the motivations behind tourists' participation in boycotts, there remains a significant gap in exploring the factors that discourage tourists from engaging in these initiatives. Investigating both the drivers of boycott participation and the barriers to boycott rejection is key to knowing how tourists approach destinations, businesses, and boycott campaigns. This dual approach sheds lights on the complexities surrounding tourism boycotts and aids in creating more effective strategies for addressing both participation and non-participation. Moreover, while the role of social media in facilitating boycotts is acknowledged, there is a lack of in-depth analysis on how different digital platforms influence the dissemination and effectiveness of boycott campaigns. Exploring this can provide insights into the mechanisms of digital activism in the tourism sector (Mkono, 2018; Seyfi et al., 2023b).

To address these aforementioned gaps, this study adopts a distinctive approach by integrating a diverse range of online sources, including blogs, online communities, and forums, in addition to the commonly used social media platforms such as Facebook, Twitter, and Instagram (Hosseini et al., 2023; Shaheer et al., 2023). By doing so, it offers a more complete understanding of the factors influencing tourists' boycott decisions, beyond what is typically expressed on mainstream platforms (Qian et al., 2018). Guided by Political Consumerism Theory (PCT), which explores how consumer behavior intersects with political activism (Stolle et al., 2005), this study seeks to answer two key questions.

- 1) What are the main motivations driving tourists to participate in destination boycotts?
- 2) What factors discourage tourists from participating in destination boycotts?

PCT posits that consumers make purchasing decisions not only based on personal preferences but also as a form of political expression. This theory shows how consumer choices can reflect broader societal and ethical concerns, thus transforming consumption into a tool for political activism (Boström & Micheletti, 2019; Copeland & Boulianne, 2022; Stolle et al., 2005). Within this theoretical framework, tourists' boycott behaviors are seen as acts of political consumerism, where their travel-related decisions are influenced by ethical considerations and socio-political values (Seyfi et al., 2023b). By employing PCT as a guiding framework, this study investigates how tourists use their travel choices to advocate for ethical and responsible practices. The findings are expected to make significant theoretical contributions by applying PCT to tourism literature and showing the connection between online discussions and consumer activism. Practically, the insights gained could help destinations and businesses better understand the factors that drive or deter tourists from engaging in boycotts, enabling them to develop more effective strategies for managing their reputations and aligning their practices with the ethical values of their clientele.

2. Literature review

2.1. Destination boycott

The concept of a boycott has been defined across various contexts (Siyamiyan Gorji et al., 2022). For example, Friedman (2001) describes a boycott as an effort by one or more groups to achieve certain goals by encouraging individual consumers to refrain from making specific purchases. From a consumer perspective, Yuksel (2013, p. 205) suggests that boycotts "often reflect a concern for the general good" among consumers. In other words, boycotts are often driven by a collective desire by consumers to address larger societal or ethical issues, such as environmental concerns or unfair labor practices (Hosseini et al., 2023). This reflects the idea that boycotting is not merely an individual act but a collective expression of consumer values and principles (Seyfi & Hall, 2020a). Expanding on this, Seyfi and Hall (2020a) define a tourism boycott as the deliberate withholding of tourism to a specific destination, wherein individuals or groups choose not to travel to a particular destination or opt for an alternative one. A tourism boycott represents a unique form of consumer activism, where travelers' deliberate choices and advocacy can influence others to also avoid certain destinations (Zhai & Luo, 2023).

Tourist boycotts can occur on multiple levels (Hosseini et al., 2023). Travelers might avoid specific destinations due to concerns about human rights violations, environmental issues, or political instability (Seyfi & Hall, 2020b; Shepherd & Laven, 2020; Siyamiyan Gorji et al., 2022). On a business level, consumers may boycott service providers engaged in unethical practices (Kuhzady et al., 2024). Additionally, tourists might choose to avoid events or attractions they consider socially or environmentally irresponsible (Hosseini et al., 2023). Table 1 presents a detailed summary of research on four distinct levels of boycotts in the tourism and hospitality industry and demonstrates key cases and their underlying motivations.

At the core of destination boycotts is the decision by tourists to avoid certain locations due to political, societal, or environmental concerns (Seyfi & Hall, 2020a; Shaheer et al., 2018). Shaheer et al. (2019) identify four main reasons driving these boycotts: human rights violations, animal welfare issues, political instability, and environmental degradation. Destination boycotts are primarily driven by the desire to raise awareness and prompt activism against human rights violations (Francis, 2023). These boycotts act as a powerful mechanism to pressure governments or other entities into revising their policies. Tourists often avoid specific destinations to protest certain behaviors or actions (Shaheer et al., 2018). For instance, notable examples include boycotts against Uganda due to its controversial anti-homosexuality laws (Fallon, 2023) and Myanmar for its history of human rights abuses (Henderson, 2003; Seyfi et al., 2023c). Boycotts also target animal welfare issues, such as the high-profile boycott of Spain over bullfighting practices (Shaheer et al., 2022). Political actions, like the boycotts of Russia following its invasion of Ukraine, also illustrate this trend (Martins, 2022). Additionally, environmental concerns, including pollution, deforestation, and climate change, drive boycotts against destinations that contribute to ecological degradation (Hosseini et al., 2023). These actions can damage a destination's reputation, resulting in negative media coverage and social media backlash that may dissuade future travelers (Yousaf et al., 2021). The consequences of boycotts go beyond mere reputation, leading to a decline in demand for tourism services and reduced income for local businesses and service providers (Seyfi & Hall, 2020a). This economic downturn can harm local economies by reducing jobs and lowering living standards (Shaheer et al., 2018).

2.2. Boycott participation and non-participation

Participation and non-participation in boycotts are influenced by various factors, which reflect the complexity of individual decisions. A major challenge is a lack of awareness about the issues driving the

Table 1
Indicative research on boycotting in tourism literature.

