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More or less? A conjunctural analysis of differing views on the development of cruise tourism

Abstract. This article is based on a qualitative study regarding two World Heritage Island destinations, Gotland in the Baltic Sea and Rapa Nui in the Pacific Ocean. The two islands are used as cases illustrating different views on the development of cruise tourism. By applying conjunctural analysis the authors are able to account for the broader context of cruise tourism. Different perspectives on cruise tourism are found to be embedded in both local and global contexts, which are associated with three kinds of challenges: cruise tourism is developing without the local community's involvement in decision making, it is not aligned with the aims of local tourism and ignores local products and services. We therefore call for more involvement of the local community in the development of cruise tourism.

Keywords: cruise tourism, sustainability, conjunctures, Gotland, Rapa Nui

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1. Introduction

Based on our research of cruise tourism since 2014, we view it as a form of tourism that creates specific circumstances for destinations, particularly small ones. Cruise tourism connects global flows of money, people and resources with small and remote places and communities. It involves peculiar fluctuations in time and intensity: for short periods of time (during stays at a given destination) a significant number of people (sometimes outnumbering inhabitants of a destination) arrives in and then leaves the destination, to come back again, like a tidal wave. Cruise tourism thus connects multinational companies to small scale business operations in remote communities, whereby otherwise marginalized places can become part of a chain of global revenue streams. However, these economic relationships are rarely symmetric, and economic leakage is common. Gatekeepers, local or external, determine who gets and who does not get access to destinations where money can be generated. As a result, relatively few individuals can have an enormous influence over the operations, and the opportunities are not necessarily evenly distributed.

Large flows of incoming tourists for very short periods of time require the presence of well-developed infrastructure, far beyond the needs of local residents. This in turn requires substantial local investments, which can put a strain on local public finances. Furthermore, large numbers of tourists entering small communities can create social tensions and lead to overcrowding, generating ambivalent feelings in the locals regarding cruises, which, on the one hand, create economic opportunities, but, on the other hand, may be perceived as an invasion and disruption of their normal lives. Cruise ships and cruise passengers exploit resources of the destinations they visit, such as water or electricity, leaving behind wastewater and trash. As a result, the resources that attract tourists in the first place, such as cultural heritage or sea life, are at risk of degradation. In other words, cruise tourism involves dealings between small, relatively powerless local actors and large, multinational corporations with a lot of financial power, which creates a highly unequal situation. Given all the challenges and problems involved in cruise tourism, questions of decision making, control, collaboration and benefit become crucial. It is important to understand how these issues are perceived and experienced by local actors involved in cruise tourism. From this perspective, cruise tourism is faced with a number of sustainability challenges, related to economic, social

and environmental problems. Arguably, small island destinations are particularly vulnerable as cruise destinations, because of their relative isolation and lack of access to additional resources. Questions of cruise tourism and sustainability are therefore particularly relevant for small islands.

Despite global sustainability consequences of cruise tourism, certain destinations choose to develop cruise tourism. In this article, we aim to investigate why local actors' views on the development of cruise tourism are so divergent and why certain destinations want more of it while others want less. This analysis was conducted by comparing two different cruise destinations – Rapa Nui in the Pacific and Gotland in the Baltic Sea. The two cases were chosen because they are both different and similar. Both destinations depend heavily on revenue from tourism, and cruise tourism plays an important part in this regard. What distinguishes the two islands, however, are their very different socio-economic and historical contexts. For example, Rapa Nui is located in the Global South whereas Gotland is located in the Global North. Rapa Nui has a colonial history, while Gotland does not.

In this article we go beyond the 'tourism first' approach (Saarinen, 2014) or the 'tourism centric' perspective (Hunter, 1997), as it misses the wider context in which tourism takes place and destinations are situated, i.e. places where people live and strive for more sustainable lives and worlds. The risk associated with the "tourism first" approach is that while the tourism industry as such may become temporarily sustainable, or economically viable, it will not be contributing to overall sustainability for the communities in which it operates. It may eventually become unsustainable by depleting natural resources, causing social disintegration and economic leakage. For this reason, some authors argue that in order to understand if tourism is sustainable or not, it is not enough to consider tourism itself, but the wider context in which tourism takes place and its role in this wider context (Hunter, 1997; Saarinen, 2014). We follow this line of argument by examining the "conjunctures" of cruise tourism at Rapa Nui and Gotland. The study of these conjunctures provides insights into the divergent views on the development of cruise tourism. We draw on qualitative data from in-depth interviews and fieldwork conducted during an ongoing headed by Helene Martinsson-Wallin, entitled *Sustainable visits to Rapa Nui: Glocal perspectives* and Urlika Persson-Fischier's study of cruise tourism and the impact of a new cruising quay on Gotland.

