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Sanctions and tourism: effects, complexities and research

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ABSTRACT

Despite the growing use of sanctions as a post-Cold War foreign policy instrument, there is limited research on sanctions in a tourism context despite their substantial impact on destinations and tourist flows. Although there is significant research on sanctions in political science, international relations, economics, and public policy, very few studies explicitly examine the effect of sanctions on tourism. This study therefore examines the intricate geopolitical relationship between sanctions and tourism via a scoping review of relevant literature. Each of the four main types of sanctions that were identified: financial, sectoral, diplomatic and individual, have different implications for tourism at various scales. The findings show that tourism is profoundly affected by sanctions impacting tourism and hospitality businesses and destination image, severely restricting international travel, and disrupting financial investment and supply chains. More comprehensive sanctions may lead to substantial economic and personal hardship in destinations as well as indirect effects including decline in the value of currency and inflationary pressures. Nevertheless, despite the development of smart and targeted sanctions they rarely affect the coercive capacity of the targeted government and induce political behavioural change. Resistive economies can develop in response to sanctions in which domestic tourism assumes greater significance as a result of reductions in international mobility. Some destinations facing sanctions also focus on specific international markets from non-sanctioning countries as well as a country's diaspora. Overall, the study of sanctions deepens knowledge of the interrelationships between geopolitics, foreign policy and tourism and its ramifications for destinations. Significant gaps in knowledge for future research include the role of domestic politics in influencing sanctions policy, the selection of tourism as a specific target for sanctions, and the development of destination adaptation strategies to sanctions.

摘要

尽管国际上越来越多地将制裁作为冷战后的外交政策工具,但在旅游方面对制裁的研究有限,虽然制裁对旅游目的地和旅游流有重大影响。虽然在政治学、国际关系、经济学和公共政策方面对制裁有重要的研究,但很少有明确地涉及制裁对旅游业影响的研

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制裁; 旅游政治; 目的地形象; 外交政策; 全球治理; 批判地缘政治学

究。因此,本研究通过对相关文献的广泛综述,探讨制裁与旅游业之间错综复杂的地缘政治关系。所确定的四种主要制裁类型有:经济制裁、部门制裁、外交制裁和个人制裁,它们对不同规模的旅游业有不同的影响。调查结果显示,制裁严重影响了旅游业,影响了旅游和酒店业务以及目的地形象,严重限制了国际旅行,扰乱了金融投资和供应链。更全面的制裁可能导致目的地的重大经济困境和个人困难,以及包括货币贬值和通货膨胀压力在内的间接影响。然而,尽管制定了明智和有针对性的制裁,但这些制裁很少对目标政府有强制能力,并导致政治行为的改变。由于国际流动的减少,国内旅游业在制裁中发挥了更大的作用,因此,抵抗性经济可以对制裁做出响应而发展。一些面临制裁的目的地还将重点放在来自非制裁国家以及该国侨民的特定国际市场。总的来说,对制裁的研究加深了对地缘政治、外交政策和旅游业之间的相互关系及其对目的地的影响的了解。今后研究的重要知识空白包括国内政治在影响制裁政策方面的作用、选择旅游业作为制裁的具体目标以及制定目的地应对制裁的战略。

1. Introduction

Sanctions are an increasingly popular foreign policy tool, by design as well as by default (Brzoska, 2015), within the political landscape of international relations, diplomacy, foreign policy and global governance (Cortright & Lopez, 2018). According to the seminal definition of Galtung (1967), sanctions are defined as actions by a single or a group or block of actors against one or more other countries for two purposes: punishing the targets by dispossessing them of some value, and make the targets obey important norms based on the sanctioning bodies' objectives. The post-Cold War period has witnessed a sharp rise in sanctions imposed on the countries and laid the ground for a sanctions renaissance (Cortright & Lopez, 2018) and sanctions have increasingly become a type of 'carrot-and-stick' diplomacy in dealing with international trade and politics in the post-Cold War era (Hall, 2005). The extensive range and number of sanctions regimes by different international actors are applied at different scales, e.g. countries, sectors, products, firms, and individuals, including the tourism industry which is directly and indirectly affected by sanctions (Hall, 1994; Seyfi & Hall, 2019). Nevertheless, despite their widespread use as an element in foreign policy since the end of the Cold War (Hufbauer, Schott, Elliott, & Oegg, 2008), there is a growing debate as to their effectiveness in achieving the target outcomes of sanctioning bodies (Brzoska, 2015; Cortright & Lopez, 2018; Leyton-Brown, 2017; Lindsay, 1986; O'Sullivan, 2010).

