

Sri Lanka, Sustainable Tourism and Marine Sports: Economic, Ethnic and Environmental Challenges

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Abstract

Tourism is often presented as one element of an economic solution to the range of problems experienced by developing countries. This paper examines the history of Sri Lanka in order to outline the challenges and opportunities presented by the current development of Sri Lanka as a premium kitesurfing destination. Recent representations of Sri Lanka in various discourses are surveyed, providing a context for presenting the background of ethnic tensions that were not dissipated by civil war as an additional challenge to be surmounted by local tourist businesses. The limitations and internal contradictions of various alternatives to mass tourism are outlined before emphasizing the need to move beyond the development aid model of so-called social conscience tourism that privileges the contribution of the volunteering visitor. The paper concludes by making general comments about the potential economic and environmental impacts of marine sports tourism, primarily kitesurfing and windsurfing, on coastal

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Sri Lankan communities.

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Representations of Sri Lanka

The contradictory tensions between various representations of Sri Lanka point to the economic, ethnic and political difficulties being faced by citizens of that island country.² On the one hand, glossy tourist brochures may emphasize the spiritual aspect of life in Sri Lanka, or invoke its status as a paradise for low budget travellers and a reliably windy destination for windsurfer and kitesurfer adventure tourists.³ On the other hand, activist accounts of humanitarian aid efforts have identified the points at which these micro-grant and micro-credit programs and other interventions reinforce the inequalities that they are intending to critique and remedy.⁴

The category of gender is an important one in the studies of Sri Lankan society, and within that category some attention has been given to the relationship of poor rural women to the marine and coastal resources of their natural environment. Examples of this research include the impact of environmental degradation in Kalpitya Lagoon on one hundred women from the district of Putallam who work in generally unlicensed prawn farms.⁵ Attention is also given to the difficulties women experience in using contraception, gender-based violence that includes the not-illegal marital rape, and the patriarchal bias of legal institutions.⁶

As an alternative to dominance of the poverty narrative, there have

been periods of some optimism about economic growth in Sri Lanka.⁷ Given the domestic history of struggle and conflict that intensified with Sri Lankan independence from the British in 1948,⁸ it is not surprising that another area of research interest has been the ethno-nationalistic tensions between Sinhala and Tamil ideologues.⁹ Domestic political stability is a prerequisite for economic growth but leadership must address high payments of debt-interest, top-heavy and inefficient bureaucratic structures, and a tendency to run excessive budget deficits.¹⁰ However, international pressure to resolve the war crimes committed by both sides during the armed conflict undermines the image of island paradise that the Sri Lankan tourist industry promotes.¹¹

Since the 26 December 2004 Indian Ocean earthquake, a significant body of literature has engaged the impacts of disaster relief, including disaster tourism.¹² Given the persistence of ethnic tension inside Sri Lanka that escalated into civil war,¹³ one important thread in this body of tsunami research addresses the ramifications of relocating families by constructing a buffer zone that prohibits people from living in their own coastline community.¹⁴

Against the complexities of these domestic and international backgrounds, there have been concerns about balancing the economic potential of tourism with the negative costs resulting from increasing numbers of foreign visitors.¹⁵ Although some analysts are optimistic about the potential of tourism to lead Sri Lankan economic development,¹⁶ there have been domestic debates about the extent to which such development will only exacerbate existing inequalities of the Sri Lankan urban-rural disparity.¹⁷ The strongest critiques assume that tourism is a globally destructive industry

that is justified by an illusory economic model, premised on the myth of the trickle-down effect, resulting in environmental destruction.¹⁸

Sustainable tourism and its suppressed desire

What has driven the global emergence of sustainable tourism is the intersection of four debates: concerns about the human impact on the environment; international recognition that development does not assist all members of developing societies equally; a sense that quality of life issues should not be the luxurious privilege of citizens of developed nations; and a conviction that top-down forms of governmental authority should over the long-term be supplemented by more decentralized forms of governance.¹⁹

For those aspiring to live a considered life, sustainable tourism is an expression of the formation of ethical communities: a holiday is just another commodity purchase that can have profound social, economic and environmental consequences.²⁰ As understandings of the range of purchase impacts develop, individual and collective awareness of the ethics of consumption also evolve.²¹ This development of reflexive understanding has recognized the possibility that volunteer tourists may be shopping their way past the guilt of their privilege.²²

Sustainable tourism: compromise and cultural exchange

The disagreements amongst advocates and opponents of tourism tend to intensify when the category of sustainable tourism is mentioned.²³ Such discussions often falter on account of the lack of agreement about how sustainable tourism can be defined.²⁴ Critics disregard such development as social pollution while supporters cautiously call for compromise between

stakeholders, once the costs and benefits of such trade-offs have been considered, as the way to develop practices that support sustainable tourism.²⁵ Since the establishment of the International Institute for Peace through Tourism in 1986, it is significant for Sri Lanka that more optimistic advocates have noted the global potential of the tourism industry to support processes of reconciliation and post-conflict healing.²⁶

Advocates for a more considered approach to nurturing a tourist industry emphasize the importance of compromise: negotiating a balance between the need to improve standards of living over both the short and long term with the implementation of practices which ensure that environmental management does not destroy those natural resources required for that economic and social development.²⁷ Such recommendations include the greening of wider managerial practices, and more specifically, developing an environmental accounting that retreats from assigning zero value to the environment.²⁸ Recognizing that carbon dioxide emissions have been conspicuously absent from the environmental bottom line of the international travel industry, Sri Lanka has positioned itself as the leader of carbon neutral destinations.²⁹

The Carbon Tracker function of the Travelport app allows travelers to include carbon data information as part of their calculation for flight selection. From the perspective of the end-user visitor, there is also an expectation that the actions of sustainable tourism participants will exemplify the values of responsible tourism in their interactions with the destination community.³⁰ Within this framework it is important to not only take account of intragenerational equity, but also acknowledge the cultural practices that indigenous and other shareholders have exercised in that area

as part of their traditional identities.³¹

Compromise, premised on a clear understanding of the costs and benefits of the specific consequences of the proposed tourist development, is important because it offers the possibility of reconfiguring these win/lose outcomes: the environment wins/other interests lose; the environment loses/other interests win; and the environment loses/other interests lose.³² Going beyond these three outcomes maximizes the possibility of aligning those multiple conflicts in a relative win for the environment and a collective but moderated win for other interests.³³

The reality of implementing this model is a complex, time-consuming procedure where stakeholders make partial deferments to the interests of other parties while all stakeholders engage with the long-term uncertainties of the global tourism market. The only absolute in these transactions is the acknowledgement that, because the interests of one party do not dominate the final decision, the long-term interests of all stakeholders can be optimized.³⁴

In the case of making an argument for eco-tourism as a sustainable form of tourist-driven development, such compromises aim to integrate economic development, social justice and ecological integrity in determining the particular characteristics of that destination.³⁵ Generally speaking, eco-tourism can be defined as 'activities related to tourists and visitors or services which give support to local populations, cultures and economies in a positive way, besides contributing to ecological protection and sustainability.'³⁶ These sorts of social and environmental concerns place eco-tourism in opposition to the conventions of comfort and schedule that define mass tourism, particularly when an expansive definition of the agenda of eco-tourism is implemented.³⁷