Boycott levels		Definition	Case study	Boycott reason	Authors
Destination level	International boycott	A boycott call that originates from outside the country or region being targeted, often driven by global advocacy groups or concerned individuals from other countries.	Myanmar	Human rights	Henderson, 2003; Seyfi et al., 2023a,b,c
	Domestic boycott	A boycott call that originates within the country or region being targeted, often driven by local activists or citizens.	Murree in Pakistan	Misbehaving and harassing tourists	Yousaf et al., 2021a
Business level		A boycott aimed at a particular travel-related business, such as an airline, hotel chain, accommodation booking services, or tour operator, due to concerns about their practices or policies.	Eco-lodge in Iran	Environmental concerns	Hosseini et al. (2023)
			Hotel in Greece	Environmental damage-unethical labour practices	Tilikidou et al. (2013)
			Airbnb	Commercialization of residential areas and business practices	Kuhzady et al. (2024)
Event level		A boycott focused on a specific event, such as a festival, conference, or sporting event, in response to issues surrounding the event's organization, sponsors, or host location.	2019 Eurovision Song Contest	Israeli-Palestinian conflict	Shepherd (2021)
Attraction level		A boycott focused on a specific tourist attraction, such as a theme park, circus, or museum, due to concerns about its ethical, environmental, or social practices.	SeaWorld parks	Animal abuse	Massey and Randriamarohaja (2019)

boycott; individuals may be hesitant to participate if they are uninformed or do not fully understand the cause (Seyfi et al., 2023a). Fear of negative consequences, such as retaliation, job loss, or social backlash, is another significant barrier (e.g. Klein et al., 2004; Seyfi et al., 2023c). Dependency on the boycotted entity's products or services can also hinder participation, especially if alternatives are limited or if the entity holds a market monopoly (Sen et al., 2001; Yuksel, 2013). Skepticism about the boycott's effectiveness further affects participation, as some individuals doubt that their actions will lead to meaningful change (Seyfi et al., 2023a).

Conversely, reasons for non-participation are equally varied. Some individuals may remain indifferent or unaware of the cause, seeing it as irrelevant to their lives. Disagreement with the boycott's goals or motives can also lead to abstention, as differing views on the issues at hand may influence one's decision to not participate (Seyfi et al., 2023a). Financial constraints, such as economic hardships or tight budgets, may prevent individuals from joining, as they prioritize immediate needs over supporting a boycott (Seyfi et al., 2023c; Yuksel, 2013). Additionally, strong loyalty or affiliation with the boycotted entity—whether due to personal connections, emotional attachment, or ideological alignment—can deter individuals from participating in the movement (Klein et al., 2004).

2.3. Theoretical approach: political consumerism theory

Political Consumerism Theory (PCT) posits that consumers are active participants in expressing their political and ethical values through their consumption choices, rather than being passive recipients of goods and services (Copeland & Boulianne, 2022; Stolle & Micheletti, 2013). This theory has been employed across various fields, including sociology, political science, and consumer behavior (Boström & Micheletti, 2019; Copeland & Boulianne, 2022; Neilson, 2010; Stolle et al., 2005), and is particularly relevant to examining tourists' participation and non-participation in boycotts (Seyfi et al., 2023b). PCT has evolved through empirical research and theoretical advancements, offering insights into the motivations and impacts of political consumption. In the context of tourism, PCT provides a framework for understanding tourists' decisions related to destination choices and interactions with tourism services (Seyfi et al., 2023b). This includes actions such as boycotting destinations or companies perceived as unethical and supporting those that align with desired values (Shaheer et al., 2019; Seyfi & Hall, 2020a). According to Copeland and Boulianne (2022), this phenomenon is characterized as "individualized collective action," where digital and social media enable consumers to participate in political actions within the marketplace, including engaging in or

refraining from boycott campaigns.

As tourism increasingly intersects with ethical considerations and activism (Mkono et al., 2018; Seyfi & Hall, 2020a; Siyamiyan Gorji, Hosseini, et al., 2023), understanding the motivations and implications of tourists' political consumption behaviors becomes essential. PCT is a useful theoretical lens for understanding the complex reasons behind destination boycotts. It helps explain why people choose to boycott, the social and political factors involved, and the effects on the tourism industry.

3. Methodology

3.1. Research context and case selection

To address the study's research question, a multi-case study approach was employed to examine the drivers and barriers to participation in destination boycott across six distinct cases: Russia, Saudi Arabia, Myanmar, Faroe Islands, Turkey, and Uganda. These cases were selected based on recommendations from a small expert panel and were chosen due to various factors that have sparked international outcry, such as human rights violations, political repression, environmental issues, and specific cultural practices, and represent a range of different political systems. Additionally, the availability of online discourses related to each case was a significant factor in the selection process. By choosing cases that represent diverse socio-political and environmental contexts, the research aims to offer a range of perspectives on the complexities of boycotts (see Appendix 1).

The multi-case study design enables a thorough exploration of the social phenomena related to boycotting tourism destinations within their specific contexts. This approach facilitates the identification of patterns, commonalities, and differences across various settings, thereby providing a deeper understanding of the "how" and "why" behind these complex issues (Yin, 2014).

3.2. Data collection

The contemporary digital landscape has seen a surge in individuals expressing their values and concerns through blogs and active participation in online discussions (Mariani & Borghi, 2021). These textual discourses significantly influence travelers' perceptions and behaviors toward destinations, making them vital resources for research (Li, Pearce, & Low, 2018; Seyfi et al., 2023c). Given the unique nature of the phenomenon under investigation, the data collection process for this study required careful consideration. The diverse forms of communication found in blogs, virtual communities, news articles, and

forums—including question-and-answer exchanges, personal reflections, opinion sharing, and argumentation—make these online spaces essential for research purposes (Hammett, 2014; Hosseini et al., 2023; Mariani & Borghi, 2021). The primary data source for identifying and analyzing motivations and refusals associated with destination boycotts in this study was online content collected from platforms such as TripAdvisor, Reddit, Quora, blogs, online forums, and newspapers. This approach recognizes the significant role digital media platforms play in shaping discourse and public opinion (Qian et al., 2018). Although online content analysis offers a wide range of perspectives, it primarily draws from social media platforms, which often present user-generated content and public opinion that can differ from official news sources.

"The research commenced with a Google search utilizing keywords such as 'boycott + travel + destination name' (e.g. Myanmar, Russia, Uganda, Saudi Arabia, Turkey, Faroe Islands) and 'tourism + boycott + destination name.' The results were carefully reviewed to select relevant samples, with each destination manually examined based on the title and brief description displayed in the search results. Unrelated entries, such as calls to boycott specific countries not related to the destinations in question, were disregarded. Items lacking comments, such as blog posts without reader feedback, were also excluded. Data extracted included calls for or against destination boycotts and the corresponding opinions expressed. This data was systematically organized using Microsoft Word and then analyzed thematically using Maxqda software, which provides systematic data organization, streamlined coding and categorization, flexibility in analysis, cross-referencing capabilities, visualization tools, support for collaboration, and suitability for thematic analysis (Cernasev & Axon, 2023).