Lying at the intersection of politics, travel and tourism (Butler & Suntikul, 2017; Hall, 2005; Seyfi & Hall, 2019), sanctions have been variously explored within the social sciences (Hufbauer et al., 2008), including political geography (Bassett & Hoare, 1987; Bhungalia, 2010; Christopher, 1994; Mercille, 2008). However, such work has tended to be relatively descriptive with sanctions usually being framed as an economically focussed geopolitical tool while the multi-scaled socio-cultural and environmental dimensions of sanctions have largely been overlooked. Furthermore, work on the political geography of sanctions has not included tourism as a focus (Hall, 2017a). The use of sanctions as a foreign policy tool has also attracted substantial literature in political

science, economics, and public policy (see Galtung, 1967; Leyton-Brown, 2017; Lindsay, 1986; Oechslin, 2014; O'Sullivan, 2010). Nevertheless, Despite the widespread use of sanctions as a foreign policy tool and their immediate and multifaceted far-reaching impact on the tourism industry, there are surprisingly very few studies that explicitly examine the effect of sanctions on tourism in the target destination or their form (Seyfi & Hall, 2019), while a recent review of tourism and geopolitics did not note sanctions as a significant theme in the available literature (Hall, 2017a). This study therefore sets out to review the intricate relationship between geopolitics, sanctions, and tourism. The significance of this study is threefold: First, this review is timely in contributing to knowledge about the important and ongoing issues that sanctions create for a destination. Second, there is currently no overall characterization of the sanctions effects on a tourism destination as well as other actors in the tourism system and scholarly and public debate on its impacts and effectiveness in a tourism context are scarce. By reviewing the state of knowledge about sanctions, this study aims to develop a conceptual framework on the relationships between sanctions and the tourism system. Third, there is a very limited knowledge on the coping responses of sanctioned destinations toward the imposed sanctions regime and how tourism operates under a sanctions regime.

The geopolitics of sanctions along with the contemporary geographical landscape of sanctions literature in tourism and the power of sanctions regimes are first discussed, followed by the study's method. The current literature on sanctions and tourism is then thematically reviewed. The findings of this study help to construct a composite picture of sanctions and conclusions about their implications.

1.1. Geopolitics, sanctions and tourism

The growth of interest in geopolitics in tourism studies (e.g. Hall, 2017b) highlights the importance of developing a better understanding of the way in which tourism becomes a focus, or casualty, of foreign policy decision-making. Geopolitical theorising has gradually come to acknowledge geopolitical contestation needs move beyond the realm of the nation-state, to be understood as an area for sub-state, sectoral and private actors, as well as the mobility of individuals within geopolitical systems (Hall, 2017a). As Dalby (2013, p. 18) observes, 'It is about the spaces of politics, the geographies of rule, authority and frequently violence. It is nearly always about attempts to make, organize, dominate and control particular spaces' including the spaces of the neoliberal economy.

