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Security and Tourism: Towards a New Understanding?

C. Michael Hall
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SUMMARY. The article provides a review of the expansion of the concept of security and the relationship of security to tourism. It is argued that the concept of security has become transformed from one of collective security and common defence to embrace notions of common and co-operative security. Despite the damage done to the concept of collective security because of the United States led invasion of Iraq, the development of common security structures through collective, multilateral frameworks such as the United Nations remains important for the expansion of security concerns to cover the environment, health and economic threats. The article also notes that tourism and supranational tourism organizations have little influence on peace and security agendas although such agendas are important for tourism. Nevertheless, particularly at the micro-level, appropriate tourism development may serve as a means to

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ward off potential future conflict over resource and environmental security. *[Article copies available for a fee from The Haworth Document Delivery Service: 1-800-HAWORTH. E-mail address: <docdelivery@haworthpress.com> Website: <http://www.HaworthPress.com> © 2003 by The Haworth Press, Inc. All rights reserved.]*

KEYWORDS. Collective security, common security, environmental security, tourism security, invasion of Iraq

Security is a concept that is, at present, central not just to tourism but to the wider world. This is not just a result of the events of September 11th 2001 and the terrorist attacks which occurred in the United States but is also the result of major shifts in American foreign policy, and the consequent American-led invasion of Iraq, ongoing concerns regarding the armed expression of religious and political fundamentalism, and fears for economic and personal health and well-being. These security concerns not only affect individual tourism decision-making but also have a broader influence on economic and political confidence, which in turn affects the wider environment within which the tourism industry operates and in which individual destinations are perceived.

Security fears are not new to the world. The twentieth century witnessed two world wars, numerous regional conflicts and civil wars, and the threat of nuclear annihilation during the "Cold War" between the United States-led industrialised West and the state-communist East led by the Soviet Union. It is therefore perhaps of no great surprise that the notion of security, at least in terms of global politics, has its grounding in the post-Second World War and Cold War period. However, as this article argues, the so-called security certainties of the Cold War, at least in relation to notions of friend and foe, have given way to conceptions of security that extend beyond ideas of national security and therefore encompass a wide range of issues at scales ranging from the global to the individual. Under these new concepts of security, threats are generated not just from military actions but also from such global issues as environmental change, resource scarcity, international crime, health, biosecurity, and challenges to sustainable development, to name just a few (Butfoy, 1997).

Tourism is irrevocably bound up with the concept of security. Tourist behaviour and, consequently, destinations, are deeply affected by perceptions of security and the management of safety, security and risk. Moreover, with events in 2003 related to the war in Iraq, concerns over a new strain of pneumonia and general travel safety demonstrated the tourism industry is highly vulnerable to changes in the global security environment. In addition, high se-

curity risk concerns have a ripple effect throughout the industry in that security risks at one location may be perceived to influence the wider region or, during major security concerns, the entire tourism system. For example, the new form of pneumonia known as Severe Acute Respiratory Syndrome (SARS) emanating from Guangzhou and Hong Kong was not only spread internationally through modern aviation services but also resulted in a number of countries issuing travel warnings regarding travel to some destinations in East Asia and health security measures at their own borders ("Terrifying for Asia," 7 April 2003). East Asian air stocks were falling, flights were being cut, and all this in a business environment made all the more difficult for tourism because of the invasion of Iraq, concerns over the price of oil, and threats of economic recession. Within this climate it is therefore not surprising that, for the tourism industry at least, security is now seen as more than just the safety of tourists. Nevertheless, at a macro-analytical level tourism has tended to focus on the threats posed by political insecurity and uncertainty (e.g., Richter and Waugh, 1986; Gartner and Shen, 1992; Hall and O'Sullivan, 1996; Hall and Oehlers, 2000).

Although "Tourism as a Force for Peace" has been a popular positive message relayed by the industry, consultants and some academics in recent years, the reality is that tourism has very little influence on peace and security issues, at least at the macro level, and that tourism is far more dependent on peace than peace is on tourism. Indeed, as one of the industries which has been hurt the most by the war in Iraq, some may see it as perhaps surprising how quiet industry voices were with respect to the invasion. For example, while the World Tourism and Travel Council (WTTC) had issued a press release on the economic impacts of the Iraq War (WTTC, 2003), noting that a prolonged war in Iraq would lead to the loss of more than three million jobs in the worldwide travel and tourism industry and eliminate more than US$30,000 million of economic value in 2003, no comment was made regarding the appropriateness of government decision-making with respect to Iraq. Instead, the WTTC President, Jean-Claude Baumgarten, stated, "In the event this worst case scenario takes place, we will look for immediate and decisive action from governments to protect and secure this vital world industry," with the press release going on to note that "Baumgarten called for strong and proactive public-private partnerships to develop emergency contingency plans that would help mitigate the impact of events. Key interventions might range from tax breaks to increased levels of investment by governments in security, tourism promotion and infrastructure" (WTTC, 2003). Similarly, in a letter to member states of the World Tourism Organization (WTO), Francesco Frangialli, Secretary-General of the World Tourism Organization, also commented on the potential impacts of the war on international tourism, noting, "it is not the purpose of this letter to pass