As an alternative form of tourism, volunteer tourism has been argued to extend eco-tourism.³⁸ Instead of minimizing the negative impacts of eco-tourist visits, volunteer tourism keeps both the cash flow and those small-footprint concerns with the natural and social environment while also offering an explicit opportunity to contribute something positive to the destination.³⁹ One key issue is how to define what constitutes positive improvements to social justice, economic growth and rural poverty, while also avoiding actions that merely impose external standards on the local community.⁴⁰

Although the extent to which volunteer tourism has been so neatly commodified into being just another possible selection on the travel menu, a purchase that can benefit the global tourist more than the destination community, is a problem that has been addressed in the literature,⁴¹ a deeper issue is the dilemma of how to move volunteer tourism from a developmental aid model towards something more mutually satisfying, organized around two-way cultural learning and exchange.⁴²

Looking forward: opportunities

The primary challenges facing alternatives to mass tourism in Sri Lanka are economic, ethnic and environmental. Ideally, economic development should not be concentrated in one narrow class, ethnic or gendered group. Avoiding the boom-bust cycles that characterize that form of global tourism which is sensitive to reports of natural disasters, complicated political relations within and between countries, and the faddish idea of fashionable destinations is an important risk factor that needs to be managed, if the economic stability and security of the tourism industry workers are to be

improved. Overcoming ethnic tension and the legacy of Sri Lankan civil war in the hospitality industry through local employment practices is one long-term attempt to solve the painful legacy of communal unrest. Marine sports tourism is especially sensitive to reports of environmental degradation and water pollution, especially if such destruction is caused by one-sided ad hoc development that undercuts the central reason for the popularity of the destination.⁴³

The various impacts of marine sports tourism in Sri Lanka can be framed as a North-South exchange, especially when the developmental aid model is the dominant metaphor for volunteer tourist interaction with members of the host community. The costs and benefits of these short-term foreign presences in Kalpitiya and how these inform local actions as repeat visits by global tourists structure their interactions with the local community will be addressed in a following paper.

Endnotes:

¹ This paper is the first in a series. The first paper establishes several contexts for interpreting the impact of marine sports tourism in Sri Lanka. The second paper will address the example of De Silva Windresort Kalpitiya in terms of the thematic concerns outlined in this paper. Unlike the conventional literature review of the first paper, the second paper will contain fictocritical elements. Kalpitiya Lagoon in Sri Lanka was selected because it is a world-class kiteboarding and windsurfing destination: in July 2017, this location was one stop on the Red Bull Local Hero Tour. I would like to acknowledge a series of 領域別研究 grants from the 「言語のカートグラフィアー」研究 Group, 研究チーム番号: 163001, which made this research possible.

² The success of Sri Lanka in meeting most Millennium Development Goals targets is

very impressive:

Eradicate Extreme Poverty and Hunger, Achieve Universal Primary Education, Promote Gender Equality and Empower Women, Reduce Child Mortality, Improve Maternal Health, Combat HIV/AIDS, Malaria and Other Diseases, Ensure Environmental Sustainability and Develop a Global Partnership for Development are the eight MDGs. Sri Lanka achieved the target of halving poverty at the national level seven years before 2015 and has almost achieved universal primary education, and the proportion of pupils starting grade 1 who reach grade 5 is nearly 100 percent.

While the national unemployment rate has declined to less than 4 percent, there was a tremendous gender gap in employment. A large proportion of working age males are employed, the ratio for females is low despite the rapid enhancement in female education. Only 30 percent of females of the population were employed while 70 percent of the males were in the labor force.

The high proportion of underweight children is still a concern, although Sri Lanka is on track to achieve the target of halving the proportion by 2015.

The proportion of people consuming less than the minimum requirement of dietary energy has remained unchanged at around 50 percent since before the 1990s.

Sri Lanka has met the target for the proportion of people with access to safe drinking water and basic sanitation.

<https://www.news.lk/news/business/item/6776-sri-lanka-achieves-most-millennium-development-goals-targets-well-ahead-of-schedule-mdg-country-report> (Accessed 2018/02/10)

³ The idea of Sri Lanka as a spiritual destination has its origins in several religious traditions: 'It is widely believed that the Buddha selected Sri Lanka as a *dhamma dipa* ("an island of the dharma, or doctrine"), which was to stand as a citadel of pure Buddhism.' James Manor and Gerald Segal, 'Causes of conflict: Sri Lanka and Indian Ocean strategy', *Asian Survey*, vol. 25, no. 12 (Dec., 1985), p. 1171.

While critiquing the hippy nonsense of the Sri Lanka-is-paradise discourse, Boštjan Kravanja refers to the Islamic tradition while foregrounding the beach location:

In line with the backpacker's motto that I cited beginning the final section of this article, which states that "as soon as a place gets a reputation for being paradise it goes to hell" (Theroux 1992, 383), I can only add that southern Sri Lanka's travelers' enclaves resemble purgatory more than they do paradise. Rather than being idyllic places of peaceful repose, the enclaves are places of purgation where backpackers' souls are purified until another journey can begin. This image is more reflective of the reality on the ground, where, one would hope, Sri Lanka will never gain the dubious reputation of a paradise on earth among travelers, allowing the island nation to remain between heaven and hell. After all, it is the place where Muslims believe Adam fell when he was cast out of paradise. The peak where he is believed to have landed is coincidentally near the very beaches I have been discussing in this article.

Boštjan Kravanja, 'On conceptions of Paradise and the tourist spaces of southern Sri Lanka', *Asian Ethnology*, vol. 71, no. 2, (2012), p. 199.

⁴ One of the difficulties of programmes using gender as a point of intervention, as projects commence from the point of what is already possible, is that they must necessarily begin to transform the accepted norms of gender:

In the fact that most income-generation projects for women to work from or near home (i.e., in poultry rearing and gardening) carries with it an implicit assumption that women are inextricably linked to the private and gendered sphere of the home.

Jennifer Hyndman and Malathi de Alwis, 'Beyond gender: towards a feminist analysis of humanitarianism and development in Sri Lanka', *Women's Studies Quarterly*, vol. 31, no. 3/4, *Women and Development: Rethinking Policy and Reconceptualizing Practice* (2003), p. 215.

More locally, and important for the location of the second paper in this series, there is the question of how gender inflects identity politics in Kalpitiya. On the constraints experienced by Muslim women living in the town of Kalpitiya, several

kilometres from the Kalpitiya Lagoon, it is worth noting that the category of culture was not the primary impediment:

many of the obstacles faced by my Muslim women informants were political and material rather than 'cultural' in nature. Their lives are influenced by 'Muslim identity', which has been described by some as a reactive ideology developed in relation and response to Sinhala and Tamil ethno-nationalistic ideologies, while also being rooted in global socio-political conditions ... In Kalpitiya, the existence of a permanently displaced community may have exacerbated Muslims' move towards reasserting their own identity ... It is unsurprising that homogenizing tendencies within the Muslim communities of Kalpitiya are magnified within discussions on female migration – a prime issue highlighted by the national media and a platform for ideological propagation – especially as sexuality is a central site where social identities are contested and inter-communal relations are expressed.

Maya Unnithan-Kumar and Sunil K. Khanna, *Cultural Politics of Reproduction: Migration, Health and Family Making* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2015), p. 54.

⁵ Yoga Rasanayagam, 'Women as users and victims of marine and coastal resources in the south and west of Sri Lanka', *GeoJournal*, vol. 48, no. 3, Actors, Activities, and the Geographical Scene. Studies on Time-geography, Mobility, and Gender (1999), pp. 231-236.