3.3. Data analysis

Thematic analysis was selected as the appropriate method for analyzing discourses surrounding destination boycotts due to its ability to identify and elucidate common themes and recurring patterns within a dataset (Braun & Clarke, 2006; Hosseini et al., 2023). This qualitative research approach aims to uncover and describe the content and emerging patterns within text (Siyamiyan Gorji, Almeida Garcia, & Mercadé-Melé, 2023) and offers a deeper understanding within an interpretivist paradigm (Esfehni & Walters, 2018). The thematic analysis followed six steps outlined by Esfehni and Walters (2018). First, researchers familiarized themselves with the data to gain a clear

understanding. In the second step, they developed codes by identifying key parts of the data related to the research question. This involved reading the data multiple times to ensure accuracy. These initial codes were then grouped into basic codes, leading to the identification of overarching themes. This process discerned patterns and connections between codes, resulting in two primary categories: participation in and rejection of destination boycott calls. Phase 4 involved refining these themes to ensure they accurately reflected the data. Phase 5 entailed defining and naming the themes descriptively, rooted in data examples. The final step encompassed producing a clear and concise analysis report featuring quotes and examples from the data to illustrate the identified themes. Given the increasing popularity of thematic discourse analysis, Maxqda was used to manage and analyze the extensive volumes of qualitative data effectively (Cernasev & Axon, 2023).

4. Findings and discussion

Several factors influence individuals' decisions to either engage in or dismiss a call for a destination boycott. The study's findings are organized into two principal themes: 'Boycott Participation' and 'Boycott Rejection,' which are summarized in Fig. 1:

Each theme was discussed using direct quotes from users and contributors within the dataset. To protect participant privacy, names, usernames, and other identifying information were omitted, in line with practices established in previous qualitative online studies (see Helm et al., 2024). Publicly available data from platforms such as Reddit was collected, which is pseudonymous. This means that while users can be identified by their usernames over time, their true identities remain unknown. As a result, only the subreddit where the discussion took place was referenced. All quotes cited in the following section were matched with the corresponding links in Appendix 2, which listed the sources from which they were extracted.

4.1. Boycott participation

Participation in boycotts is influenced by three key factors: (1) Perceived egregiousness, (2) Empowering change through tourism, and (3) Ethics and morality.

4.1.1. Perceived egregiousness

Perceived egregiousness is a key factor in how individuals assess the severity and offensiveness of certain actions or situations (Klein et al.,

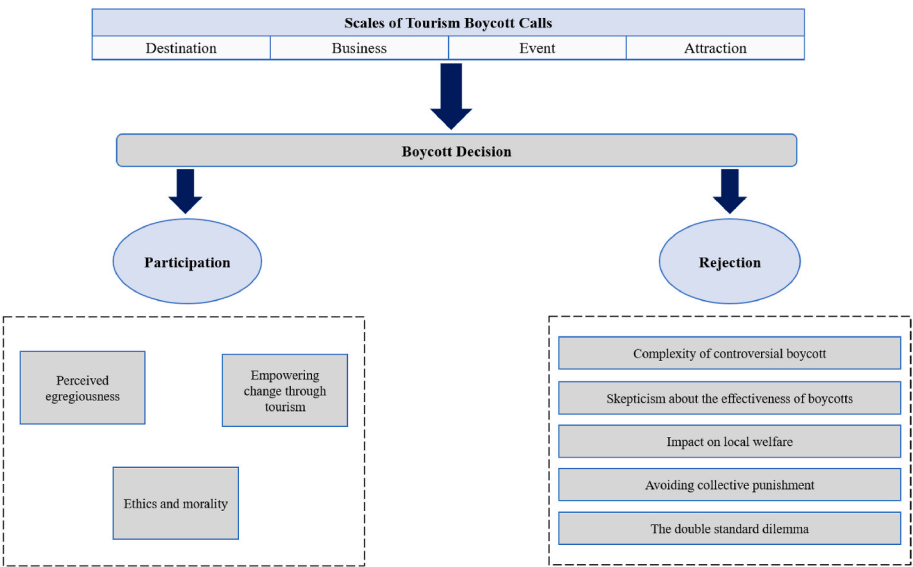


Fig. 1. Drivers and barriers to participation in destination boycotts.

2004). This concept revolves around the idea that certain actions or circumstances are viewed as morally unacceptable, provoking a strong sense of moral outrage that drives individuals to engage in boycotts as a form of protest. Klein et al. (2004) highlight the significant role of perceived egregiousness in boycott participation, while Seyfi et al. (2023a) note that negative tourist sentiments often intensify boycott involvement. When individuals encounter extreme cruelty or oppressive regimes, they experience a profound moral dilemma that generates an emotional response characterized by moral outrage, leading to mobilization. The empirical evidence from this study highlights the influential role of perceived egregiousness in motivating boycott participation. Individuals shared instances where they thought some actions or situations were so wrong that they chose to boycott certain activities. For example, the slaughter of pilot whales in the Faroe Islands incited moral outrage among individuals, as seen in a post on thepetitionsite.com:

"This practice of so cruelly killing dolphins and whales has got to be one of the worst. Farei Islands needs to be frozen out completely with regards to tourism and trade." (A)

"I cry every time a hunt is called and the ache I feel seeing their brutally murdered innocent bodies lining the shoreline. It's terrifying that a country wants its youth to witness and carry on a tradition of meaningless slaughter, desensitizing them to mindless murder. I would still be outraged. How can your government sit by and allow this to happen? It's quickly becoming the only thing the Faroe Islands are known for: blood-filled seas by a brutal and tactless country." (A)

Similarly, the oppressive regime in Saudi Arabia incited a strong sense of moral indignation. As one user noted on Reddit:

"I refuse to go to Saudi Arabia because I'm a woman, and women have few rights there. I also won't go to lots of other places for that same reason, or because traveling solo as a woman probably isn't a great idea." (B)

In 2017, the Myanmar military's brutal crackdown on the Rohingya Muslim minority, which was widely condemned as genocide, led to calls for a boycott of Myanmar (Seyfi et al., 2023c). Travelers, travel companies, and organizations sought to apply economic pressure on Myanmar and increase global awareness of the Rohingya genocide. A Reddit user posted:

"Thinking about traveling in Myanmar, but I can't get around the fact that the government recently carried out a genocide, and it seems like the ethnic majority was on board with it." (C)

This sentiment was echoed by other Reddit users:

"I would love to see the country, but I don't think I will ever go. One of my coworkers is a refugee from Myanmar, and after hearing his story, I don't want my money going there. It also seems terribly unfair that he lived in horrid refugee camps for years while tourists are visiting luxury resorts in his home country." (C)

As illustrated by the discourses and dialogues above, the perceived egregiousness of a situation plays a critical role in eliciting strong emotional responses and motivating individuals to participate in boycotts (Klein et al., 2004). This indicates that the more severe or unethical the behavior being protested, the more likely consumers are to engage in a boycott. Social media intensifies this by informing tourists about the perceived egregiousness of issues, thereby increasing their likelihood of participating in a boycott (Seyfi et al., 2023a). Previous research confirms that the level of perceived egregiousness directly influences an individual's propensity to boycott (Hosseini et al., 2023; Klein et al., 2004; Seyfi et al., 2023a). By assessing perceived egregiousness, individuals evaluate the moral implications of their actions and the ethical responsibility of those involved in the injustices, which drives them to avoid supporting such actions or systems through boycotts.

4.1.2. Empowering change through tourism

Data analysis reveals that a primary motivation for participating in destination boycotts is the belief that abstaining from visiting a location can combat perceived injustices and potentially drive change (Seyfi et al., 2023a; Seyfi et al., 2023a). Tourists often view their boycott as a way to express disapproval of laws, abuses, or ethical violations in a region, thereby leveraging their travel choices to effect social, political, or environmental transformation (Gretzel, 2017; Mkono et al., 2020; Shaheer et al., 2019). This moral stance, even if its tangible impact is limited, allows individuals to feel they are contributing to global issues. As one Reddit user noted:

"I won't go to some countries until there is a drastic change in government policies. I may lack the power to change those places, but I'm not about to willingly support their economy through tourism." (D)

Another user highlighted the importance of boycotting Myanmar:

"While most countries have questionable human rights events in history, Myanmar's current government committed genocide against a religious and ethnic minority. They're currently facing the IJC in The Hague. Multiple human rights organizations have called for a boycott of the country. Traveling there and bringing money into the economy helps support the regime. The boycott against South Africa was important to ending Apartheid—international pressure is important to create change." (C)

Additional sentiments on Reddit reflected similar motivations:

"I only spend my dollars where I'm valued as a person. Even though it isn't a lot of money, I won't help with my dollars the economy of countries and governments that hate me." (E)

"Please continue the boycott in solidarity with your brothers and sisters. You might think that a boycott doesn't have much of an impact, but the Turkish economy is really weak, and you shouldn't contribute to helping the economy by going there and spending!" (F)

The desire to create change through boycotts serves as a powerful motivator, aligning with prior research that links boycott participation to the belief in its effectiveness (Klein et al., 2004; Sen et al., 2001). Tourism studies further support that some tourists are motivated to promote social change by boycotting destinations, aiming to address human rights violations or animal cruelty (Seyfi et al., 2020a; Yu et al., 2020; Zapata-Campos, Hall, & Backlund, 2020). This conviction rests on the belief that collective withdrawal from a destination can pressure stakeholders to reconsider and amend objectionable policies or practices.

4.1.3. Ethics and morality

Travelers often boycott destinations based on a strong ethical stance against practices they find morally unacceptable, such as animal abuse, human rights violations, or discriminatory laws (Shaheer et al., 2019). For instance, one Reddit user remarked, "For ethical reasons, I won't visit anything based on animal abuse (elephant rides, swimming with dolphins, Sea World, restaurants serving things like shark fin or foie gras)" (R). This ethical motivation is evident in travelers who refuse to support destinations with poor human rights records or oppressive practices. For example:

"I wouldn't visit Russia at the moment due to the war and government. If the war stopped and the government became democratic, then in a while I wouldn't rule it out. The Gulf states are a no due to terrible human rights, and Brunei as well. But even then, exceptions can be made. Definitely, certain places I would try to avoid and only go under certain circumstances." (G)

Similarly, another traveler commented on Myanmar:

"I would love to see Myanmar, but there are other places I can choose to go instead for the next few years. When the situation there has changed, I hope I'll feel differently about it. In the meantime, I'm happy ignorantly feeling good that I'm not contributing to what may happen there." (C)

Many travelers also boycott destinations with discriminatory laws, particularly those targeting LGBTQ + communities:

"I absolutely am not spending my limited vacation time available to me to travel somewhere that will make me constantly worry about my safety. Moreover, if you were to ask that country if they wanted me to visit, their answer would be no." (E)

Similarly, travelers avoid destinations known for animal cruelty, such as certain forms of animal entertainment:

"There are more places in the world than you can possibly go, so why choose one that is so cruel to animals?" (A)

These statements highlight how boycotts serve as a symbolic expression of travelers' ethical principles, rejecting and protesting against abusive or unethical regimes. By choosing not to engage with or lend economic support to a country with a perceived poor human rights record, travelers and consumers make a clear moral statement. Such actions align with Tomhave & Vopat's (2018) view that individuals manifest their ethical beliefs through selective boycotting. This perspective is supported by literature on consumer activism and tourism as a tool for social change (De Jong, 2017; Hilton, 2007; Lightfoot, 2019; Minocher, 2019). In the context of boycotts, the literature also discusses the concept of symbolic action (Seyfi & Hall, 2020a). Symbolic actions, while not always leading to immediate tangible changes, communicate values and build solidarity, pressuring policymakers and businesses to reform. Social media exacerbates these symbolic actions, enhancing awareness and participation in boycotts (Seyfi et al., 2023a).

4.2. Boycott rejection

Despite growing ethical awareness, not all tourists support destination boycotts. The rejection of boycotts stems from various factors, which can be categorized into five main themes.

4.2.1. Complexity of controversial boycotts

The analysis of comments reveals the sophisticated role that boycotts play in shaping travel decisions. Some travelers see boycotts as a powerful means of enacting change, while others express doubts about their legitimacy and effectiveness. For instance, one Reddit user commented, "I think there are a lot of places I would not travel to if I based my selection on ethics." (S). The personal nature of boycotting presents significant dilemmas, with decisions often reflecting deeper values and concerns. As a TripAdvisor user noted, "Boycotting is certainly a personal decision that requires careful consideration." (J).