judgment on the political dimension of this conflict–it is not the World Tourism Organization's place to do so. It is our mission, however, to underline whenever necessary tourism's contribution to peace, and conversely, its vulnerability to acts or war and terrorism" (WTO, 2003: 1). Nevertheless, he did go on to state, "During this difficult period for the Arab-Muslim world, it is important for it to be able to use tourism, as many of its governments wish to do, as an instrument of openness and as a channel of communication with the rest of the international community" (WTO, 2003: 3). It may, of course, be argued that it is both difficult, because of the range of opinions that may exist within such organisations, and inappropriate, because of the inherently political nature over the issues surrounding the invasion of Iraq, for the WTTC and WTO to comment publicly on political and international security issues. But if tourism is seriously a force for peace, as both organizations have subscribed to, why should it be?

The above question lies at the heart of understanding the nature of security. The same letter by Secretary-General Frangialli to member states regarding the Iraq crisis went on to highlight the importance of:

- "the International Year of Ecotourism declared by the United Nations, and the inclusion of tourism in the Plan of Action adopted by the World Summit on Sustainable Development in Johannesburg."
- the international recognition of tourism "as an important tool in the fight against poverty, and the STEP (Sustainable Tourism for Eliminating Poverty) initiative, undertaken in conjunction with UNCTAD" aimed at enhancing this contribution.
- the growth of the "influence" and "visibility" of the WTO in the international community as it begins its transformation into a specialized agency of the United Nations.
- tourism as a stakeholder in multilateral cooperation within the framework of the United Nations system which "will be felt more strongly and more urgently than ever . . . Beyond the Iraq crisis and upon its conclusion."

Such areas fall under the realm of security. Environmental, social and economic issues, as well as the system of international governance by which such concerns are governed, now clearly lie within contemporary understandings of security (Boulding, 1991). Such a broadening of ideas of security is reflective of the changed notion of politics beyond that found in many dictionaries as "the science and art of government, the science dealing with the form, organisation and administration or a part of one, and with the regulation if its relations with other states" (Tansey 1995: 5). Instead, we are concerned with who

gets what, when, how; and the interactions of values and interests in policy and decision-making (Hall, 1994; Hall and Jenkins, 1995). Concerns which, arguably, cover all aspects of human existence.

THE NEW SECURITY AGENDA

Contemporary notions of security have evolved from Cold War-era security concerns (Table 1). During this period (1948-1990), conventional wisdom in the West was that the core goal of security policy should be the enhancement of stability. The alternatives were presented as either nuclear Armageddon or appeasement. In this period, security was based on the notion of deterrence, the logic of which was that if either side pushed the other into using nuclear weapons then it would set off a trail of nuclear escalation in which no one survived, otherwise known as the doctrine of Mutual Assured Destruction (MAD).

Deterrence dominated Western strategic policy and thinking until the late 1970s (Butfoy, 1993). Despite increasing global economic interdependence, deterrence was seen as the most realistic way of keeping Soviet power at bay. However, by the late 1970s increasing protests occurred regarding the deployment of US nuclear forces to Europe, particularly with respect to enhanced radiation warheads ("neutron bombs") and new missile systems. Such deploy-

TABLE 1. Key Concepts Used in the Debate on International Security

Collective Security	Based on the idea that states should join together to enforce international law, primarily relating to prohibiting aggression, sometimes applied to enforcement of the legal dimensions of environmental security.
Collective Defence	Another term to describe traditional alliances, e.g., NATO. Often confused with collective security; the major difference is that collective defence is more exclusionary and is based on notions of national, as opposed to international, interest.
Common Security	Based on notions of interdependence, a focus on the safety of individual people as opposed to states, and a multi-dimensional perspective in which non-defence ideas of security are given significance. Key concept of the Palme Commission (1982).
Cooperative Security	A limited, and relatively conservative, adaptation of common security with the focus on promoting mutual reassurance between states.