There is also a body of literature that maps out how the natural resources have been utilized, prior to the recent arrival of wind farm turbines along the lagoon foreshores, diagonally behind the De Silva Windresort Kalpitiya, as a result of a government Energy Policy target of 10% renewable energy generation by 2015. For an overview of resource utilization around Kalpitiya, the following papers are useful: Pauline Dayaratne, Olof Linden and M. W. Ranjith N. De Silva, 'Puttalam Lagoon and Mundel Lake, Sri Lanka: a study of coastal resources, their utilization, environmental issues and management options', *Ambio*, vol. 24, no. 7/8, Research and Capacity Building for Sustainable Coastal Management (1995), pp. 391-401.

Ranil K. A. Kularatne, 'Suitability of the coastal waters of Sri Lanka for offshore

sand mining: a case study on environmental considerations', *Journal of Coastal Conservation*, vol. 18, no. 3 (2014), pp. 227-247.

For an overview of how to manage development in coastal destinations, see Alan T. White, Virginia Barker and Gunatilake Tantrigama, 'Using integrated coastal management and economics to conserve coastal tourism resources in Sri Lanka', *Ambio*, vol. 26, no. 6 (1997), pp. 335-344.

⁶ This study includes women from six districts (including Putallam) that have higher than the national average proportions of the population living below the poverty line. Sepali Kottegoda, Kumudini Samuel and Sarala Emmanuel, 'Reproductive health concerns in six conflict-affected areas of Sri Lanka', *Reproductive Health Matters*, vol. 16, no. 31, Conflict and Crisis Settings: Promoting Sexual and Reproductive Rights (2008), pp. 75-82.

⁷ In terms of a regional context, poverty in Sri Lanka in 2017 is less of an issue than elsewhere. According to *Basic Statistics 2017* of the Asian Development Bank, Sri Lanka has the lowest percentage of population below the poverty line in South Asia: Bangladesh 31.5%, Nepal 25.2%, India 21.9%, Maldives 15.0%, Bhutan 12.0%, Sri Lanka 6.7%.

Adapted from <https://www.adb.org/countries/sri-lanka/poverty> (Accessed 2018/02/10) A World Bank Group report from 2016 offers a more complete overview of the current conditions of Sri Lankan society:

The World Bank Group carried out a Systematic Country Diagnostic (SCD) to identify the key constraints to sustaining progress in ending poverty and boosting shared prosperity. The SCD highlights that Sri Lanka has one of the lowest tax-to-GDP rates in the world, undercutting the government's ability to invest in education, health, and other services. Meanwhile, generating growth and jobs are constrained by protectionist policies, low foreign direct investment, a deficit of skills needed for a middle income country, and an unduly large public sector.

Addressing these issues will be critical for bringing all Sri Lankans out of poverty and ensuring a prosperous future shared by all.

<http://www.worldbank.org/en/news/press-release/2016/02/16/poverty-has-fallen-sri-lanka-but-fiscal-growth-and-inclusion-challenges-need-to-be-tackled-to-sustain-progress> (Accessed 2018/02/10)

In surveying the economy of Sri Lanka during the period 1948-1977, Kelegama notes that:

Independent Sri Lanka's failure to live up to its initial promise in the area of economic development could be attributed inter alia to: (a) a foreign-exchange crisis which persisted till 1977 because the exigencies of electoral politics bound the country to welfare-oriented, inward-looking policies; and (b) the eruption of conflict between the two main communities as of 1983.

Saman Kelegama, 'Development in independent Sri Lanka: what went wrong?', *Economic and Political Weekly*, vol. 35, no. 17 (Apr. 22-28, 2000), p. 1477. Kelegama then continues by placing the Sri Lankan economy in a regional context before offering the following specific analysis:

By 1977, Sri Lanka increased its per capita income by only about \$60 to reach a level of \$200, compared to South Korea's \$820, Malaysia's \$930, Thailand's \$420, and Indonesia's \$300 (World Bank, 1979:126-27). This very broad picture emerged due to several key factors: (1) lack of a long-term vision; (2) welfare policies; (3) uncertainty in the key economic sector; (4) the policy of export pessimism; (5) lack of openness in the economic regime; and (6) lack of external assistance.

Kelegama, op. cit., p. 1480.

⁸ The following article highlights tensions between important events in recent Sri Lankan conflicts and the contributions made by Sri Lanka to U.N. peacekeeping forces:

Sri Lanka's participation in U.N. peacekeeping operations began while the country was embroiled in a brutal, generation-long civil war. Yet, even as Sri Lanka refused to investigate alleged war crimes by its troops during that conflict, the U.N. continued to deploy thousands of Sri Lankan peacekeepers to guard some of the world's most vulnerable populations.

1948: The United Nations deploys its first-ever peacekeeping mission to the Middle East.

1960: Sri Lanka makes its first U.N. peacekeeping contribution, sending six soldiers to the U.N. mission in Congo.

1983: Civil war breaks out in Sri Lanka, with rebels of the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Elam fighting government forces for an ethnic Tamil homeland in the island's north and east.

1987: Indian peacekeepers begin a three-year deployment in Sri Lanka.

2004: Sri Lanka opens a U.N. peacekeeper training camp in the hillside resort town of Kukuleganga.

2004: Sri Lanka sends an infantry battalion of 950 troops to serve in the U.N. mission in Haiti. Over the next four years, it will join seven other missions: in South Sudan, Congo, Ivory Coast, Lebanon, Liberia, Timor and Western Sahara.

2005: The U.N. acknowledges sexual abuse and exploitation are a problem within some of its peacekeeping missions, and pledges to improve transparency, accountability and justice on the matter.

2005: Mahinda Rajapaksa is elected Sri Lanka's president, and leads the military campaign against the Tamil rebels.

2007: A U.N. investigation details evidence of a sex ring involving at least 134 Sri Lankan military troops and at least nine Haitian children. Sri Lanka responds by repatriating 114 peacekeepers still on deployment. Years later, it acknowledges it forced one officer to retire and dismissed one soldier from service, while imposing unspecified punishments on up to 21 others. It refuses to give the AP any details on how it investigated the case, or to explain why so few were punished or what exactly those punishments entailed.

2009: Sri Lankan troops declare victory in the civil war after defeating the Tamil rebels. The government has since refused all demands for an independent investigation into widespread allegations of war crimes and abuses by Sri Lankan soldiers during the conflict.

2013: An 18-year-old woman in Haiti alleges she was raped and sodomized by a Sri Lankan peacekeeper. Sri Lanka sends a general to investigate. He does not interview the woman or medical staff before dismissing the case, allowing the soldier to remain in the military.

2015: Sri Lanka formally ends its mission contribution to Haiti, but still has peacekeepers elsewhere, including Lebanon and South Sudan.

2015: Sri Lankan voters oust Rajapaksa and elect his former ally Maithripala Sirisena, who campaigned on a platform of transparency and openness, acknowledging that the country's failure to ensure post-war justice and reconciliation had hurt its global standing.

2016: The U.N. invites Sri Lanka to join its mission in Mali, one of the world's most dangerous peacekeeping missions. Initially, officials say up to 1,000 soldiers will be deployed, but that number is later revised to around 200.

Adapted from The Associated Press, 'Key dates in Sri Lanka's contributions to UN peacekeeping',

<http://www.news1130.com/2017/05/26/key-dates-in-sri-lankas-contributions-to-un-peacekeeping/>

(Accessed 2018/02/19)

⁹ The third chapter of Hashim posits this chronology of the armed conflict between Sri Lankan security forces and the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE): Eelam War I (1983–1989), Eelam War II (1990–1994) and Eelam War III (1995–2000).