2. Literature review

2.1. Sustainable development, tourism and cruise

The UN World Tourism Organization, (UNWTO) defines sustainable tourism as "tourism that takes full account of its current and future economic, social and

environmental impacts, addressing the needs of visitors, the industry, the environment and host communities”. However, sustainability can be interpreted in various ways. The goal of strong sustainability is to prioritize the functional aspect of ecosystems, which means ensuring that social, and especially economic concerns do not outweigh the importance of functional environmental systems. Often, this perspective is associated with certain limits on economic activities for the sake of sustainability. Weak sustainability focuses on reducing negative environmental impacts while natural capital is used as a resource for economic activities as it is assumed that technological advances will be able to counteract environmental losses (Hunter, 1997). In other words, the development of economic activity is seen as an important goal. There are various perspectives or typologies of sustainable tourism, e.g. Hunter (1997), Jamal & Higham (2021); Saarinen (2014). These typologies show how different approaches to sustainable tourism can be used to legitimize quite different forms of development. Saarinen (2014) identifies three traditions in the sustainable development discourse, one of which is the resource-based approach, which focuses on preserving the environment and natural resources using tools like carrying capacity models. The problem with this approach is the difficulty with defining the original non-tourism conditions with which comparisons could be made, and with accounting for the impact of other, non-tourism activities that take place in the same space. As a result, it is difficult to apply this approach in real life and set a limit before crucial thresholds have been exceeded. A merely environmental view of sustainable tourism, which assumes that sustainability is a question of efficiency, rather than of power and politics, can also be problematic. For this reason, Hall (2011) argues for including different kinds of (local) knowledge, dialogue and experience.

The second approach identified by Saarinen is the activity-based tradition, which represents the perspective of the tourism industry and focuses on the economic viability. In other words, it is the “tourism first” or “tourism only” perspective, which ignores potential negative side effects (environmental and social) of tourism, assuming that the revenue it generates can always compensate for such negative side effects. It is interesting, and perhaps problematic, that the UN 17 Sustainable Development Goals mainly mention tourism as an economic activity, and hence the UN places itself in the “tourism first” and activity-based tradition, while many scholars, practitioners and destinations strive in other directions. Hunter argues that sustainability in tourism studies suffers from “an overly simplistic and inflexible paradigm of sustainable tourism which fails to account for specific circumstances” (Hunter, 1997, p. 850). A tourism-centric view fails to connect the “concerns of tourism sustainability with those of sustainable development more generally” (Hunter, 1997, p. 851).

A focus on the specific circumstances, which, according to Hunter, need to be taken into account, is consistent with the community perspective, the third

tradition listed by Saarinen. In this third tradition, the needs of the community in which tourism takes place are taken as points of departure, rather than tourism itself. Democratic decision making and inclusivity are crucial to this tradition, as well as the need to continuously re-evaluate the rationale for engaging in tourism, vis-à-vis other possible economic activities. Tourism is taken for granted in the other traditions, but in the “community first” approach it is seen as merely one among other possible options for local communities to engage with. Nunkoo (2017) stresses the importance of trust and social capital in the development of sustainable destinations, which is also important in this tradition. Saarinen himself proposes that “instead of tourism-centric or ‘Tourism First’ approaches, tourism as an economic activity needs to be decentralized *i.e.*, repositioned in the discourses and practices referring to sustainable development. This means that instead of taking the (central) role of tourism as granted, the industry is rather seen as a potential tool for sustainable development” (Saarinen, 2014, p. 10).

Thus, “sustainability in tourism development should primarily be connected with the needs of people – not a certain industry” (Saarinen, 2014, p. 10). In this way, Saarinen sides with the community perspective, in which local participation, collaborative decision-making and the needs of the local community lie at the heart of sustainability. Under this approach voices of local actors must be heard, and in order to fully understand them, they must be put in context.

2.2. Cruise tourism and local communities

Cruise tourism is a contested issue from the sustainability perspective. Although scholars often criticize cruise tourism, many communities still regard it as an important way of achieving a stable economy. In other words, it is perceived as an external ‘stimulus’ or ‘agent of change’ (Stewart et al., 2015). Encounters between local communities and tourists arriving in cruise ships are likely to trigger local changes that can be viewed in terms of risks and/or opportunities. In discussing cruise tourism, one cannot ignore the fact that it is an industry affected by a range of local and global factors, which make it inherently unstable and prone to change (Stewart et al., 2015). This means that the development of regional cruise tourism is affected by local factors and developments in global tourism. Although the phenomenon of cruise tourism and its global impact on sustainability is widely documented, little is known about how this form of tourism affects remote communities (Stewart et al., 2015).

Some authors emphasize possible positive effects of cruise tourism. Park (2011) and Macpherson (2008) mention economic opportunities and potential benefits for destinations. As financial responsibility is mostly assumed by cruise operators, Macpherson (2008) argues that there is minimal cost and minimal

financial and political risk for destinations, given that cruise tourists arrive only for short visits and the impact on the local culture is small. A sustainability policy of a destination could, for example, consist in only accepting ships with high environmental standards, and controlling visitor groups and activities (Macpherson, 2008). From this perspective, the development of cruise tourism can be beneficial for island destinations as it can help to overcome the effects of geographical remoteness (Park, 2011).