After Butfoy, 1997

ments were the subject of protests by a renewed peace movement, fuelled by the belligerent anti-Soviet rhetoric of U.S. President Ronald Reagan and the lack of new initiatives from Moscow, and concerns over the economic costs of such weapons systems (Butfoy, 1997). It was therefore within this setting that a seminal document in the evolution of the concept of security was published. This was the 1982 Report of The Independent Commission on Disarmament and Security Issues, entitled *Common Security: A Blueprint for Survival* (referred to as the Palme Commission Report, after its chairman, Swedish Prime Minister Olof Palme). (The Independent Commission on Disarmament and Security Issues, 1982; hereafter referred to as the Palme Commission.) The report was driven by the idea that the arms race was economically and socially wasteful, harmful to the prospects for development in the Less Developed World, and–more than anything else–dangerous. According to the Palme Commission, there was a "drift towards war" (Palme Commission, 1982: xiii); the world seemed to be "marching towards the brink of a new abyss" (Palme Commission, 1982:1). The Report noted that:

> nations must strive for objectives more ambitious than stability, the goal of the present system in which security is based on armaments. For stability based on armaments cannot be sustained indefinitely. There is always the danger that the fragile stability of an international system based on armaments will suddenly crumble, and that nuclear confrontation will take its place. A more effective way to ensure security is to create positive processes that can lead to peace and disarmament. It is essential to create an irreversible process, with a momentum such that all nations cooperate for their common survival. (Palme Commission, 1982: 7)

When first released, the idea of common security proposed by the Palme Report was seen by many as politically and strategically naïve (Butfoy, 1997). Nevertheless, the idea of common security helped reframe wider debates over security. It did this in four ways. First, it added extra emphasis to the concept of "non-offensive defence," meaning the desirability of developing a defence posture which achieved military security without creating counter-productive threats (Butfoy, 1997). Second, the idea further publicised the usefulness of "confidence building measures" (CBMs) designed to promote mutual reassurance. Third, the focus on common interests led to a reconsideration of the security implications of interdependence. Fourth, the issues of the Less Developed Countries were brought onto the political centre stage with, for instance, poverty being portrayed as a potential security issue (Butfoy, 1997).

Ironically, given the Soviet Union's posture for much of the Cold War period on defence and security issues, it was the accession of Mikhail Gorbachev

as the Soviet leader which led to the Soviets embracing some elements of the common security agenda and its wider influence on security discourse as well as practical politics in terms of the collapse of the Iron Curtain. Indeed, Gorbachev's reforms which were informed by the "New Thinking" were one of the political sources for the rapid growth of people-power in Eastern Europe and the collapse of state repression as an acceptable way of providing long-term security (Butfoy, 1997).

Following the collapse of the Cold War divisions, the common security message has been expanded even further to include the economy (Gurr, 1985), human rights, welfare, the environment (Myers, 1989, 1993; Boulding, 1991), food (Maxwell and Frankenberger, 1992; Cohen and Pinstrup-Andersen, 1998), and water (Falkenmark and Lundqvist, 1998; World Water Assessment Programme, 2001) as part of the discourse on security (Brown, 1977; Ullman, 1983; Mathews, 1989; Romm, 1993). These new notions of security are strongly embedded in support for the collective security provided, in theory, by the United Nations system and which underlie the importance of multilaterism in a wide range of international fields (Imber, 1994; Commission on Global Governance, 1995). Nevertheless, such an understanding of security has not been universally adopted, and even though the Clinton-Gore administration had embraced some elements of the common security agenda with respect to the environment, these were lost in the development of the notion of cooperative security which placed emphasis on reassurance, CBMs, arms control, and transparency. Indeed, such a direction also highlights the potential development of a north-south or core-periphery security model in which the security prospects of the "core" rule-based liberal-democratic industrial world are perceived as greatly different from the relatively lawless, undemocratic "periphery" (e.g., "rogue states") in much of the rest of the world.