Opponents of boycotts argue that the practice could excessively limit travel options. A travel writer observed, "If we as individuals refuse to travel to places that have a troubling human rights record, poor environmental credentials, and problematic equality issues, then there's nowhere left to go. Not even home." (H). This sentiment was echoed by a Travel Weekly reporter who stated, "Look, if you boycott every place that did something you don't like, there'd be no place to go." (O). These views highlight the practical challenges and trade-offs of using boycotts as a decision-making tool. Evaluating the human rights records of every potential destination can seem overwhelming, as illustrated by a Reddit user: "If I were to analyze the history of each potential tourist destination for human rights violations, then I wouldn't be able to go anywhere." (G).

Conversely, some argue that active engagement with a destination, rather than boycotting, can be more effective in driving positive change. They suggest that personal involvement, direct dialogues with locals,

and expressing concerns firsthand can lead to meaningful transformations. As one Reddit user stated, "You're not really making much of a difference by avoiding them. Traveling is about learning and exposing yourself to new cultures, I'm sure many feel the same way you do about many western nations actions in the past or even in modern history" (C). This perspective was supported by a travel blog reader who remarked, "Travel is all about exposing yourself to new cultures and new ways of thinking. Just because you have a different opinion on something does that automatically give you the right to judge and boycott? All countries have their own customs, relics, habits and traditions that have nothing to do with their governments. I travel because I want to see firsthand what is happening, and where I do see things I disagree with, at the very least see it firsthand." (K). These diverse viewpoints illustrate how individual beliefs, ethical considerations, and the broader socio-political issues influence the role of boycotts in tourism (Seyfi et al., 2023a,b,c).

4.2.2. Skepticism about the effectiveness of boycotts

Skepticism about the effectiveness of destination boycotts often drives opposition to participation. Many argue that while boycotts allow individuals to express political or ethical stances, they rarely lead to substantial change on their own. Significant transformation generally requires coordinated efforts from major economic actors beyond the tourism sector. As one travel blogger noted:

"The truth is that, with few exceptions, a travel boycott on its own will have very little effect in the long term. The tourism industry—despite its undeniable economic benefit and power—is often only a small part of that economic decision. I would personally argue that while a travel boycott, when done on a specifically large scale with wider industry and corporations involved, can have some impact, it is never enough on its own to have enough of an impact to matter. When done by an individual, no matter for what conscientious or ethical reason, the impact is nonexistent, the morality of the action is misplaced, and it can cause much more harm than good in the long term." (K)

A Reddit user echoed this sentiment, saying:

"However, I do believe that my refusal to visit a country means one less bridge that could be built and one lost opportunity to make friends with people who are different, to foster greater understanding between different cultures, and ultimately to de-otherize the other." (B)

This sentiment highlights concerns about unintended consequences and counterproductive results, commonly discussed in analyses of boycott efficacy (Klein et al., 2004; Seyfi et al., 2023c). The skepticism aligns with broader literature that questions the assumption of a direct cause-and-effect relationship between boycotts and transformative change (Seyfi & Hall, 2020a). While boycotts have historically played roles in various social, environmental, and political movements, they also face criticism for their limitations and potential unintended repercussions (Shaheer et al., 2018).

4.2.3. Impact on local welfare

Travel boycotts, while aimed at protesting government policies or actions, can cause significant harm to local communities that rely heavily on tourism for their livelihoods. The economic impact of reduced tourist arrivals can lead to severe hardship for local businesses, workers, and families who depend on the industry. As one commenter noted, "It's meaningless to boycott Turkey, it will have minimal impact on the country. Half of the residents in Istanbul are Kurds" (F). Another travel blogger observed, "It is the people at the bottom a travel boycott will punish, the people who rely on money from the travel and tourism trade, often for something they have very little if any control over." (K).

This perspective reflects a broader concern about the relationship between tourism-driven economies and local welfare (Uysal et al.,

2016). The potential harm extends beyond countries heavily dependent on tourism, affecting communities in areas with lesser reliance on the industry as well. For instance, a statement from telegraph.co.uk highlights, “By not going you could just be denying local people who oppose their government of additional income.” (N), emphasizing the broader implications of boycotts on local livelihoods (Shepherd, 2021; Snyder & Sulle, 2011).

A Reddit user similarly remarked, “On the other hand, we are fully aware that the government is one part and the locals are the other part—two different things. Sometimes the locals are more tolerant than the government. Exchange between different cultures is usually a catalyst” (E). This view shows the challenge of balancing ethical concerns with the practical effects of boycotts. While boycotts may be driven by noble intentions, their unintended impact on local communities reveals the complicated interaction between ethical activism and real-world effects. By isolating communities from external influences, boycotts may inadvertently reinforce the very issues they aim to address and potentially deprive locals of the positive transformative potential that travel can bring (Seyfi et al., 2023c).

4.2.4. Avoiding collective punishment

Data analysis revealed significant ethical concerns about travel boycotts, particularly regarding the potential for collective punishment. Such boycotts can affect the very individuals who are victims of their government's actions. As one traveler commented on Wayfares, “I hate the idea of punishing a whole country for what a few people do” (O). This concern highlights the perceived disconnect between a government's actions and the experiences of the general populace.

Several participants stressed the importance of distinguishing between a government's policies and its citizens. A Reddit user remarked, “There's the people, the history, the culture, the language, the food, and then ... just because you don't like what a country's government is doing doesn't mean you don't go. Always remember, the actual country and the government (at the time) are two totally different things” (P). Other comments reinforced this perspective:

“The citizens of a country with an ‘evil’ regime don't deserve to be punished by people further shunning them for the crimes already committed against them by the government. It's dehumanizing and unfair. Not traveling there and not meeting the people further empowers the oppressive regime” (P).

“Just because a country's government is oppressive or did something evil in the past does not mean every single human living there is too. This is a very black-and-white way of thinking, and humans are complicated beings” (P).

These sentiments suggest that boycotts may unjustly penalize citizens who are not responsible for their government's policies. Isolating a country could potentially reinforce an oppressive regime by limiting opportunities for cultural exchange, economic support, and the sharing of ideas. Engaging through tourism can serve as a form of soft power, providing citizens with broader perspectives and potentially supporting internal movements for change (Shaheer et al., 2019). Tourism can encourage human connection, bridge cultural gaps, promote understanding, and support those pushing for change from within, becoming a force for positive transformation. (Seyfi et al., 2023c).