Ahmed S. Hashim, *When Counterinsurgency Wins: Sri Lanka's Defeat of the Tamil Tigers* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013).

For a detailed analysis of the economic consequences of these tensions, see Chandra R. de Silva, 'Sri Lanka in 2006: unresolved political and ethnic conflicts amid economic growth', *Asian Survey*, vol. 47, no. 1 (2007), pp. 99-104.

¹⁰ Goodhand summarizes the positive aspects of the Sri Lankan economy:

Sri Lanka continues to experience a post-war boom, with a 7.4% growth rate predicted over the next five years. Furthermore, it is estimated that

the economy will have grown by 8.1% in 2011. Sri Lanka also received the second tranche of an International Monetary Fund (IMF) loan this year of US\$200 million. Tourism continues to grow, and inflation has been kept under reasonable control at around 6.5%, which is predicted to fall to below 6% in 2012. The agricultural sector has been boosted by increased cultivation in the north and east. Investment in major infrastructural projects including roads, railways, ports, and power stations continues. Sri Lanka's first expressway toll road linking the outskirts of Colombo to the southern city of Galle was opened in November 2011. Exports to other emerging markets, notably India, continue to grow. The business community, which had traditionally supported the UNP, has largely aligned itself behind the UPFA administration. The 2011 budget, with its simplification and cutting of taxes and reduction of bureaucracy surrounding investment, is largely viewed as being business friendly.

Jonathan Goodhand, 'Sri Lanka in 2011: consolidation and militarization of the post-war regime', *Asian Survey*, vol. 52, no. 1 (2012), pp. 132-133.

Against this optimistic background, Goodhand then outlines the significant challenges that need to be addressed:

A wide trade deficit means that another balance-of-payments crisis cannot be ruled out. The IMF assistance package focused on reducing the fiscal deficit, which necessitates cutting public spending, but there remains strong domestic pressure to increase expenditure on the civil service and armed forces, which constitute important voter bases. The pressure for wage hikes and subsidies, which Rajapaksa promised during the 2010 presidential election campaign, is likely to increase over time. One manifestation of this was labor unrest in May and June 2011.

Goodhand, *op. cit.*, p. 132.

¹¹ The Rajapaksa strategy of increasing diplomatic and economic relationships with China, Japan and India was effective in limiting the inclination of those countries to comment on domestic political matters. Concerns from the wider international

community that as many as 40,000 Tamil civilians had been murdered by government and other forces in the months prior to May 2009 that lead to the April 2011 release of the U.N. Advisory Panel report:

The Sri Lankan government responded to the U.N. report with defiance, and the document appeared to do little to dent the Rajapaksa government's domestic legitimacy. However, during the year a steady flow of damaging allegations and video evidence about the final months of the war came to light. The most influential of these was the Australian Channel 4 documentary titled "The Killing Fields," which showed harrowing scenes of atrocities that appeared to corroborate the U.N. report's findings. The Sri Lankan government responded by releasing its own video called "Lies Agreed Upon," which questioned the veracity of the documentary. On November 20, the final report of the LLRC was handed over to Rajapaksa, and released to Parliament on December 16. The report has won cautious praise from India, the U.S., and other countries for its analysis of the causes of the conflict and its recommendations on reconciliation and a political settlement. In contrast, it has been criticized by human rights groups and the TNA for failing to address questions of accountability and alleged wrong doings by the Sri Lankan military.

Goodhand, *op. cit.*, pp. 136-137.

It might be useful here to add a minor correction and provide a fuller chronology. Channel 4, or more officially Channel Four Television Corporation, has its headquarters in London, not Australia. The full title of the documentary is *Sri Lanka's Killing Fields*. It was directed by Callum Macrae and was first broadcast by Channel 4 on 14 June 2011.

At an official function held at the Colombo Hilton Hotel on 1 August 2011, *Lies Agreed Upon*, a production of the Sri Lanka Ministry of Defence, was screened as the response of the Sri Lankan government to *Sri Lanka's Killing Fields*.

Channel Four Television Corporation broadcast *No Fire Zone: In the Killing Fields of Sri Lanka*, a rebuttal to *Lies Agreed Upon* and also directed by Callum Macrae, on

3 November 2013.

¹² Ilan Kelman, Robin Spence, Jason Palmer, Marla Petal, and Keiko Saito, 'Tourists and disasters: lessons from the 26 December 2004 tsunamis', *Journal of Coastal Conservation*, vol. 12, no. 3 (2008), pp. 105-113.

¹³ On 26 February 2013, the international non-governmental organization Human Rights Watch released its report "*We will Teach you a Lesson*": *Sexual Violence against Tamils by Sri Lankan Security Forces*, incorporating the details of testimony from seventy five victims who were allegedly attacked from 2006-2012.

<http://www.refworld.org/docid/5130850f2.html> (accessed 2018/02/19)

The following article from July 2017 documents how legislation and police practices have institutionalized anti-Tamil policies, despite the government claiming that it was making an adequate response to the United Nations Human Rights Council resolution of 22 March 2012. This resolution called for the implementation of the report of the Lessons Learnt and Reconciliation Commission which was tabled in the Sri Lankan parliament on 16 December 2011.

The use of torture by Sri Lankan security services has become routine, a UN special rapporteur has concluded following a visit to the country.

The four-day visit by Ben Emmerson QC was conducted with the full cooperation of the Sri Lankan government, but the British lawyer found that the country's judicial system, and tolerance of torture, is a "stain on the country's international reputation". Government explanations for the state of the judicial system were entirely inadequate and unconvincing, said the independent expert, who was appointed by the Human Rights Council. Emmerson's report also concluded that the coalition government's plans for a path to reconciliation after a 26-year internal war, has "ground to a virtual halt".

Draft revised anti-terror laws prepared by the government, he warned, will leave unchecked the routine police use of torture to extract confessions. "The use of torture has been, and remains today, endemic and routine, for those arrested and detained on national security grounds," the report stated. "Since

the authorities use this legislation disproportionately against members of the Tamil community, it is this community that has borne the brunt of the state's well-oiled torture apparatus." He added that 80% of those most recently arrested under the Prevention of Terrorism Act in late 2016 complained of torture and physical ill-treatment following their arrest. ...

Emmerson said that while some individuals supposedly involved with the Liberation Tigers of Tamils Eelam (LTTE) had benefited from amnesties and rehabilitation, many more had been treated under controversial terrorism legislation.

"Entire communities have been stigmatised and targeted for harassment and arbitrary arrest and detention and any person suspected of association, however indirect, with the LTTE remains at immediate risk of detention and torture," the report said, adding that there was little evidence of torture being discouraged. ...

The lawyer said he was given personal assurances by the most senior Sri Lankan ministers that they were on a path of reform, but pointed out that these commitments have previously been given, and simply not met.

He warned that if government inertia over reform does not end, the authorities will have created "precisely the conditions likely to produce festering grievances, to foster unrest and even to reignite conflict".