Others are more skeptical about cruise tourism, arguing it is environmentally and socially unsustainable. Klein (2011) points out that cruise operators often lack responsibility and behave unethically. "Cruise companies misleadingly imply that sustainable waste management systems are more prevalent on the ships than they really are" (Klein, 2011, p. 109). Furthermore, Klein (2011) argues that cruise companies find legal loopholes to avoid sustainability regulations. "When considering social environmental responsibility, it may not be whether a company uses 'best practices' or follows international regulations, but instead the environmental impact on people of those practices" (Klein, 2011, p. 108). For example, "when considering economic benefits of cruise tourism the focus may not be on whether a port community realizes income but rather the degree to which economic benefits are distributed equitably between the cruise line and port and among the stakeholders and segments of society in the port" (Klein, 2011, p. 108). Font et al. (2016) argue that industry reports do not reflect the needs of local communities, especially their demand for information transparency, because enterprises tend to report only positive aspects of their business. Therefore, scholars emphasize the need to conduct independent studies on the impact of cruise tourism on communities and avoid relying on inaccurate and unverified industry reports (Cheer, 2020). Johnson (2002) highlights problems with waste management and the pressure cruise tourism puts on the environment and local communities. Another important problem is that destinations in 'less developed' countries have less control over the cruise industry (Johnson, 2002). Also, economic benefits are smaller than those in other forms of tourism and Santos et al. (2019) note that "stopover tourists spend on average 10-17 times more than cruise ship tourists". However, so far there are few holistic sustainability assessments of cruise tourism (Urbanyi-Popiołek, 2019, p. 263). Table 1 lists negative impacts of cruise tourism commonly identified in the literature.

2.3. Conjunctures and cruise tourism

Murphy argues for the need to study the "immanent, structural and contingent drivers" of disarticulations, and apply it to a case of tourism in Zanzibar (Murphy, 2019, p. 943), by situating destinations in larger global production networks, in

Table 1. The negative impacts of cruise tourism

Impact type	Specific issues	Examples	Sources
Environmental impacts	Inappropriate cruise ship wastewater treatment pollutes the port community environment	Cruise ships can produce as much as 28,000 gallons of sewage sludge per week (National Marine Sanctuaries, 2008, p. 43). The processing systems on cruise ships are usually inefficient, which has a certain impact on the port community.	(National Marine Sanctuaries, 2008)
	Solid waste	24% of the solid waste generated by ships worldwide comes from cruise ships. Cruise itineraries include ports that can receive solid waste, which would otherwise be discharged at sea. Food and other types of waste, which are not easily incinerated are ground or macerated, and are also discharged into the ocean, legally three miles from the coast.	(Copeland, 2008)
Economic Impacts	Unprofitable ports	Some ports do not make money. For example, the terminal built in Campbell River at a cost of 14 million Canadian dollars is rarely used; the actual passenger volume of the terminal built at a cost of 12 million Canadian dollars in Prince Rupert is much less than originally expected.	(Klein, 2011)
	Distribution of benefits	In the cruise community of Belize, a series of national chain stores, hotels and restaurants were built. Land rent is very expensive, so few local merchants can afford to pay it.	(<i>Carnival cancels calls to Belize...</i> , 2011)
Socio-cultural Impacts	Overcrowding	When the carrying capacity of a port is exceeded, local residents have to deal with overcrowding and other related problems. For example, people living in Juneau, Alaska complained about constant noise from helicopters transporting cruise ship passengers to glacier attractions.	(Cross, 1987)
	Homogenization of products and services	For example, in the Caribbean, a mature cruise destination, its port tourism products and services have become homogenized to a certain extent, e.g. through duty-free shops. Although this homogeneity may have economic value for foreign investors who own these chain businesses, it has a negative impact on the community's traditional culture and the development of the handicraft economy.	(Coggins, 2020)
	Loss of cultural authenticity and decreased tourist satisfaction	Interactions of cruise tourists with local culture are important for their satisfaction and understanding and respect for the culture. The lack of community participation in the cruise experience may reduce the experience of tourists. For example, tourists learn about the local culture from lectures and flyers on the cruise rather than from the locals.	(Croes et al., 2013)

Source: compiled from the sources in the Table.

attempts at trying to understand what is going on locally. As cruise tourism represents global activities that ‘parachute’ into local contexts, Murphy’s postulate seems especially relevant. He uses the term ‘conjunctures’ to refer to “context-specific and multi scalar processes, social formations, power relations, histories and structures” that shape the quality of Global Production Networks (GPN) (Murphy, 2019, p. 943). He further argues that the understanding of local contexts and small-scale actors into which larger actors “touch down” remains quite thin in many analyses (Murphy, 2019, p. 944). Destinations involved in cruise tourism are arguably examples places connected to Global Production networks, which can be analyzed using this approach that accounts for broader spatial and temporal perspectives, historically materialized structures and processes, and benefits from comparative analyses. Murphy (2019) believes that a conjunctural approach can help researchers to participate more deeply in the broader economic, social, and environmental role in shaping the development of ‘globalized’ regions and the resulting differences. An analysis of conjunctures can be used as a systematic approach providing alternative perspectives and helping us to better understand the development of cruise tourism (Stewart et al., 2015).

Therefore, in this article we adopt this approach and examine two sites involved in cruise tourism – Gotland and Rapa Nui – as conjunctures. We agree with Saarinen, who argues that “while we may need to accept the conceptual plurality and recognize the importance of context in research, there is a need to re-frame sustainability in tourism in a more critical manner. The key question is on what conditions sustainable tourism could represent sustainable development beyond the local scale, *i.e.*, in a local-global nexus” (Saarinen, 2014, p. 9). We thus argue that studies into the sustainability of cruise tourism need to reveal how large scale geopolitical, economic and historical processes influence local contexts by focusing on questions of power and the rationale for tourism development.