4.2.5. The double standard dilemma

The “double standard” dilemma emerges as a prominent issue within the discourse on destination boycotts, reflecting concerns about inconsistent application of ethical criteria across different contexts. This dilemma questions the fairness and uniformity of boycott decisions, particularly when similar ethical issues are treated disparately. Participants have highlighted the complexities involved in applying boycott standards universally. For example, a blogger posed the question: “If one destination is so abhorrent to any moral or ethical sensibility that it

necessitates never setting foot in that country, then why are those same standards not applied everywhere?” (K).

This query highlights the challenge of consistently and objectively applying ethical principles to all destinations. If a location is deemed unethical enough to warrant a boycott, it raises the question of why similar standards are not applied to other regions with comparable issues of human rights violations, oppressive policies, or environmental degradation. This concern was echoed by a travel blog reader who noted: “I find this situation difficult personally because I'm a huge advocate for human rights – but there are so many atrocious environments and government regimes throughout the world that we're not boycotting. I guess I'm stuck at why we would travel happily to these parts of the world but not Russia” (W). This critique reveals frustration over the selective nature of boycotts and highlights perceived inconsistencies in addressing global injustices. The debate extends to specific examples, such as the call to boycott Uganda, where participants have questioned the fairness of targeting certain destinations while ignoring others with similar issues. As one commenter reflected: “I feel it is hypocritical to travel in one country and not in the next when both are countries where homosexuality is illegal.” (J). Such sentiments emphasize the potential erosion of the boycott's credibility due to perceived inconsistencies.

Additionally, skepticism toward biased media portrayals contributes to the double standard dilemma. Participants recognize that media narratives may distort the reality of situations, impacting public perception. This skepticism aligns with broader literature discussing the role of media in shaping biases and the importance of distinguishing between narrative and reality (Mkono, 2018; Siyamiyan Gorji, Almeida Garcia, & Mercadé-Melé, 2023). Discrepancies between stated boycott reasons and personal experiences also play a role. For instance, a TripAdvisor participant noted: “Visiting and hearing the locals' views will challenge your perceptions about boycotting Myanmar”, suggesting that direct engagement with local perspectives can reshape attitudes toward boycotts. This highlights the importance of immersive experiences in challenging preconceived ideas and highlights the need for a deeper approach to ethical decision-making in travel. It also reflects scholarly views on how direct experiences can change preconceived notions (Seyfi et al., 2023a).

5. Conclusion, implications and limitations

Boycotts, while not a new phenomenon, have gained increasing attention in the tourism studies. The rising interest in travel boycotts reflects a broader trend of consumers using their spending power to express ethical and political stances. This trend is driven by increased public awareness, globalization, and the pervasive influence of online platforms. Tourists today are more informed about global issues and are increasingly using their travel choices to advocate for social, environmental, and political causes (Seyfi & Hall, 2020a,b; Shaheer et al., 2023). The study highlights the importance of understanding the diverse motivations and deterrents that influence tourists' participation in boycotts. The increased awareness among the public about social, environmental, and political issues has led to a more conscious traveler who is willing to use their spending power to support or oppose certain practices. Globalization has made it easier for people to learn about issues in distant places and creates a sense of global citizenship and responsibility. Online platforms and social media have revolutionized the way information is shared, allowing for rapid dissemination of boycott calls and the reasons behind them (Kuhzady et al., 2024; Seyfi et al., 2023a; Shaheer et al., 2018). This digital age connectivity means that a boycott can quickly gain traction and mobilize widespread support. However, the decision to participate in a boycott is a complex issue. Tourists weigh a variety of factors, including their personal ethical beliefs, the perceived severity of the issue, and the potential impact of their actions. The study highlights that while some tourists are motivated to engage in boycotts as a form of protest and to drive change, others may

disengage due to concerns about the unintended consequences of such actions. This ethical dilemma requires tourists to balance their desire to make a moral statement with the practical implications of their actions. The findings also suggest that social media plays a significant role in shaping tourists' decisions. Social media platforms provide spaces for discussion, debate, and the sharing of personal stories, which can influence public opinion and behavior. Social media can boost the voices of those calling for a boycott and provide a sense of solidarity among participants. However, it can also highlight the complexity of issues, showing multiple perspectives and the potential negative impacts of boycotts on local communities.

5.1. Theoretical implications

This study makes several theoretical contributions. Firstly, this research, guided by Political Consumer Theory (PCT), explores both participation in and rejection of tourism boycotts. While PCT is well-studied in broader consumer behavior (Boström & Micheletti, 2019; Copeland & Boulianne, 2022; Stolle et al., 2005), its application in tourism is less explored. The paper introduced "politicized tourism consumerism," highlighting how travelers engage in political activism through their choices. This expands PCT to include tourism as a key area of political consumerism (Seyfi et al., 2023b; Shaheer et al., 2018). This new perspective shows that tourists are not just passive consumers; rather, they actively participate in ethical and political discourse surrounding destinations (Zhai & Luo, 2023).

Secondly, the research identifies the reasons tourists abstain from boycotts, adding to the current literature, which mostly focuses on motivations to boycott (Seyfi et al., 2020a; Shaheer et al., 2018, 2019; Yousaf et al., 2021). This understanding of how ethical dilemmas influence decisions to abstain from politicized tourism consumption and practices offers novel insights to the existing literature on tourist boycotts (Kuhzady et al., 2024; Shepherd, 2021; Siyamiyan Gorji et al., 2022; Yu et al., 2020).

Thirdly, this study introduces the concept of "ethical complexity" in tourism boycotts, which reflects how tourists make decisions about boycotts. It shows that tourists consider various factors, such as the ethical impact of their actions, the potential economic effect on local communities, and the effectiveness of the boycott (Seyfi et al., 2023c). By recognizing this complexity, the study contributes to a deeper understanding of how ethical dilemmas influence consumer activism in tourism (Shaheer et al., 2018; Yousaf et al., 2021). Existing literature on ethical consumerism has addressed how consumers deal with moral dilemmas when making purchasing decisions, often focusing on product-based markets (Hassan et al., 2022; Kutaula et al., 2024). However, this body of work generally overlooks the complexities of ethical decision-making within the context of hedonic experiences, such as tourism (Seyfi et al., 2023c). In tourism, ethical considerations extend beyond the individual level to include potential economic and social impacts on the destinations being visited. This includes how boycotts might affect local livelihoods, cultural exchanges, and the overall well-being of communities dependent on tourism (Yousaf et al., 2021; Yu et al., 2020).