Patrick Wintour, 'Torture by Sri Lankan police routine, says human rights lawyer: Country's judicial system and tolerance of abuse a stain on country's international reputation, reports Ben Emmerson QC',

<https://www.theguardian.com/world/2017/jul/14/torture-by-sri-lankan-police-routine-says-human-rights-lawyer>

(Accessed 2018/02/19)

Incidents such as the 6 February 2018 report might be interpreted as evidence of systematic persecution of the Tamil population by Sri Lankan military forces:

Yusuf Ariff, 'British MPs want Sri Lanka's Defence Attaché expelled for 'throat slit' gesture', <http://www.adaderana.lk/news/45812/british-mps-want-sri-lankas-defence->

attach-expelled-for-throat-slit-gesture

(Accessed 2018/02/19)

¹⁴ The short-term effects on the Sri Lankan tourism industry of the 2004 tsunami were compounded by a widespread reluctance to visit the site of such a natural disaster: 'a quarter of its 246 hotels were shut after the tsunami and, although repairs and rebuilding took place relatively quickly, the first five months of 2005 saw only 20%-30% occupancy.

Even a year later occupancy was at 60%, compared with 90% the previous year.'

Frances Brown and Derek Hall, 'Tourism and development in the global south: the issues', *Third World Quarterly*, vol. 29, no. 5, Tourism and Development in the Global South (2008), p. 846.

Several arguments are made for the need to consider the complexities of existing social, ethnic and cultural conditions when relocating communities.

M. W. Amarasiri de Silva, 'Ethnicity, politics and inequality: post-tsunami humanitarian aid delivery in Ampara District, Sri Lanka', *Disasters*, vol. 33, no. 2 (2009), pp. 253-273.

Hasbullah, S. and Korf, B. (2009), 'Muslim geographies and the politics of purification in Sri Lanka after the 2004 tsunami', *Singapore Journal of Tropical Geography*, vol. 30, no. 2 (2009), pp. 248-264.

Jennifer Hyndman, 'Forum: the securitization of fear in post-tsunami Sri Lanka', *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, vol. 97, no. 2 (2007), pp. 361-372.

K. N. Ruwanpura, 'Putting houses in place: rebuilding communities in post-tsunami Sri Lanka', *Disasters*, vol. 33, no. 3 (2009), pp. 436-456.

Martin Mulligan, 'Rebuilding communities after disasters: lessons from the tsunami disaster in Sri Lanka', *Global Policy*, vol. 4, no. 3 (2013), pp. 278-287.

Arvid van Dam, 'Negotiating the Indian Ocean: opportunities in the process of recovery in post-tsunami Sri Lanka', *Etnofoor*, vol. 27, no. 1, The Sea (2015), pp. 37-52.

For an analysis of tsunami aid as practice, performance, and discourse, see Benedikt Korf, Shahul Habullah, Pia Hollenbach and Bart Klem., 'The gift of disaster: the

commodification of good intentions in post-tsunami Sri Lanka', *Disasters*, vol. 34, no. 1 (2010), pp. 60-77.

For an overview of ideal practices that could be followed in implementation of action plans, see Stephen Bloye Olsen, William Matuszeski, Tiruponithura V. Padma and H. J. M. Wickremeratne, 'Rebuilding after the tsunami: getting it right', *Ambio*, vol. 34, no. 8 (2005), pp. 611-614.

¹⁵ Twenty years ago, when compared with other destinations in the region, the Sri Lankan experience of international tourism was largely benign:

Of course, international tourism is associated with a variety of adverse effects. However because of Sri Lanka's modest tourist population balance (1:55 as compared with 1:9 in Thailand, 1:4 in Jamaica, 1:3 in Fiji and 1:2 in the Seychelles) and careful government control over the sector, many of the industry's negative effects, such as the rise of drug abuse, enhanced crime rates, increases in prostitution, the spread of sexually transmitted diseases, environmental pollution and soil erosion, are not yet a serious problem.

Greg O'Hare and Hazel Barrett, 'The fall and rise of the Sri Lankan tourist industry', *Geography*, vol. 78, no. 4 (October 1993), pp. 438-442.

For an account of how the Sri Lankan tourist industry was affected by the global financial crisis that began in July 2007, three decades of civil war, and the 2004 tsunami, see Karin Fernando and Arunika Meedeniya, 'Recent changes in tourism trends in Sri Lanka and implications for poverty reduction',

http://cepa.lk/content_images/AR2009/docs/ADB_Povnet_tourism%20Paper.pdf
(Accessed 2018/02/10)

For a narrower analysis of the monthly tourist arrival volatility from 1978, see Sriyantha Fernando, Jayatilleke S. Bandara, Susantha Liyanaarachch, Ruwan Jayathilaka, and Christine Smith, 'Political violence and volatility in international tourist arrivals: the case of Sri Lanka', *Tourism Analysis*, vol. 18, no. 5 (2013), pp. 575-586.

¹⁶ Sriyantha Fernando, 'The tourism-led development strategy in Sri Lanka', *Journal of Business and Technology*, vol. 1, no. 1 (2017), pp. 40-49. More specifically, certain

analysis endorses rural tourism for the breadth of its economic, social and political benefits:

most suitable anti-poverty instrument in Sri Lanka focusing feasibility of employment generation, rural development and rural resource utilization. ... It helps to create several labour intensive job opportunities for woman, youth, poor and unskilled persons; offer vast benefits for rural areas and local economy; exploit natural, cultural and human capital; increase poor participation in development process; develop the infrastructure facilities in the rural areas; reduce the government expenditure in subsidies; improve the backwardness areas and continue the political stability.

Manjula Gunarathna, Janice L. H. Nga, Jennifer Kim Lian Chan, 'Feasibility of poverty alleviation in Sri Lankan rural tourism as a recreation activity', *International Journal of Education and Research*, vol. 1, no. 2, (February 2013), p. 8.

On the other hand, there is analysis that argues that the internal conflict from 1983 reduced the international competitiveness of the Sri Lankan tourist industry at a critical time of its development:

Late starters in tourism such as Mauritius, which has less biodiversity to offer, had overtaken Sri Lanka in terms of tourist arrivals per annum by the early 1990s. The annual tourist arrivals in Mauritius in the 1990s was 4,50,000 compared to the Sri Lankan average of 3,80,000.

Saman Kelegama, 'Development in independent Sri Lanka: What went wrong?', *Economic and Political Weekly*, vol. 35, no. 17 (Apr. 22-28, 2000), p. 1486.

In terms of understanding the international status of Sri Lanka as tourist destination after the end of the civil war, the following summary combines government slogans, popular assessment and global ranking:

In 2012 Sri Lanka passed two milestones in its tourism history by emerging as a 'Million Tourist Destination' and a 'Billion Dollar Export Income Earner'. ...

Lonely Planet ranked Sri Lanka as the "# 1 destination in the world to visit in 2013." ... FutureBrand listed Sri Lanka for the first time in the FutureBrand

Index. In 2012-2013 and ranked her # 67 out of 118 countries listed. Sri Lanka outranked its neighbours, the Philippines, Vietnam and Indonesia in terms of “safety” and “most like to live in” attributes. ... The Travel & Tourism Competitiveness Index (TTCI) of World Economic Forum, in 2013 ranked Sri Lanka # 14 among 25 countries in Asia Pacific and # 74 among 140 countries in the world. In 2013 Sri Lanka did remarkably well by placing # 11 in the world for one indicator — “Government prioritization on travel & tourism industry.” ...

World Tourism Organization (UNWTO) placed Sri Lanka # 3 in South Asia behind India and the Maldives in terms of international tourist arrivals.