An examination of tourism's relationships to sanctions therefore contributes both to conventional geopolitical theory, which is focused on the role of the nation state and spatial political governance, and critical geopolitics which encompasses a more diverse range of academic challenges to the conventional ways in which political space is written, read and practised (Hall, 2017a; Power & Campbell, 2010). The latter being engaged in the 'analysis of a range of enduring global challenges like environmental catastrophe, new modes of war, persistent global inequalities, imperial desires and reductive representations' (Power & Campbell, 2010, p. 245). From such a perspective, interest in the role of sanctions is not just about their use as foreign policy instrument, as important as that is, but also with respect to the economic and behavioural

responses to sanctions and their connection to the wider socio-economic system, and in the case of this paper, the different levels of the tourism system. Of particular interest here may be research on identity, spatiality and resistance in a tourism context. For example, Saldanha (2002) investigated tourism in terms of post-colonial resistance in Goa. The theme of identity in relation to geopolitics and tourism has become a significant area of research with respect to contemporary mobilities and border crossing (Rowen, 2016) and diaspora (Ho, 2013), as well as the role of tourism in the formation or reinforcement of identities (Attanapola & Lund, 2013; Ho, 2013). Therefore, research on sanctions provides a potential new direction in critical geopolitical and foreign policy studies as they focus on the effects of the denial or constraint of movement as well as the way in which tourism is bound up in resistance to sanctions.

1.2. The contemporary geographical landscape of sanctions literature in tourism

The sanctions literature in tourism has focussed on the sanctions operating on developing countries, although this does not negate the particular economic importance that tourism may have for the sanctioned countries. Publications that address tourism and sanctions has focussed on Cuba (Gordon, 2016; Kendrick, Fullerton, & Broyles, 2015; Macaulay, 2007; Wilson & Látková, 2016), Rhodesia/Zimbabwe (Galtung, 1967), Myanmar (Henderson, 2003; Philp & Mercer, 1999; Reith & Nauright, 2005), North Korea (Connell, 2017; Xizhen & Brown, 2000), Palestine (Isaac, Hall, & Higgins-Desbiolles, 2015), South Africa (Pirie, 1990), Syria (Moret, 2015), and Iran (Khodadadi, 2016a, 2016b; Pratt & Alizadeh, 2018; Seyfi & Hall, 2018a, 2018b, 2018c, 2019; Seyfi, Hall, & Kuhzady, 2019), rather than major tourism generating areas or destinations such as France, USA, China, Spain, Italy, and the UK. The limited developed country studies include those on the Russian Federation, an important tourism generating market and destination, that received sanctions following its annexation of Crimea (Ivanov, Sypchenko, & Webster, 2017; Ovcharov, Ismagilova, Ziganshin, & Rysayeva, 2015); and Turkey, which was affected by Russian sanctions on travel to Turkey, following the shooting down of a Russian military aircraft (Cetin, Akmesse, Aras, & Aytekin, 2016; Şahin, Konak, & Karaca, 2017).

The issue of sanctions and their effect on destination economies has been brought sharply into recent focus following the imposition of sanctions on Russia and Turkey as major tourism destinations and generating markets as well as the withdrawal of the United States from the Iran nuclear agreement (known as the Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action (JCPOA)) in May 2018, and the reintroduction of sanctions by the US on Iran whose tourism had seen a sharp increase in volume given the lifting of sanctions when JCPOA was signed (Khodadadi, 2016a; Seyfi & Hall, 2018c). The issue of US sanctions on Iran and the geopolitical tensions that emerge from their reimposition in the Middle East and beyond in mid-2019 provide a good example of how tourism becomes a missing element in the issue-attention cycle surrounding sanctions and wider public and media discourse. While media focused on the oil trade in the Persian Gulf and, to a lesser extent, arms supply to states and the contribution to regional political instability (Mousavian, 2019; Wintour & Rankin, 2019), other aspects of sanctions

regimes such as their sectoral impact on travel and tourism were completely missing, highlighting the need to develop a better understanding of their direct and indirect effects of sanctions regimes on tourism and mobility.