Finally, this study offers novel insights into social media's role in politicized consumerism within tourism. Existing literature shows that digital platforms are powerful tools for boosting voices and organizing collective action (Kuhzady et al., 2024). These platforms allow users to quickly share information, rally support, and form virtual communities with shared ethical and political goals (Mkono, 2018). This research highlights how digital platforms are uniquely used to initiate and sustain tourism boycotts. By analyzing how tourists leverage social media to mobilize support, drive change, and raise awareness, the study provides new insights into the intersection of digital technology and political consumerism in tourism (Seyfi et al., 2023b). It contributes to political consumer theory by showing how social media shapes and strengthens tourism-related boycotts.

5.2. Practical implications

The findings from the study offer several practical implications for various stakeholders within the tourism industry. Travel agencies, tour operators, and hospitality establishments can leverage the study's insights to refine their strategies and communication approaches. For tourism destinations and businesses, being perceived to have adopted ethical business practices is often significant to retain and attract customers (see also Zapata Campos et al., 2020). This includes implementing and adhering to high ethical standards, such as respecting human rights, supporting local communities, and ensuring environmental sustainability. For example, Airbnb has implemented policies to address these concerns, such as banning illegal listings, working with cities to create fair regulations, and launching initiatives like "Open Homes" to provide free housing for people in crisis. Tourism businesses can also seek certifications from reputable ethical tourism organizations and partner with NGOs to enhance their credibility. For example, several international hotel chains work with anti-human trafficking organizations to combat trafficking and raise awareness among customers (Naderi Koupaei & Vahedi, 2025).

Promoting transparent communication about ethical practices and initiatives is vital for building trust with tourists. Businesses should be prepared to respond to boycott campaigns with clear, honest communication, addressing concerns directly and outlining steps being taken to rectify any issues. Engaging with tourists on ethical issues is another important strategy for tourism businesses. Active engagement through social media, newsletters, and on-site information can encourage dialogue and feedback, helping businesses understand and address tourists' concerns.

Developing proactive ethical policies and having a crisis management plan in place are essential. Proactive policies should address potential ethical concerns, such as fair labor practices, community support initiatives, and sustainable environmental practices. A crisis management plan should include strategies for mitigating the impact of potential boycotts, communicating with stakeholders, and making necessary changes to business practices. As an example, Responsible Travel, a UK-based tour operator, promotes ethical and responsible travel by refusing to promote or sell trips to destinations with significant human rights concerns, such as North Korea and Myanmar. By implementing these strategies, stakeholders within the tourism industry cannot only respond effectively to boycotts but also proactively foster a more ethical and sustainable tourism landscape.

5.3. Limitation and direction for future research

This study offers insights into why individuals join or avoid destination boycotts but has limitations that suggest areas for future research. Future studies should explore more diverse geographic and cultural contexts to better understand this issue. Comparative research across different regions could provide a clearer picture of how cultural factors influence boycott behaviors. By exploring how cultural, political, and socio-economic elements interact, scholars can gain a deeper understanding of the factors driving boycott participation or rejection in various settings. Secondly, relying only on online narratives may miss the views of many tourists, as those who post online may have different opinions. Future research should include diverse cases and groups, considering age, gender, and socio-economic status. Using both surveys, interviews, and social media data can give a clearer picture of what influences destination boycotts. Thirdly, longitudinal studies are also recommended for future research. By monitoring how public sentiments, motivations, and participation levels change over time—especially in relation to media coverage—researchers can gain insights into the long-term effectiveness and sustainability of boycott movements. This approach would also reveal how the factors influencing decision-making shift over time, offering a more comprehensive understanding of how attitudes towards destination boycotts develop.

Examining the motivations and challenges of activists, policymakers, tour operators, local communities, and authorities can provide a deeper understanding of boycotts by revealing more factors and offering a clearer picture beyond individual decisions.

CRedit authorship contribution statement

Siamak Seyfi: Writing – review & editing, Writing – original draft,

Validation, Project administration, Methodology, Investigation, Formal analysis, Data curation, Conceptualization. **Abolfazl Siyamiyan Gorji:** Writing – review & editing, Methodology, Conceptualization. **Salar Kuhzady:** Writing – review & editing, Writing – original draft, Methodology, Formal analysis, Data curation, Conceptualization. **C. Michael Hall:** Writing – review & editing, Writing – original draft, Validation, Supervision, Investigation, Conceptualization. **Dagnachew Leta Senbeto:** Writing – review & editing, Conceptualization.