The notion of environmental security arguably developed as an off-shoot of concerns over defence security in the 1970s and 1980s (Holst, 1989; Myers, 1989; Käkönen, 1994; Stern, 1995). Concerns over the potential impact of a nuclear winter following a nuclear war provided a basis for other international environmental problems, such as the nuclear disaster in Chernobyl, burning oil wells in Kuwait following the liberation of that country in 1991, and global climate change, have all contributed to an appreciation of the security dimensions of ecological inter-dependence (Mische, 1989; Käkönen, 1994; Levy, 1995a, 1995b; Elliott, 1998). At least four sets of relationships between more traditional notions of security and the concept of environmental security may be identified. First, the relationship between environmental security and the potential for resource wars fought over increasingly scarce resources such as oil and water (Gurr, 1985; Käkönen, 1988; Homer-Dixon, 1991, 1994; Molvær, 1991; Homer-Dixon et al., 1993; Dolatyar and Gray, 2000; Haftendorn, 2000;

Maxwell and Reuveny, 2000). Second, direct threats to environmental health because of environmental change and biosecurity threats, some of which may be deliberately induced by human action (Alexander, 2000). Third, the mass migration of ecological refugees who are abandoning resource-poor or damaged areas (Holst, 1989). Refugee flows often generate new resource, political, economic and cultural tensions in those nations which receive them (Jamieson, 1999). Fourth, there is the environmentally destructive capability of the military itself (Kakonen, 1994; Kirchner, 2000). Although linked to the concept of sustainable development, the notion of environmental security is not universally accepted although it does have a number of significant supporters such as former US Vice President Al Gore (1992) and Norman Myers (1989, 1993). For example, Myers' (1993) book, *Ultimate Security*, provided an analysis of a range of case studies (focussing on regional resource wars and global ecological threats), which collectively seek to demonstrate that environmental and resource degradation is inseparable from economic and political insecurities and which perhaps foresaw some of the oil resource access and ownership issues arising out of the 2003 invasion of Iraq.

Issues of environmental security have themselves broadened into notions of food and water security. For example, the UN Food and Agricultural Organization (FAO) has a food security programme which states that "Food security exists when all people, at all times, have physical and economic access to sufficient, safe and nutritious food to meet their dietary needs and food preferences for an active and healthy life" (FAO, *http://www.fao.org/spfs/*). Key features of the programme include attention to such concerns as participation, technology transfer, gender sensitivity, social equity, economic and environmental sustainability, and South-South cooperation. Perhaps not surprisingly therefore such concerns also exist within the area of water security (World Water Assessment Programme, 2001). However, what would also be apparent to many readers is that such concerns are also central issues for tourism and tourism researchers, practitioners and academics also seek to come to terms with the relationship between tourism and sustainable development. For example, in the same way that discussions of sustainable tourism refer to the significance of the broader discussions of sustainable development so the World Water Assessment Programme (2001) in discussing "Achieving Water Security in the Twenty-First Century" highlights the need to keep "a focus on the first principle of the Rio Declaration: Human beings are at the centre of concerns for sustainable development. They are entitled to a healthy and productive life in harmony with nature" (World Water Assessment Programme, 2001: 2).

The relationship between security and sustainable development may clearly pose a new agenda for research on tourism and security, and the development of a broad range of answers to the questions of "security from what and secure

to do what?" Nevertheless, to some extent several of these issues are already being anticipated in the wider tourism literature, although they are subject to substantial contestation (Hall and Lew, 1998; Mowforth and Munt, 1998; Butcher, 2003). With few exceptions, however, traditional ideas of state security, which have been applied to a set of conditions that guarantees the ability of a nation to protect its territorially bounded community of citizens and pursue its national interests free from both real and imagined impediments and threats, have been applied in tourism. State security concerns clearly have the capacity to affect the flow of international travellers because of the desire of some states to deter undesirable visitors–whether on the basis of wealth, health, creed, or crime. Indeed, in concluding their book on tourism and migration relations, Hall and Williams (2002) cite Bauman's (1998) discussion of the human consequences of globalisation which juxtaposes the tourist and the vagabond as the two extreme character types of contemporary mobility and a metaphor for the new, emergent, stratification of global society. Entry visas are being progressively phased out in many parts of the world (although new requirements are being introduced in parts of Eastern Europe and the CIS) as part of the deregulation of desired human mobility and the encouragement of future growth in international tourism in particular: "But not passport control. The latter is still needed–perhaps more than ever before–to sort out the confusion which the abolition of visas might have created: to set apart those for whose convenience and whose ease of travel the visas have been abolished, from those who should have stayed put–not meant to travel in the first place" (Bauman, 1998: 87). Tourists travel because they want to. Vagabonds travel because they have no choice. As Bauman (1998: 92-93) notes, "The tourists move because they find the world within their (global) reach irresistibly attractive–the vagabonds move because they find the world within their (local) reach unbearably inhospitable . . . What is acclaimed today as 'globalization' is geared to the tourists' dreams and desires . . . Vagabonds are travellers refused the right to turn into tourists."