1.3. The power of sanctions regimes

Sanctions and embargoes are political trade restrictions that may be applied by a single state, a collaborative group of states or an international body (e.g. the United Nations, the European Union) in order to achieve a diplomatic, foreign policy or security goal without entering into direct conflict. Sanctions are a formal state legal instrument to achieve such aims and, as such, may be distinguished from the related concept of a boycott which may be consumer or interest-group led, and which is not necessarily state-sanctioned. Furthermore, boycotts are generally related to non-purchase, use or visitation, whereas a sanction or embargo has a more active legal dimension. Sanctions and embargoes are also usually configured so as to encourage behavioural change of the target country's regimes, individuals or groups (Cortright & Lopez, 2018). Although sanctions may be actioned geographically with respect to a specified country or countries they are formulated in such a way so as to detail particular activities, organisations and/or individuals that are subject to certain prohibitions or embargoes – what is referred to as targeting. Sanctions can also be specifically targeted and applied against non-state actors including named entities (such as terrorist groups), organisations and individuals without reference to a geographic context. For example, as of the beginning of November 2018 the US Office of Foreign Assets Control (OFAC) had approximately 6,300 names connected with sanctions targets on its Specially Designated Nationals and Blocked Persons List (SDN List) while a range of other lists of sanctions targets also exist in relation to Russian, Palestinian and Iranian persons, among others (U.S. Department of the Treasury, 2018).

Importantly, the prohibitions contained in sanctions can also apply to dealings with third parties, such as other countries, businesses or individuals, which the sanctioning state or body may also include in its legal instruments. However, the extent to which the sanctioning state has the legal capacity to ensure that third parties do not break sanctions will vary as it will really depend on the 'reach' of legal authority and the capacity to implement any sanctions decision. In the case of the United States, for example, its legal capacity to implement its sanctions regime is very strong because of the ubiquity of the American dollar as a means of facilitating international trade, the extent to which third party countries and businesses already trade with the US, and its overall diplomatic and economic reach. Therefore, the United States has substantial capacity to take punitive actions against third parties within its courts in order to achieve the diplomatic goals it is trying to gain from sanctions. Indeed, the potential to exercise such capacity alone may be sufficient to dissuade third parties from acting against American sanctions regimes (Appendix 1 indicates the wide array of sanctions that the US has in place and their legal authority).

Although sanctions have often been criticised by human rights organizations for not achieving their goals and instead harming the general population (Murdie & Peksen, 2013), they have been increasingly utilized to address a broad range of actual or perceived

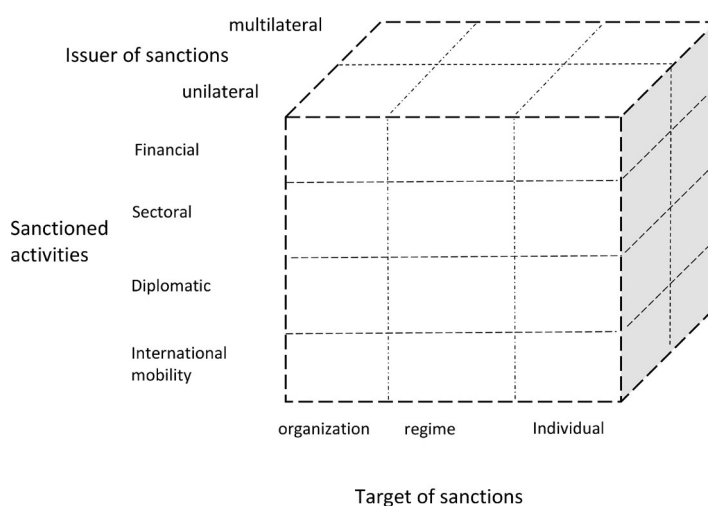


Figure 1. A typology of sanctions.

threats to international and domestic peace and security interests – to counter terrorism, prevent conflict, consolidate peace agreements, protect civilians, support democracy, improve resource governance, limit the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, or encourage regime change (Cortright & Lopez, 2018; Leyton-Brown, 2017). The forms of sanctions are various – from boycotting certain events to complete prohibition of international trade of goods and services. The use of sanctions has evolved from single ‘intimidation acts’ in the 19th century (mainly in the form of naval blockades (e.g. the French blockade of the Río de la Plata), to mass actions by the end of the 20th century. The collapse of the Soviet Union and the end of the Cold War created a new geo-political environment that provided new impetus in the use of sanctions as an instrument of foreign policy. Prior to August 1990, few sanctions had come into force, but since the fall of the Berlin Wall, the US, United Nations and Europe have employed sanctions on other nations more than 500 times (Cashen, 2017) to the point they have become one of the key tools for achieving foreign policy goals.