Appendix 1. Case selection process

Case	Political System	Context	Boycott campaign examples
Myanmar	Currently under a military junta. Constitutionally it is a unitary assembly-independent republic	Myanmar, facing similar international backlash for its human rights violations, notably the military's crackdown on pro-democracy protesters in 2021, shows boycotts as a message against these actions, urging respect for human rights and democratic principles (Shaheer et al., 2022).	https://www.facebook.com/BoycottMyanmarCampaign/ . https://www.tripadvisor.com/ShowTopic-g294190-i9408-k11879790-o20-Is_it_ethical_to_visit_at_the_moment-Myanmar.html https://www.reddit.com/r/solotravel/comments/ebxpji/thinking_about_traveling_in_myanmar_but_cant_get/ https://www.reddit.com/r/burma/comments/7bgex5/why_i_will_not_boycott_travel_to_myanmar_what_you/ https://www.reddit.com/r/TravelNoPics/comments/z24ajk/boycotting_a_country_for_travel/ https://www.reddit.com/r/travel/comments/7e341u/do_you_boycott_or_avoid_anything_when_traveling/ https://www.reddit.com/r/TravelNoPics/comments/z24ajk/boycotting_a_country_for_travel/ https://twitter.com/Boycott_RU?s=09 . https://leave-russia.org/ . https://www.mappingmegan.com/travel-boycott-on-russia/ https://www.reddit.com/r/changemyview/comments/t0bggw/cmv_russia_should_be_banned_from_all_sporting/ https://www.quora.com/Do-you-boycott-anything-If-so-what-and-why-is-that https://www.reddit.com/r/travel/comments/7e341u/do_you_boycott_or_avoid_anything_when_traveling/ https://www.reddit.com/r/travel/comments/zjtax1/which_countries_wont_you_visit_as_a_tourist_for/ https://twitter.com/amyfallon/status/1664162901098385408?s=09 . https://www.telegraph.co.uk/travel/news/calls-for-a-tourist-boycott-of-uganda-after-anti-gay-laws/#comment . https://www.reddit.com/r/travel/comments/zjtax1/which_countries_wont_you_visit_as_a_tourist_for/ https://www.reddit.com/r/askgaybros/comments/rvvesl/would_you_go_on_vacations_in_countries_with_zero/ https://www.reddit.com/r/gaybros/comments/14jhnbn/discussion_gay_men_who_travel_to_homophobic/ https://www.reddit.com/r/travel/comments/12tscm4/travel_location_ethics/ https://www.reddit.com/r/atheism/comments/3l8ocq/not_just_gays_but_liberals_atheists_bloggers_and/ https://www.change.org/p/artists-and-investors-boycott-apartheid-saudi-arabia https://www.reddit.com/r/travel/comments/7e341u/do_you_boycott_or_avoid_anything_when_traveling/ https://againstthecompass.com/en/visit-saudi-arabia-ethical/ https://www.reddit.com/r/progressive_islam/comments/bvysal/boycotting_hajj_to_protest_against_the_saudi/ https://www.reddit.com/r/travel/comments/7e341u/do_you_boycott_or_avoid_anything_when_traveling/ https://bemusedbackpacker.com/2019/08/19/should-travellers-boycott-controversial-destinations/ https://www.reddit.com/r/europe/comments/65k169/ahead_of_referendum_europeans_boycott_turkey_and/ https://www.reddit.com/r/armenia/comments/jkw7rz/boycott_turkey_visiting_turkey_and_purchasing/ https://www.reddit.com/r/travel/comments/zjtax1/which_countries_wont_you_visit_as_a_tourist_for/ https://twitter.com/boycottturkeyuk . https://www.reddit.com/r/kurdistan/comments/1ahrhfa/holidays_in_turkey_or_boycott/ . https://www.quora.com/Should-Dutch-and-German-Austrian-tourists-boycott-Turkey-after-being-called-Nazi-remnants-by-Erdo%C4%9Fan https://www.reddit.com/r/TravelNoPics/comments/z24ajk/boycotting_a_country_for_travel/ https://www.thepetitionsite.com/563/474/557/boycott-the-faroe-islands-and-denmark-until-they-stop-the-slaughter-of-pilot-whales/ . https://www.reddit.com/r/europe/comments/15cs5j5/dont_visit_faroe_campaign_launched_to_boycott/
Russia	Authoritarian symmetric federal republic with a semi-presidential system	In the aftermath of the 2022 Russian invasion of Ukraine, a dual "cultural boycott" and "economic boycott" emerged, targeting Russia and Belarus. The economic boycott's aim is to weaken the war effort, thereby impacting the country's future economic stability (Bachelor, 2022).	
Uganda	Presidential republic with the president as head of state and government	Uganda's selection stems from its contentious enactment of a law in 2014 that criminalized homosexuality, spurring international censure and boycotts. These actions aimed to pressure the Ugandan government to repeal discriminatory laws and uphold human rights (Fallon, 2023).	
Saudi Arabia	Absolute monarchy	Calls to boycott travel to Saudi Arabia stem from concerns regarding the nation's human rights record, spotlighting issues like freedom of expression and women's rights (Torres, 2023).	
Turkey	Presidential republic with a multi-party system	Turkey's selection arises from calls to boycott over human rights concerns related to the treatment of Kurds (boycott-turkey.net).	
Faroe Islands	Self-governing democracy under the external sovereignty of the Kingdom of Denmark	The Faroe Islands' case ties into animal rights activism and discussions surrounding boycotting due to practices such as the Grindadráp, the traditional hunting of pilot whales,	

(continued on next page)

(continued)

Case	Political System	Context	Boycott campaign examples
		urging an end to these practices (Kamleitner, 2016).	https://www.reddit.com/r/FaroeIslands/comments/nsu8os/everyone_needs_to_boycott_the_faroe_islands_until/

Appendix 2. Sources of user/contributor's quotes

A	https://www.thepetitionsite.com/563/474/557/boycott-the-faroes-islands-and-denmark-until-they-stop-the-slaughter-of-pilot-whales/ .
B	https://www.reddit.com/r/TravelNoPics/comments/z24ajk/boycotting_a_country_for_travel/
C	https://www.reddit.com/r/askgaybros/comments/rvvesl/would_you_go_on_vacations_in_countries_with_zero/
D	https://www.reddit.com/r/solotravel/comments/ebxpji/thinking_about_traveling_in_myanmar_but_cant_get/
E	https://www.reddit.com/r/gaybros/comments/14jhnbb/discussion_gay_men_who_travel_to_homophobic/
F	https://www.reddit.com/r/kurdistan/comments/1ahrfa/holidays_in_turkey_or_boycott/
G	https://www.reddit.com/r/travel/comments/zjtax1/which_countries_wont_you_visit_as_a_tourist_for/
H	https://adventure.com/travel-boycotts-arent-the-answer-heres-why/
J	https://www.tripadvisor.com/ShowTopic-g293840-i9254-k7257421-Likely_Boycott_on_travel_to_Uganda_due_to_LGBT_Law-Uganda.html
K	https://bemusedbackpacker.com/2019/08/19/should-travellers-boycott-controversial-destinations/
L	https://www.reddit.com/r/travel/comments/7e341u/do_you_boycott_or_avoid_anything_when_traveling/
M	https://www.quora.com/Should-Dutch-and-German-Austrian-tourists-boycott-Turkey-after-being-called-Nazi-remnants-by-Erdo%C4%9Fan
N	https://againstthecompass.com/en/visit-saudi-arabia-ethical/
O	https://www.thewayfaress.com/blog/myanmar-travel-boycott?rq=boycott
P	https://www.reddit.com/r/travel/comments/zjtax1/which_countries_wont_you_visit_as_a_tourist_for/
Q	Calls for travel boycotts have proliferated. Do they work?: Travel Weekly
R	https://www.quora.com/Should-Dutch-and-German-Austrian-tourists-boycott-Turkey-after-being-called-Nazi-remnants-by-Erdo%C4%9Fan?q=boycott%20turkey
S	https://www.reddit.com/r/travel/comments/12tsqm4/travel_location_ethics/
W	https://www.mappingmegan.com/travel-boycott-on-russia/

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