Chandana (Chandi) Jayawardena, Srilal Miththapala, ‘Satisfying environmentally-friendly tourist’s expectations through innovation in ‘greening’ Sri Lankan hotels’, in Dilan Rathnayake and Others (eds), *Proceedings of the 1st International Conference on Hospitality and Tourism Management: ICOHT 2013* (Colombo: Leap Business Management, 2013), pp. 158-159.

¹⁷ Writing on 1 February 2013, Corina Balsamo recommends Sri Lanka as an example of how a healthy tourist industry can generate economic benefits across society:

How does tourism help eradicate poverty? Well, in addition to bringing in money from outside of the country, it also helps the country become more known as a whole, and attempts to put the country on the global radar. [Economic Development Minister Basil] Rajapaksa says that most of the tourists that have traveled to Sri Lanka enjoy staying in small hotels in the region, which primarily aids small businessmen. This is certainly a positive; rather than giving money to the rich, it helps buffer the country’ s inequality, and aids those who are actually at risk of poverty. Recently, Rajapaksa opened the Mount Resort Hotel located in Kithulkanda, Meepe. It is a hotel with multiple rooms giving 19 different views of the area. Plus, it is an environment-friendly hotel on a wooded hilltop. The hotel also gives a beautiful view of star observation through a facility provided by the satellite station, Padukka.

The boost to the small businessmen has led to an increase of food production by small-scale entrepreneurs, as well as an increase in the production of clothing and souvenirs that serve to attract foreign visitors. The World Tourism Organisation has predicted that in the next decade, tourism will rise to three times greater than what it is now in Sri Lanka, with tourists coming from countries such as China and Japan.

Overall, tourism has proven to be helping boost the economy of Sri Lanka while it reduces poverty at the same time. This is a model that many other countries with high levels of poverty can replicate in order to help their own economies.

Corina Balsamo, 'Tourism helps decrease poverty in Sri Lanka'

<https://borgenproject.org/tourism-helps-decrease-poverty-in-sri-lanka/> (Accessed 2018/02/10)

However, for a May 2 2016 account of how tourism perpetuates the divide between opposing sides in the three decades of civil unrest, see Ariel Sophia Bardi, 'Sri Lanka's Big Tourism Push Could Entrench Sinhala Nationalism',

<http://www.passblue.com/2016/05/02/sri-lankas-big-tourism-push-could-entrench-sinhala-nationalism/> (Accessed 2018/02/10)

Further, for a critique of the utopian rhetoric used to justify the allocation of Sri Lankan taxes to tourist infrastructure, the reality of tourism as environmentally destructive, and the weaknesses of the trickle down model because of financial leakages to foreign-owned corporations, see the July 17 2017 article by Lasantha Pethiyagoda, 'Does tourism benefit third world Sri Lanka?'

Positive tourism data often serve to justify expensive infrastructure developments that primarily benefit the top echelons in travel and tourism. Many of the projects are based on external borrowings, deepening the financial debt crisis for poor nations, and many of the supplies and equipment used in the development of these projects are imported and the personnel involved in construction engaged from abroad.

Meanwhile, governments increasingly neglect the basic needs of local

communities. Sri Lanka spent huge amounts of aid and taxpayers' money to help the tourism industry back on its feet, while fishing and agricultural communities were displaced; and until today, poor tsunami victims are lacking adequate housing, water supply, social services and opportunities to rebuild economic livelihoods.

<https://www.colombotelegraph.com/index.php/does-tourism-benefit-third-world-sri-lanka/> (Accessed 2018/02/10)

¹⁸ It is generally accepted that some island ecosystems have been damaged by intrusive tourist development that is so rapid it is largely unplanned. Jerome L. McElroy, 'Tourism development in small islands across the world', *Geografiska Annaler: Series B, Human Geography*, vol. 85, no. 4, Special Issue: Nature — Society Interactions on Islands (2003), pp. 231-242.

In the context of arguing that policies aimed at encouraging new tourist development intensify existing asymmetries, Lasantha Pethiyagoda criticizes the environmental impact of the tourism industry in Sri Lanka:

Tourism as 'sustainable development' is a myth as it continues to wreak havoc on land and marine ecosystems and biodiversity. Despite the industry's 'greenwash' attempts, fertile agricultural lands still being cleared, forests cut down, mountains flattened, beaches dug up, and coral reefs destroyed to provide resources for more and more monstrous tourism complexes.

Moreover, tourism accelerates unhealthy urbanisation processes and contributes to traffic congestion, noise and air pollution and the dumping of waste and untreated sewage. The depletion and degradation of scarce water resources, particularly due to mushrooming golf courses and spa businesses, aggravates the water supply crisis in many communities.

High energy consumption in tourism facilities and greenhouse gas emissions linked to transportation, especially the explosive growth in air travel, contribute significantly to climate change.

Given all these serious impacts, tourism must no longer be treated like a holy cow that is protected and nurtured at all costs. Particularly in these times of

looming social and environmental crises, governments and inter-governmental agencies should prioritise people's basic needs, particularly food security.

Decision-makers should take a more responsible approach to tourism, by establishing strong legal regulatory frameworks and ensuring the enforcement of these rules and regulations on the industry.

Corporate-driven voluntary initiatives, such as guidelines, codes of conduct and accreditation schemes, are not the key to effectively tackling tourism-related problems.

What is needed instead is a people-centred approach to development that is aimed at reversing the negative impacts of globalisation and restoring the values of justice, democracy and self-determination in development; an approach that allows local communities to reclaim land and resources that have been unfairly taken away, to rehabilitate the environment that greedy corporate capitalists have ravaged and to revive traditions and cultures that have been distorted and exploited for profit-making purposes.

Lasantha Pethiyagoda, 'Does tourism benefit third world Sri Lanka?'

<https://www.colombotelegraph.com/index.php/does-tourism-benefit-third-world-sri-lanka/> (Accessed 2018/02/10)

Although Pethiyagoda criticizes the tourism industry because of so-called leakages, namely the outgoing flow of foreign company funds generated inside Sri Lanka, smuggling between India and Sri Lanka has a significant economic value. It is incidentally worth noting that Kalpitiya and Puttalam are mentioned in the article cited below as significant ports for black market smuggling in the nineties. During my August 2017 visit to Kalpitiya, I heard that there is a distinction between honest fishermen and 'bad money' boat owners in the local community. Muttukrishna Sarvananthan, 'Contraband trade and unofficial capital transfers between Sri Lanka and India', *Economic and Political Weekly*, vol. 29, no. 30 (Jul. 23, 1994), pp. 1948-1956.

¹⁹ Stephen F. McCool, *Reframing sustainable tourism* (Dordrecht: Springer, 2016).

²⁰ As an example of the sentiments driving this development of social conscience

tourism, the following lengthy quotation summarizes certain key realizations:

For the first time in human history — we are faced with not just one crisis — but a confluence of several crises; crises that are not related to a single tribe or community — a single nation — or a single region of the world — but are each global in scale.

To meet the challenges of these global crises will require an equally historic paradigm shift; a paradigm shift with a strong environmental ethic that restores ecological balance and integrity to our failing eco-systems, and that addresses the critical issue of climate change; a paradigm shift toward an economic system that brings an end to poverty — together with a recognition of the human dignity of every individual; and a paradigm that brings an end to war as a means to solving conflict — as it is only through the global family in harmony and peace with itself, and a paradigm shift to collaboration at all levels, and by all sectors of society, that we can solve the unprecedented global issues facing our common future as a global family. What is required is a shift to a paradigm of harmony and peace based on the binding force of mutual respect and an appreciation of the inter-connectedness of all humanity — and of all humanity with nature — in our one common home — planet earth.