3. Methodology

The study is based on field data collected on Gotland and Rapa Nui. As part of Martinsson-Wallin’s long term engagement on Rapa Nui, Martinsson-Wallin, Persson-Fischier and Poort conducted a month-long fieldwork on Rapa Nui in November 2019. During that time, they carried out observations, 25 in-depth interviews lasting 60-90 minutes with a variety of tourism stakeholders, such as tourism businesses and governmental actors (see Table 2), as well as an interactive workshop with tourism actors to understand their perspectives on sustainability and tourism on the island. After a decision to build a new cruise quay on Gotland in 2014, Persson-Fischier conducted long-term fieldwork involving public and

Table 2. List of organizations from which respondents were selected

Rapa Nui	Gotland
Tourism Chamber	Gotland Convention Bureau
Sernatur	Tourism Information
Tour agency	Destination Gotland
(Cruise) tour agency	Cruise services
Diving Center	Bike Rental
Archaeologists/Guide	Archaeologists/Guide
Museum	Museum
SECPLAC	Region Gotland
Guides	Gotland Guides association

Source: own research.

private actors as well as civil society to follow the developments, such as the work of the Gotland Cruise Network.

A purposive sample of respondents on Rapa Nui was selected, which only included those actively engaged in the tourism industry. Their actual selection was made by two local inhabitants who used their knowledge and judgement to find suitable respondents. To make sure that data from Rapa Nui were comparable with those collected on Gotland, the same types of actors and stakeholders were interviewed. The interviews were semi-structured and included the same topics: collaboration (Who do you work with?), sustainability challenges and the role of tourism (Which sustainability challenges are there on the island?), outlooks for (sustainable) tourism (What would a sustainable Rapa Nui/Gotland look like in your opinion?).

Students from an international Master program in Sustainable Destination Development at Uppsala University assisted in the study (Gansauer, Van der Zee, Demuro and Elf Donaldson). As part of a research internship supervised by Poort, Gansauer got in touch with respondents in Gotland and interviewed them using a similar questionnaire as that used on Rapa Nui. Students van der Zee and Demuro transcribed all the interviews from Rapa Nui and Gotland. According to Yin (2018), case studies should be based on multiple sources of evidence, data need to triangulated and should benefit from the previous development of theoretical propositions to guide data analysis and collection. Yin (2018) lists six sources of evidence: documentation, archival records, interviews, direct observations, participant observation and physical artifacts.

We followed the method proposed by Yin (2018) to guarantee construct validity by triangulating multiple sources of evidence and performing member checks. A few researchers were involved in collecting and analyzing data (Mer-

riam, 2007). During interviews, one researcher asked questions and another took notes; interview data were also analyzed by more than one researcher to identify themes. This method of triangulation can enhance the effectiveness of research (Merriam, 2007). Furthermore, we used a cross case analysis method (Yin, 2018). We compared explanations found in interviews conducted in both case studies and compared them with each other in order to establish a more general explanation (Yin, 2018). Each subsequent interview was used to elaborate on the previous explanation.

Furthermore, we were inspired by Murphy's (2019) practice-oriented methodology of studying conjunctures, where attention to local details and circumstances is combined with a global perspective on political, economic and historical structures and processes in an effort to understand the interplay between them. Murphy (2019, p. 945) suggests 'zooming-in-and-zooming-out' between the local and the global, the micro- and the macro to inductively link various levels of economic, geopolitical, social and technological structures and processes to everyday practices of local actors at the destinations. 'Zooming in' consists in "grounded explication of particular practices in a manner that can identify generalizable patterns" and 'zooming' out involves "unpacking practices in relation to the elements (e.g. structural, agentic, temporal, spatial and material) constituting them and the external (conjunctural) forces, features and factors driving them" (Murphy, 2019, p. 949-950).

4. The cases of Rapa Nui and Gotland

Rapa Nui (Easter Island) and Gotland are major tourist destinations for cruise tourism. Both islands are famous for their archaeological sites and monuments, which are their main tourist attractions. The Mediaeval ring wall city of Visby on Gotland has been a World Heritage site since 1995 and the National Park on Rapa Nui, with its numerous giant stone statues was recognized as a World Heritage site in the same year.

Gotland has an area of 3184 km². The island belongs to Sweden and currently has a population of around 58,500. Annually, it is visited by over a million tourists. It has a colonial history and the city of Visby was part of the Hanseatic league in the Middle ages with a strong influence of a German population. The island came under Danish rule in the 15th century and has been under Swedish rule since the 17th century. For a long time it was a poor and neglected part of Sweden but thanks to the exotic nature and many historical monuments it slowly became a tourist destination in the 19th-20th centuries. Today it is one of the most visited tourist destinations in Sweden. In summary, one can say that there are tensions between

the island and the mainland (Gotland vs. Sweden) and between the urban and rural communities (Visby – rural Gotland).

Rapa Nui is a small speck of land (c. 164 km²) in the East Pacific Ocean. It was settled around 1100 years ago by Polynesians (Martinsson-Wallin & Crockford, 2001). It has a violent colonial history and it was annexed by Chile in 1888 (Martinsson-Wallin & Crockford, 2001). At the beginning of the 20th century only a little over a hundred indigenous people remained on the island. Today there are around 7500 inhabitants, including about 1500 who consider themselves indigenous Rapanui. There have been tensions between the Rapanui and the Chilean State and some Rapanui demand independence. In 2018 the administration of the World Heritage national park was taken over by the indigenous organization called Ma'u Henua and this has affected the tourism industry in various ways. Tourism on the island started in the 1960s, following Thor Heyerdahl's archaeological expedition to the island in 1955-56 (Schwartz, 1979). Its main attraction are enigmatic giant stone statues (*moai*) and mysteries associated with its past inhabitants. Because of the growing attractiveness of the island the number of visitors has dramatically increased over the last 5-10 years. The island is visited by around 150,000 tourists every year, half of whom are Chileans.