One important area of national security–tourism relationships centres on national borders. Borders as limits of national space and sovereignty have been at the center of myriad international conflicts throughout history, and there are few places in the world that have not been affected directly or indirectly by some form of border altercation. Today, many forms of territorial disputes and border conflicts abound where the discord relates to the exact location of a shared border (particularly relevant in places of high natural resource amenity); one country's unilateral and despotic manipulation of the boundary and its functions; the misuse or overexploitation of natural resources like water, forests, fish and oil that overlap national lines; and, clearly, who is allowed to cross such borders (Allcock et al., 1992; Timothy, 2001).

Some border and territorial conflicts are highly problematic in places of significant tourist interest. One example is Taba, a popular tourist resort, which was developed by the Israelis in 1982 near the border with Egypt. After Israel's withdrawal from the Sinai, there was conflict between Egypt and Israel about where the new international boundary should be located. Based on historical boundary documents, Egypt claimed a more eastward location. Despite the absence of a set border, the Israelis began developing beachfront tourist facilities in the 700-metre wide disputed territory. Despite political and legal efforts by Israel, the small tract of land, including the booming tourist facilities, was awarded to Egypt in 1988 by an international arbitration council (Kemp and Ben-Eliezer, 2000; Timothy, 2001). Some other notable examples of territorial and boundary disputes directly affecting tourism including Spain-Gibraltar, India-China, Canada-USA, Russia-China, Cyprus, and Thailand-Cambodia. However, it should also be noted that in some cases tourism may be deliberately exploited as a means to reinforce claims to sovereignty of disputed areas (Hall 1994).

Obviously border and territorial disputes usually hinder the successful and continuous development of tourism in unstable borderlands. However, they also affect tourism development within the national interior of countries, as boundaries become essentially impenetrable in both real and perceived terms, which in turn limits access to the national core by visitors from abroad. Likewise, and similar to other forms of conflict, border and territorial disputes nearly always create uncertainty in the minds of potential travellers who intentionally avoid the countries or regions where such conflicts occur.

National security concerns in the post-September 11th environment have not only influenced travel behaviour but have also affected the direct personal security measures employed to protect the travelling public. By extension, and as Hall (2002) argued, not only is the media significant in terms of the images that surround travel and specific destinations and which influence travel decision-making, but the media also has a substantial impact on the policy measures which governments take with respect to tourist safety and security: "The stringency of application of security measures has previously ebbed and flowed in light of responses to terrorist attacks and hijackings and perceptions of risk and security and subsequent commercial and consumer pressures for convenient and cheaper travel. Even given the undoubted enormity of the events of September 11 it is highly likely that they will ebb and flow again" (Hall, 2002: 462, 465). This is not to minimise the enormous and varied impacts of the terrorist attacks of September 11th both in the United States (Beirman, 2003; Chen and Noriega, this volume; Floyd et al., this volume; Green et al., this volume; Kingsbury and Brunn, this volume) and elsewhere (McKercher and Hui, this volume).

The media is clearly critical in influencing both tourist and political reactions to political and international security issues (Hall and O'Sullivan, 1996; Carter, 1998; Hall, 2002). However, it is also important to recognise that the American experience with terrorist attacks as a means of political expression has been experienced elsewhere around the world (Richter and Waugh, 1986; Enders and Sandler, 1991; Buckley and Klemm, 1993; Aziz, 1995; de Albuquerque and McElroy, 1999; Wahab, 1996; Wall, 1996; Sönmez, 1998; Leslie, 1999; Sönmez et al., 1999; Soemodinoto et al., 2001; Fallon, this volume; Thapa, this volume) with the development of subsequent potential models for understanding the means by which the tourism industry may react to such situations (Anson, 1999; Ioannides and Apostolopoulos, 1999; Mansfield, 1999; Sönmez et al., 1999). At a different scale, though still highly significant for tourists' individual feelings of safety as well as perceptions of destinations, is the extent to which tourists may be victims of crime (Nicholls, 1976; Fujii and Mak, 1980; Walmsley et al., 1983; Chesney-Lind and Lind, 1986; Kelly, 1993; Hall et al., 1995; Pizam and Mansfield, 1996; Prideaux, 1996; Ryan and Kinder, 1996; Pizam et al., 1997; Michalko, this volume). This latter issue has been of longstanding interest to students of tourism, particularly in relation to the social dimensions of tourism, although what is criminal in one context may not be in another (Hall and O'Sullivan, 1996). Nevertheless, terrorism, war and crime has been the more normal security focus of tourism, although, as with the wider notion of national security, ideas of the relationship between tourism and security have also shifted.