Louis D'Amore, 'Peace through tourism: The birthing of a new socio-economic order', *Journal of Business Ethics*, vol. 89, Supplement 4: Peace through Commerce: a Multisectoral Approach (2009), p. 568.

Given the interlocking nature of these crises of political will, the aspirational tone of this call to action is one optimistic reaction.

²¹ Eleni Papaoikonomou, Mireia Valverde and Gerard Ryan, 'Articulating the meanings of collective experiences of ethical consumption', *Journal of Business Ethics*, vol. 110, no. 1 (September 2012), pp. 15-32.

²² Jim Butcher and Peter Smith, ' "Making a difference": Volunteer tourism and development', *Tourism Recreation Research*, vol. 35, no. 1 (2010), pp. 27-36.

²³ For a sense of where sustainable tourism fits in the continuum of diverse tourism

practices, Table 1 groups modern tourism genres in terms of the themes of entertainment (leisure), exploring nature (environment stewardship), and acquiring knowledge and becoming empowered (capacity):

Jerry Kolo, 'Typologies of modern tourism: Implications for sustainable tourism planning', in Dilan Rathnayake and Others (eds), *Proceedings of the 1st International Conference on Hospitality and Tourism Management: ICOHT 2013* (Colombo: Leap Business Management, 2013), p. 587. Marine sports tourists, such as kitesurfing and windsurfing, tend to take an active approach to leisure, an interactive approach to the natural rhythms of wind and tide at their destinations of choice, and are empowered by the various senses of achievement experienced during a day organized around enjoying the water.

²⁴ In contrast to the difficulties of defining sustainable tourism, tourist profiling of international visitors to Sri Lanka has included sustainability as a key criteria. Recent analysis has classified tourists who visit Sri Lanka in terms of their attitudes to Environmentally-friendly Sustainable Operations (ESO) and the amount of money they are willing to spend on accommodation:

1 *Guests who are easy to satisfy with basic products at cheap prices.* These guests aim to get 'good deals' and usually not too worried about lack of environmentally-friendly practices in hotels. Most 'charter flight' guests who patronized Sri Lankan hotels during the 26 [year] war from 1983 to 2009 belonged to this segment. They played an important role during those tragic years to help many Sri Lankan hotels to avoid bankruptcy, for which Sri Lanka should be grateful. However, this segment is currently in the decline.

2 *Guests who are satisfied with good core products in hotels such as rooms, facilities and food.* These guests aim to get 'good products' at good values and usually not that worried about lack of environmentally-friendly practices in hotels. Most guests who patronized Sri Lankan hotels during the last few years since the end of the 26-war in 2009 to 2013 belonged to this segment. This segment is still quite large in Sri Lanka, although declining.

3 *Guests who are expecting basic ESO in addition to good core products*

in hotels. These guests aim to stay only at hotels who have initiated environmentally-friendly practices. Most of the current day guests belong to this segment. This segment will continue to increase for the next few years and very likely will replace most of the guest from first two segments.

4 Guests who are insisting on experiencing good ESO and enjoy these practices immensely. These guests will stay only at hotels who have well-established and well-managed environmentally-friendly, sustainable practices. Currently a small segment, but with the potential of rapid increase in size and influence to Sri Lankan hotels within this decade.

5 Guests who are would not stay in any hotel which does not have excellent ESO. These guests are usually spiritual about the concept of sustainability and actively participate and contribute to ESO during their hotels stays. Currently a very small segment, but with the potential of rapid increase in size and influence to Sri Lankan hotels over the next few decades.

Although Jayawardena and Miththapala (2013), pp. 162-163, cite the following reference for this guest taxonomy, it is incorrect:

D. King, (2012), "Hotel operators step up their green initiatives", Travel Weekly, <http://www.travelweekly.com/Travel-News/Hotel-News/Hotel-operators-step-up-their-greeninitiatives> (Accessed 2018/03/30)

This profiling of international guests to Sri Lanka produces a pyramid, with the guests with least paying power and little interest in the environmental sustainability of their accommodation (category 1) at the bottom of the pyramid.

²⁵ Erlet Cater, 'Environmental contradictions in sustainable tourism', *The Geographical Journal*, vol. 161, no. 1 (1995), pp. 21-28.

In terms of how this accounting of costs and benefits actually plays out, Wearing, Young and Everingham offer a useful caution:

While it is imperative that research seeks to ensure that stake-holders are able to assess their practice outcomes, this agenda may not be in the interests of volunteer tourism organisations that are operating from a profit basis – as opposed to those organisations that are genuinely putting the needs of host

communities first.

Stephen Wearing, Tamara Young and Phoebe Everingham (2017): Evaluating volunteer tourism: has it made a difference?, *Tourism Recreation Research*, DOI: 10.1080/02508281.2017.1345470, p. 3.

²⁶ In a survey of the various forms of peace tourism, the following list is offered: peace within ourselves, peace with others, peace with nature, peace with past and future generations, and faith-based truth. D'Amore, op. cit., pp. 563-566.

²⁷ Cater, op. cit., pp. 21-22.

²⁸ There is already a body of work that addresses recent greening innovations in the Sri Lankan tourist industry:

Kanchana Wickramasinghe, 'Environmental management practices in the hotel sector in Sri Lanka', in Dilan Rathnayake and Others (eds), *Proceedings of the 1st International Conference on Hospitality and Tourism Management: ICOHT 2013* (Colombo: Leap Business Management, 2013), pp. 144-154.

Chandana (Chandi) Jayawardena, Srilal Miththapala, 'Satisfying environmentally-friendly tourist's expectations through innovation in 'greening' Sri Lankan hotels', in Dilan Rathnayake and Others (eds), *Proceedings of the 1st International Conference on Hospitality and Tourism Management: ICOHT 2013* (Colombo: Leap Business Management, 2013), pp. 155-171.

M. Thenmozhi, 'Responsible tourism: Conserving culture and traditions through tourism in Madurai, Tamilnadu, India', in Dilan Rathnayake and Others (eds), *Proceedings of the 1st International Conference on Hospitality and Tourism Management: ICOHT 2013* (Colombo: Leap Business Management, 2013), pp. 172-187.

G. D. Samarasinghe and F. J. Ahsan, 'Does green intrapreneurial flexibility matter in sustaining green based competitive advantage?: Empirical evidence from the hotel industry in Sri Lanka', in Dilan Rathnayake and Others (eds), *Proceedings of the 1st International Conference on Hospitality and Tourism Management: ICOHT 2013* (Colombo: Leap Business Management, 2013), pp. 188-204.

²⁹ This greening of the Sri Lankan tourist industry is not limited to the domestic

sphere:

Perhaps the boldest initiative to date is the commitment of Sri Lanka to become the world's first carbon neutral travel and tourism destination. To achieve this, a strategy is being developed where all stakeholders of Sri Lanka Tourism, both public and private sectors, the people of Sri Lanka and the destinations visitors, collaborate and create a carbon neutral tourism haven.

D'Amore, op. cit., p. 566.

³⁰ Sheller, M., & Urry, J. (eds), *Tourism mobilities: Places to play, places in play* (London, New York: Routledge, 2004).

³¹ Cater, op. cit., pp. 25, 27.