5. Cruise tourism to Gotland and Rapa Nui

5.1. "Zooming-in"

The long term fieldwork conducted on both island has revealed similarities and differences regarding cruise tourism.

One similarity is that, even though more cruises come to Gotland, the ratio of cruise tourists to the number of inhabitants is about the same on both islands.

There are a few key gate keepers that control interactions between cruise liners, local companies and tourist sites. On both islands there is one company that organizes most of cruise tourism operations, e.g. by choosing what buses and guides to use and what sites and local businesses to stop by. However, local companies on both islands can cater to cruise tourists independently of the gatekeepers. These gate keepers have been in business for a very long time. They choose with whom to collaborate, and, consequently, whom to give access to potential revenue from cruise tourism by taking into account what can be offered, what cruise lines expect and the quality of services provided by local businesses. Local providers need to be able to host a large number of tourists whenever cruise ships arrive and offer a product that is of constant quality. The gatekeepers on both islands complain that such providers and products are difficult to find. For their part, local entrepre-

neurs complain about how difficult it is to get a slice of the pie that cruise tourism represents.

Another similarity between Gotland and Rapa Nui is a general feeling among many of the tourist actors and the general public that the decision-making process around cruise tourism is unclear, or even “out of the hands” of the local community. In the case of Gotland, this situation is exemplified by the decision to invest in the construction of a new cruise quay, which required a substantial part of the island’s budget. The decision process was thought to lack transparency, was done very quickly and without public scrutiny. On Rapa Nui very few understand how the cruise business is carried out and who makes particular decisions.

The new cruise quay on Gotland was built to enable access for newer, bigger ships and to ensure that bad weather in the Baltic does not stop tourists from coming ashore in small dinghies, which had happened many times before. Rapa Nui has no cruise quay, so ships have to anchor off the island and tourists get to the shore in dinghies. However, the weather is rarely as bad in the Pacific as in the Baltic, so Rapa Nui is not as vulnerable to fluctuating weather conditions as Gotland. The construction of the new cruise quay, partly paid for by a multinational harbor company, has made Gotland economically vulnerable and dependent on external actors.

On Gotland the relationship between private and public actors involved in cruise tourism is rather complicated. Because they work according to different logics and award systems, there is mutual mistrust between them, which makes communication very difficult. One example of this conflict concerns an element of the essential infrastructure, namely public toilets. The public authority on Gotland does not provide access to public toilets early in the season when cruise tourists arrive to the extreme frustration of guides, who have to deal with tourists who need to use a toilet. On Rapa Nui the relationship between the public and private sector regarding cruise tourism seems to be less strained, perhaps due to the fact that the private sector is even smaller and the public actor involved is the military (who is in control of the space where tourists dock). On account of its less “democratic” structure, it seems that the rules of the game are perceived as clearer (even though that the situation is associated with more disadvantages). On Rapa Nui the waste disposal system is governed by a simple rule: all trash must be taken back to the only town on the island, nothing can be left at any of the sites as there simply are no waste bins.

As both islands are heritage destinations, both of them run the risk of too many tourists destroying the resource that attracts tourists in the first place. How this risk is dealt with is a point of difference between the islands. On Rapa Nui tourists need to buy a ticket to enter the national park, which contains all the heritage sites and is managed by the indigenous organization Ma’u Henua. The ticket fees can be used to maintain the park and the heritage sites. In contrast, on Gotland, tour-

ists pay no fee to enter most sites (e.g. the medieval city wall, the medieval inner city and the cathedral are free to visit), except places such as the museum. Also, cruise tourists are not charged any general tourist tax (which is forbidden by law) or any other fees. As a result, cruise tourism does not directly contribute to cover maintenance costs, despite creating an extra strain. For example, the city church requires much more maintenance during the cruise season, not least to take care of their toilets, which being among few public toilets in Visby, are used by many tourists. Cruise tourism even caused mold to grow in the church, as humidity in the building increased as a result of large numbers of cruise visitors constantly opening the church door. It seems, therefore, that Gotland is not quite successful at looking after the resource that constitutes the basis for cruise tourism.

5.2. "Zooming out"

5.2.1. Geography

The accessibility of island destinations depends on their geographical location, which, in the case of Gotland and Rapa Nui, is evidently different. In addition to being situated in different hemispheres, they also differ with respect to accessibility. Gotland is located relatively close to the European mainland and is part of the European Union. For this reason, Gotland can take advantage of cruise tourism to advertise its attractions in the hope that tourists will come back. Repeat visitors are the most important group for Gotland, commercially speaking.

It's those who've been here at least once before. Because they're the most economically active persons. They want to do everything. They want to visit places where you pay an entrance fee, they want to go to concerts, to restaurants. If you're here for the first time, you can walk around without spending very much money. There are so many things to look at, so they don't spend that much money – a representative of Region Gotland.

In contrast, Rapa Nui is isolated from both the South American mainland and other neighboring countries and is much smaller than Gotland. As a result, a visit to Rapa Nui, whether by air or by sea, is more difficult and more expensive. Because of its peripheral status of tourism trips to Rapa Nui are perceived as 'once in a lifetime opportunity'.