Another significant perception and management issue for tourism, not least because of recent concerns over the global movement of SARS, is that of biosecurity. The implications of biosecurity issues for tourism were clearly illustrated in the impacts of the outbreaks of foot and mouth in the UK in 2001, which substantially restricted access to rural areas (Sharpley and Craven, 2001; Coles, this volume; Ritchie et al., this volume) and are paralleled by concerns over the potential for travellers to transmit diseases between human populations (e.g., Berkelman et al., 1994; Wilson, 1995; Cookson et al., 2001), particularly when globalisation processes actually encourage greater human mobility.

Economic security has also become an area of concern for the tourism industry, particularly in light of the impacts of the Asian financial crisis on tourism in the region (Hall and Page, 2000; de Sausmarez, this volume). Significantly, the Asian financial crisis indicated the interconnectedness of security issues, as the economic crisis also became transformed into a social and political crisis as people lost their jobs, and prices on some fundamental goods, including rice, increased in some parts of East Asia. In some cases, tourists were the objects of such unrest (Fallon, this volume), although, significantly, it is notable that throughout Asia tourism was seized upon as one of the industries that could

potentially greatly assist in economic and financial recovery and in the provision of employment (Hall and Page, 2000).

The increased recognition of the wide ranging nature of threats which fit under the ambit of security have also given rise to attention to crisis and disaster management strategies (Faulkner, 2001; Faulkner and Vikulov, 2001; Beirman, 2003; Cushnahan, this volume; Prideaux, this volume). Undoubtedly, attention to the tourist decision making process with respect to security issues (Lovelock, this volume; McLaurin, this volume) is important. However, there is also a clear need, as Santana (this volume) has pointed out, to go beyond the rhetoric, and to look at some of the fundamentals of security and the means by which security issues and concerns are interrelated and embedded in the very nature of tourism.

CONCLUSION

Our notions of security have broadened significantly since the end of the Cold War. This was, in large part, due to the impetus provided by the debate on common security. This debate provided for contestation of the legitimacy and appropriateness of a traditional notion of security as something that was primarily concerned with the defence of the nation state. Indeed, this "old thinking" was viewed by many exponents as being a major source of insecurity in itself (Butfoy, 1997). Instead, security ideas now tend to stress more global and people-centred perspectives with greater emphasis on multilateral frameworks of security management (Johnston, 1992). However, security concerns will undoubtedly continue to also focus on deterrence and the containment of threats to international order, particularly from "rogue states." These conceptions of security will continue to influence tourism, although the influence of tourism on security will likely continue to be minimal. Nevertheless, the term security resonates with deep seated longings to be safe and these feelings undoubtedly have importance not only for travellers but also those people who are dependent on the business of tourism. In the search for an ethical basis for tourism it will therefore be interesting to see whether greater stress will be put on moving beyond the rhetoric of tourism as a force for peace to tourism actually providing a firm foundation for human well-being.

This volume was borne out of the impacts of September 11th and is being concluded at a time when American tanks are on the bridges of Baghdad and the fear of SARS is possibly having an even greater impact on the international tourism industry than the Iraq invasion and fears of economic recession. Several airlines are facing bankruptcy and destinations from the Caribbean to Asia are suffering declines in tourism numbers. These are, indeed, times of insecu-

rity. However, out of the current crisis for the tourism industry also comes an awareness that the nature of security has changed, possibly forever. Although crime, terrorism and national security concerns will continue to be important, as this volume testifies, health, social and environmental issues are also becoming a part of the lexicon of tourism security and are also becoming related to ideas of sustainable development. Perhaps just as importantly the new discourse of security recognises just how interdependent and interconnected the world is. This discourse is not appreciated by all governments given the implications that arise from it with respect to the need to respect multilateral and global frameworks on issues as seemingly diverse as global climate change, human rights, peace keeping, the environment and, of course, national security. Nevertheless, it is a discourse that is continuing to grow and in an increasingly globalised world should find substantial resonance in the field of tourism studies. In 1994 Kaplan referred to "the coming anarchy" with respect to the prospect of greater international conflict in relation to resource and environmental security. In the twenty-first century we hope that the burning oil wells of Iraq are not harbingers of just such anarchy but instead trust that the notion of collective security will provide a basis for stability in which tourism will continue to thrive and human well-being enhanced.

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