³² For an overview of how the so-called Five E approach (economy, the built and natural environment, equity, engagement and enlightenment) can be used as a framework for assessing the planning roles and initiatives of societal stakeholder sectors as they structure sustainable tourism, see Table 5 of Jerry Kolo, 'Typologies of modern tourism: Implications for sustainable tourism planning', in Dilan Rathnayake and Others (eds), *Proceedings of the 1st International Conference on Hospitality and Tourism Management: ICOHT 2013* (Colombo: Leap Business Management, 2013), pp. 596-600.

³³ Cater, op. cit., pp. 22-25.

³⁴ This section draws on the concluding points of Cater:

Identification of relative costs and benefits enables ... trade-offs between interests ... leading to compromise solutions. ... The careful balancing of costs and benefits is likely to result in a compromise solution which is site-specific. It will probably be sub-optimal from the viewpoints of all concerned but, in the circumstances, will be the most feasible and the best practicable and, hence, more sustainable than hitherto.

Cater, op. cit., p. 27.

³⁵ Maria Cidalia Tojeiro, 'The Ecotourism Sustainable Strategy: Engagement and Overcoming', *Journal of Coastal Research*, Special Issue No. 61. Proceedings of the

Third International Conference: Management of Recreational Resources 27th - 30th October 2010 Grosseto, Tuscany, Italy (2011), p. 222.

³⁶ Ibid. On the same page, Tojeiro continues to outline more specifically the sorts of criteria that can be used to define the salient characteristics of eco-tourism:

- Eco-tourism travel has as [its] primary focus to visit relatively remote and unchanged natural environments.
- The Eco-tourist exerts low impact on the natural environment, without altering resources or affecting the experience negatively.
- Participants have a relevant educational background and are willing to learn more about the natural and cultural history of the sites visited.
- The Eco-tourist offers direct benefits to the economy and to local residents, and collaborates to the preservation of natural areas and wild life habitat as well.
- The Eco-tourist promotes economic growth while protecting natural environment, meaning that all development must be subject to restrictions.
- The agency/operator helps funding surveillance of its own activities, also contributing to environmental preservation.
- Travelers must have a spirit of appreciation, participation and sensitivity.

³⁷ Writing out of a Maltese context, Tojeiro outlines the main purposes of eco-tourism:

- Having an important information exchange network.
- Being a springboard of development in the country.
- Defending local interests and its clients on domestic and international level.
- Thus, those primary and immediate purposes may be reached mainly through:
 - Information put available, via Internet or any other means, on eco-touristic projects and activities;
 - Information put available, whenever proper, via newsletters, on eco-touristic projects and activities;
 - Promoting community participation on eco-touristic projects;
 - Creating a database on projects, programs, statistics, informative

material and human resources education;

- Professional education and technical qualification with the preparation of courses or rendering access to national and international courses;
- Assessing, monitoring and popularizing social, cultural and environmental positive and negative impacts, resulting from eco-touristic activities;
- Carrying out research and debates on matters about Eco-tourism and related matters;
- Participating in (pilot and demonstrative) pioneer projects on eco-tourism;
- Representing Maltese eco-tourism in international multidisciplinary groups.

Tojeiro, op. cit., p. 223.

³⁸ Noella J. Gray and Lisa M. Campbell, 'A decommodified experience? Exploring aesthetic, economic and ethical values for volunteer ecotourism in Costa Rica', *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*, vol. 15, no. 5, (2007), pp. 463-482. For a comprehensive summary of how the field of new tourism has been mapped by researchers into new moral tourism, pro-poor tourism, niche tourism and more, see Stephen Wearing, Tamara Young & Phoebe Everingham (2017): Evaluating volunteer tourism: has it made a difference?, *Tourism Recreation Research*, DOI: 10.1080/02508281.2017.1345470, p. 2.

³⁹ There is a conscious attempt to bring an activist sensibility into tourism with the volunteer tourist being transformed by the experience of making some contribution to the destination society:

The volunteer tourism industry established in a context where volunteers had different motivations for travelling from that of traditional and mass tourists: volunteer tourists were seeking more sustainable and responsible tourism experiences that provided benefits to local communities and transformative learning for volunteers. This desire to contribute to local communities and

the opportunities for cultural exchange were central, as volunteer tourists undertook holidays that involved ‘aiding or alleviating the material poverty of some groups in society, the restoration of certain environments, or research into aspects of society or environment (Wearing, 2001, p. 1).’

Wearing, Young and Everingham, op. cit., pp. 1-2.

⁴⁰ Manjula Gunarathna, Janice L. H. Nga, and Jennifer Kim Lian Chan, ‘Feasibility of Poverty Alleviation in Sri Lankan Rural Tourism as a Recreation Activity’, *International Journal of Education and Research*, vol. 1, no. 2 (2013), pp. 1-9.

⁴¹ Butcher, J., ‘A response to “Building a decommodified research paradigm in tourism: The contribution of NGOs” by Stephen Wearing, Matthew G. McDonald and Jess Ponting’, *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*, vol. 14 (2006), pp. 307-310.

Lyons, K. D., Hanley, J., Wearing, S., & Neil, J., ‘Gap year volunteer tourism: Myths of global citizenship?’, *Annals of Tourism Research*, vol. 39, no. 1 (2012), pp. 361-378.

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Wilson, L., ‘Finding the win-win: Providing supportive and enriching volunteer tourism experiences while promoting sustainable social change’, *Worldwide Hospitality and Tourism Themes*, vol. 7, no. 2 (2015), pp. 201-207.

⁴² Everingham is one of several tourism researchers who advocate paying more analytical attention to learning and cultural exchange that goes both ways.

Scholarship around volunteer tourism plays an important performative role in rethinking (and performing) a reimagined volunteer tourism practice. It is only through an intentional reconfiguring of volunteer tourism away from development aid as an inevitable point of reference, towards valuing engagement with intercultural communication and mutuality as important in its own right, that new relationships can emerge and flourish.

Phoebe Everingham, ‘Intercultural exchange and mutuality in volunteer tourism: The case of intercambio in Ecuador’, *Tourist Studies*, vol. 15, no. 2 (2015), pp. 175-190.

⁴³ The irony is that despite all the pro-environmental rhetoric of marine sports

enthusiasts, and the corresponding reliance on the claims of peace tourism, their leisure tools of choice are lethal in several senses:

Surfboards are the work of the devil. World War II military research supplied the requisite technologies of polyurethane foam, fiberglass, and finishing resins, and these toxic beginnings linger. Polyurethane foam contains the carcinogenic chemical TDI. An Orange County-based company, Clark Foam, which held a ninety percent monopoly of the surfing world's polyurethane foam market, concedes it produced more than 4,000 pounds of styrene fumes per year. Toxic chemicals and a frightening disregard for industrial safety resulted in three former employees of Clark Foam being awarded full Workman's Compensation disability allowance for the rest of their lives. Legal documents alleged that as Clark Foam workers carried TDI in open buckets, TDI would routinely splash on their unprotected arms and legs. It was also claimed that workers warmed their lunches in the same microwave oven that was used to heat TDI.

Tim Cross, 'Maritime masculinities: a localized history of waterman discourse', *The Bulletin of Central Research Institute, Fukuoka University*, vol. 15, no. 5 (2016), p. 16.

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Fernando, S., 'The tourism-led development strategy in Sri Lanka', *Journal of Business and Technology*, vol. 1, no. 1 (2017), pp. 40-49.

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