Many Europeans come to visit the island. The first thing they often say is "my father or my parents always wanted to come here". So, for one reason or another they couldn't make it, but their children are accomplishing that dream. Young Europeans see the place as something iconic. – an indigenous Rapanui and representative of the Father Sebastian Englert Anthropological Museum.

Given its remote location, Rapa Nui is unlikely to implement a successful strategy that is addressed at repeat cruise tourists, as in the case of Gotland, regardless of whether they come by sea or air. Moreover, Rapa Nui is situated in Latin-America, where there are relatively few people who could afford such a trip. But even for the majority of European travelers Gotland is more affordable, which means they are much more likely to visit it again. In contrast to Rapa Nui, which cannot count on a sustainable flow of cruise tourists.

Cruise tourists have a limited amount of time to visit a destination, so accessibility is a crucial factor. Before the new quay was built on Gotland in 2018, larger ships needed to anchor a few hundred meters off the coast because they were too big in size to get into the harbor. Cruise tourists were brought to shore by smaller boats, which led to a decrease in cruise ships visiting the island (before this only smaller ships visited the island, and they brought in more cruise visitors). Gotland built the cruise quay to enable the large ships to dock. Ever since the number of cruise visitors has increased again. Buses await passengers at the pier to take them on various tours, although it is also possible to reach Visby on foot, which is 1.5 km away. The number of cruise tourists visiting Gotland increased in 2019 and was expected to increase even more in 2020, but the COVID-19 pandemic brought the whole business to a halt.

Rapa Nui does not have a cruise quay and ships need to anchor at sea. The anchor site is quite far away from the main heritage sites and there is no appropriate infrastructure to welcome many passengers at the same time. Taking into account other historical, socio-economic and political factors, many respondents did not see much point in developing an infrastructure to enable better accessibility.

We do not have a port so ships stay off the shore and the passengers have to be brought to the pier to visit the island, which does not allow us to grow on cruise ships – a representative of the Tourism Chamber.

5.2.2. Seasonality

The geographical location of a destination is connected with its climate, which influences tourism activity. Gotland has four seasons. The tourist season lasts during 6-8 weeks of July and August, as these months are (at the moment) the warmest and driest. This is also the time when most cruise ships arrive. The rest of the year it is rather quiet, with the exception of conferences during the winter months. The interviewed respondents did not complain about over-tourism, but saw the need to spread tourists out over the year.

Provided you don't go swimming, April and May are the best months of the year. So, I would like to see more people come in May and September – a guide from Gotland.

In order to have sustainable growth in tourism we need tourists to come for a longer period of time during the year, not only for 6-10 weeks during the summer – a representative of Region Gotland.

The climate of Rapa Nui does not have strong seasonal variation and the weather is rather warm throughout the year. Tourists, including cruise passengers, visit the island all-year round, which may explain why respondents from Rapa Nui consider cruise tourism has reached its level of saturation. This contrast with the views of respondents from Gotland, who see an opportunity to attract more tourists during the other months of the year (October-April) and therefore believe the number of cruise visitors could grow.

5.2.3. Cruise routes

The geographical location also determines routes chosen by cruise operators as well as themes or contexts they are associated with. Gotland features on Baltic Sea routes, which are often focused on the history of the region. These routes include several destinations, with St. Petersburg as a highlight. Gotland (Visby) is not usually the reason why people go on a cruise, but rather a nice extra attraction. Rapa Nui is visited by cruises that either come from Tahiti or that follow a Latin-America route. In this case the emphasis is on tropical weather, beaches and relaxation. This is not in line with the image the tourism actors on the island want to project, which focuses on the historical and indigenous culture of Rapa Nui. For this reason cruise visitors coming to Rapa Nui are likely to have a different image of the island and are usually not the type of tourists the respondents from Rapa Nui would like to, namely culturally and historically sensitive visitors.

If you compare tourists who come for 4 days with tourists who come on cruise ships, the former ones are much more profitable and they also bring more tourism because of the knowledge they have about Rapa Nui. – a representative of the Tourism Chamber.

5.2.4. Colonization

Rapa Nui was colonized by Chile and is still regarded by many as a colony. Since the time of colonization decisions concerning the island have been made by the Chilean government rather than the indigenous community. Also, laws that apply in mainland Chile also apply to the island. As a result, the respondents felt that had little say in the decision making process, including decisions regarding the development of cruise tourism.

The people from here want to be more independent, to be able to make their own decisions and to make them right now. We don't want to wait 1 or 2 years – a representative of one of the diving centers in Rapa Nui.

Even the development of tourism was imposed on the Rapanui during the 1960s. In contrast, tourism on Gotland developed in a much more natural way, because Visby was an important place of trade in the Hanseatic times and many people travelled to and from the island. Feelings of being invaded experienced by many inhabitants of Rapa Nui are likely to intensify by the growth of cruise tourism, as each cruise ship brings thousands of passengers.

For a very long time the control over the UNESCO reserve was in the hands of the Chilean organization (Sernatur), including the sale of tickets to tourists visiting the island (one ticket to visit the heritage sites costs \$80). Recently the indigenous organization Ma'u Henua has taken over the administration of the park, which gives this local group more control over tourism activities on the island.

Many respondents from Gotland also complained of having no say in the decision making process. However, the local authorities have more control over development undertaken on the island. As a result, it is relatively easier for local tourism actors to contact the authorities. However, a Swedish law stipulating that regions are obliged to accept the lowest bid from companies that offer public services (such as transportation) overrules the region's power and has local implications. For example, a mainland bus company took over bus transportation on Gotland as local bus companies were not able to invest in new electric buses. Because of this deal, local bus companies shut down or had to sell many of their buses.

5.2.5. Taxes and fees

People on Rapa Nui do not pay taxes to the Chilean state or to the local/regional authorities. The state pays for all services on the island, which are of low quality according to many of the respondents. The situation on Gotland is different because part of the taxes paid by Gotlanders go to the national budget and part are used for the purposes of the Gotland Region, which means they are used for the benefit of the local community. To some extent this also applies the revenue from cruise tourism on Gotland. Cruise operators visiting Rapa Nui pay a fee to the Navy, which is part of the Chilean government, which means the money flows out of the island and is not used for the benefit of Rapa Nui, although the island has to bear indirect costs of receiving cruise ships, such as environmental deterioration. Cruise operators visiting Gotland pay a fee to a Danish company, which owns the quay. The company then pays an annual amount to the Gotland Region. This means that Gotland does not directly profit from the fees but at least some of the revenue eventually returns to the local authorities.

We receive an annual amount for the use of the pier, which covers our costs. But we make no money – a representative of Region Gotland.

5.2.6. The socio-cultural context

A very important difference between the two islands is the existence of an indigenous community and a living indigenous culture on Rapa Nui. The existence of a historical Polynesian population with a strong attachment to the island, with traditional values and place identity determines the perception of tourism on Rapa Nui.

We talk about the Tupunas¹; it is the past that leads us to see what we are in the present, it is always present, in documents, in discourses, in how we live day to day [...] when I look at a moai it is not merely a stone, for me this monument is associated with everything – an employee of Ma’u Henua.

The local community is aware that tourism is an essential source of income for the island, but their vision is wider. Their goal is to make sure that the tourism sector plays an active role in the preservation of the cultural heritage and living culture of Rapa Nui and their people.

For us heritage is something much broader [...] we are part of the living heritage, we have our language, our traditions, our culture [...] and our understanding of heritage is different from how it is treated in other places [...] we are still alive, we still carve our moai, we maintain our traditions [...] what we want is to continue developing and in the future I would like tourists to also take part in this heritage, not just come to take photos, but to learn and teach us [...] – a representative of Ma’u Henua.

In order to accomplish this objective, a lot of ideas have been proposed, such as ethnic-tourism, “the Decalogue of a good tourist” created by Sernatur, awareness-raising campaigns of and educational programs. However, the types of cruise tourists who visit the island do not fit in with these plans. Cruise tourists arrive for very short periods and tend to focus on the main attraction, which is the moai. They do not have the time to interact with the island’s population, to discover its traditional knowledge or to experience the living culture.

The cruises come for one or two days, everything happens very fast, they want to know everything in 2 days [...] it is impossible because we have a lot of things to see, and they want to see everything quickly – an employee of Ma’u Henua.

¹ Tupuna means ancestors. In the Polynesian tradition Tupuna represents more than just those that lived in the past and includes living representatives of these ancestors. The Rapanui are an apex society, where the idea of decent is of a tree with the roots (ancestors) anchored in the soil, the roots take nutrients and water from the soil (also the ancestors) and enable the stem and branches to grow. Those living today and are the leaves. The perspective on decent is that you start at the top and “dig down” to find your ancestors. In Rapa Nui you are one with Tupuna and not just their offspring.

There is no indigenous community on Gotland. Tourism is perceived as a key element of sustainable development, but there is no need to protect a minority or teach tourists to respect the local culture. The local community does not see the need to integrate tourists in their ordinary life as a way of preserving traditional values and knowledge. This is because traditional local communities of the island belong to its past and all their remains are preserved in museums and archaeological and UNESCO sites, which is where their story is told and kept alive. As a result, the tourism offering is well suited to the kind of tourists who come to visit the island.

6. Discussion: Glocal conjunctures of cruise tourism

The main argument of this article is that in order to understand the development of cruise tourism and the way its sustainability is perceived by inhabitants of a particular destination, a conjunctural approach needs to be adopted. This means that a complete analysis should take into account local patterns, structures and processes as well as broader geopolitical, socioeconomic and technological circumstances of the destination (Murphy, 2019). Following Saarinen (2014), who argues that by understanding and enhancing tourism sustainability, it is necessary to move away from the 'tourism first' perspective and instead focus on the community's well-being. It is therefore important to examine how local actors perceive the development of cruise tourism and how this perception relates to conjunctures in order to truly understand how to achieve sustainability in a given destination.

It can be seen that local tourism actors on both islands would like to be more involved in the organization of cruise tourism. On Gotland the decision to build a new cruise quay enabling bigger ships to dock was made by the municipality without much consultation with the local tourism actors and was outsourced to a multinational port company. Because decisions about when and how many times a cruise ship visits the destination are made by multinational cruise companies and there are different conflicts between the private and public sector, local communities feel like outsiders when it comes to issues of cruise development. In the case of Gotland, the conflict involves the provision of basic infrastructure (public toilets). On Rapa Nui, it exists between the national (mainland) government of Chile and the local actors and is mainly fueled by the continuing tension resulting from the colonial past. These perspectives are supported by the data collected during in-depth interviews. Local tourism actors on Rapa Nui do not want to see cruise tourism grow, whereas their counterparts on Gotland see economic benefits of growth provided it is achieved in a more inclusive way. There are a number of explanations for this difference, which have been presented earlier in this article.

The conjunctural analysis has made it possible to identify various negative effects of cruise tourism described by previous studies (as shown in Table 1). The respondents interviewed in the study mentioned overcrowding and an uneven distribution of cruise visit throughout the year (Gotland). Rapa Nui is also facing a risk of the loss of authenticity as the goals of cruise tourists are not aligned with the vision of tourism promoted by the local community. Apart from the public toilet problem on Gotland, the respondents did not specifically mention any purely environmental impacts of cruise tourism. It can be concluded that the development of cruise tourism on Gotland follows the activity-based tradition, where tourism is seen as a source of revenue (Saarinen, 2014). In contrast, Rapa Nui represents the community first approach, as evidenced by the indigenous peoples managing their heritage site (and main tourist attraction) and recognizing the role of tourism as extending beyond the economic benefits. On Gotland the emphasis is placed on economic sustainability as opposed to Rapa Nui, which strives for social sustainability.

On both islands cruise tourism operations are developed and managed without the involvement of local actors and do not take into account their needs in this respect. The local actors have limited opportunities of benefiting from cruise activities because of their low position in the existing power hierarchy. At the highest level, multinational cruise companies decide whether to come or not, then one actor determines how activities are distributed, and, finally, at the bottom of the ladder are the local tourism actors, such as café owners, small tour companies and the local community who hardly benefit from the cruises. The cruise tourism activities are therefore designed to meet the needs of the industry. It is one of the three main challenges identified by the respondents:

1. Lack of local involvement in decision making
2. Lack of alignment with the local purpose of tourism
3. Lack of alignment with local products and services

Our findings support Saarinen's view that the voice of local actors should play the main role in the development of truly sustainable tourism and should be taken into account by the governments, main island actors and the cruise industry.

7. Conclusion

The conjunctural analysis of two cruise tourism destinations has revealed how opinions on the development of cruise tourism and the understanding of sustainability can differ. It has been shown that local perceptions of these issues are related to the political and historical context. Whether the local actors would like to see more or less cruise tourism depends on what aspects they regard as the most

important. The Rapanui recognize their vulnerable social situation and therefore focus on social sustainability, which makes them opposed to further development of cruise tourism. Tourism actors on Gotland would like to have a greater part in economic benefits. For this reason most of them support the growth of cruise tourism. Even though cruise tourism is a global phenomenon, different contexts of particular destinations largely determine how the development of cruise tourism is perceived and how its sustainability is understood.

Note on the pandemic situation: The COVID-19 pandemic has highlighted the need to understand the wider context of cruise tourism and sustainability. For a while, there was no cruise tourism at either of these islands. Gotland, with the new cruise quay, did not see any return on investment, except that some ships used the quay as a long-term parking lot. However, the cost of parking turned out to be too high, so the ships left the quays to anchor at sea close to the shore. In this way they avoided paying the parking while still causing noise and diesel pollution. The whole tourism industry on Gotland has suffered severely because of the pandemic, but the Swedish government has launched many support measures. One was a project to fund creative ideas of solutions developed in response to the pandemic so that they will not be forgotten once the pandemic is over. A study by one of the authors of this article indicates that the COVID crisis has created a kind of “point zero” for the tourism sector, with a momentum enabling the implementation of creative ideas triggered by the pandemic. Rapa Nui has been completely cut off and isolated during the pandemic. In the absence of state support, the tourism actors had to turn to other economic activities like farming, to support themselves and their families. It remains to be seen whether they will take up tourism again once the pandemic is over, or whether self-subsistence will seem like a more sustainable alternative. In short, new circumstances, such as a pandemic perhaps, create new cruise tourism conjunctures.

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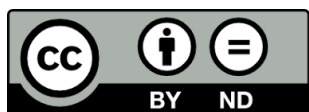
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Analiza koniunkturalna różnych poglądów na rozwój turystyki rejsowej

Streszczenie. Artykuł przedstawia wyniki badań jakościowych dotyczących dwóch wysp ujętych na liście światowego dziedzictwa: Gotlandii na Morzu Bałtyckim i Rapa Nui na Oceanie Spokojnym. Obie wyspy stanowią przykłady ilustrujące różne poglądy na rozwój turystyki rejsowej. Autorki wykorzystują analizę koniunkturalną, aby uwzględnić szerszy kontekst turystyki rejsowej. Różne poglądy na rozwój turystyki rejsowej są pochodną zarówno w uwarunkowań lokalnych jak i globalnych, z którymi wiążą się trzy zasadnicze wyzwania: turystyka rejsowa rozwija się bez udziału społeczności lokalnej w podejmowanie decyzji, nie uwzględnia celów turystyki lokalnej oraz ignoruje lokalne produkty i usługi. W obliczu tych problemów autorki zwracają uwagę na potrzebę większego zaangażowania społeczności lokalnej w rozwój turystyki rejsowej.

Słowa kluczowe: turystyka rejsowa, rozwój zrównoważony, analiza koniunkturalna, Gotlandia, Rapa Nui



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