Sanctions can be unilateral and multilateral and can be targeted at individuals, organisations and/or the governing regimes. They also range in scope from economic and financial sanctions to restrictions on travel and cross-border mobility. Other sanctions may focus specifically on diplomatic engagement, i.e. restricting the diplomatic services one country can offer in another or the numbers of diplomatic staff, or on a particular industry sector, such as travel or transport. Significantly, such restrictions may operate on third parties, i.e. restrictions on organisations in third countries that trade with the sanctioned country or on third country trade. Figure 1 indicates a typology of sanctions.

2. Method

This study employed a scoping review to help identify previous studies on sanctions and tourism. Scoping reviews, with their exploratory nature, are commonly utilised to

provide an overview of a broad topic, map the literature, and identify key concepts, theories and sources of evidence and are best designed where an area is complex or has not yet been comprehensively reviewed (Levac, Colquhoun, & O'Brien, 2010; Moher, Stewart, & Shekelle, 2015). The scoping review has become an increasingly popular approach for synthesizing research evidence (Moher et al., 2015). Scoping reviews aim to address broader, more complex and exploratory research questions while systematic reviews are often designed to answer precisely defined, narrow questions (Grant & Booth, 2009). Scoping reviews have been used frequently in the social sciences (Arksey & O'Malley, 2005; Moher et al., 2015), including tourism (e.g. Welling, Árnason, & Ólafsdóttir, 2015).

The procedure to identify relevant literature involved three main steps. The first step was to identify keywords for use in the search process from existing known literature on sanctions. Secondly, an initial systematic search was conducted in August 2018 of Web of Science, Scopus, Sage Journals Online, Science Direct, Emerald Insight, Taylor & Francis Online and Wiley Online library, occurrence of the terms 'sanctions' or 'embargoes' or 'boycotts' and 'tourism' or 'hospitality' in the title, abstract or keywords of publications. The initial search identified 45 publications. After reading of papers for appropriateness, removal of duplicates, and the removal of conference abstracts 32 publications were identified focusing on sanctions and tourism, with nearly half of these not being in tourism journals.

This was then followed by a further iterative search for papers, including in Google Scholar, of cited papers that were not otherwise identified in the original search because, for example, they did not contain an abstract or keywords. This was especially important for identifying older papers as well as relevant books and book chapters. No timeframe was applied to the search. Finally, once sources were identified and retrieved they were examined for main themes and issue. Thematic analysis – a widely used 'method for identifying, analyzing and reporting patterns within data' (Braun & Clarke, 2006, p. 79) was adopted to identify any themes. Given the relatively small sample size, manual coding was selected as an effective and efficient method to process the themes identification. After reading through all the selected papers, a conceptual model of effects of sanctions on tourism industry is developed along with four central themes on the relationship between sanctions and tourism, around which the findings are presented in the rest of this section.

3. Findings

The following section details the conceptual framework which is developed on effects of sanctions on tourism industry as well as the four central themes on the relationship between sanctions and tourism emerged. Sanctions as a form of foreign policy and politics have been frequently used as popular foreign policy tool with immediate implications for tourism. As shown in Figure 2, sanctions can be categorized in four main types including financial, sectoral, and diplomatic and individual types. Each of these sanctions has different implications for tourism industry which are detailed in the figure. Furthermore, the impacts of sanctions on tourism can be understood as occurring in three inter-related areas: the macroeconomic environment, direct impacts

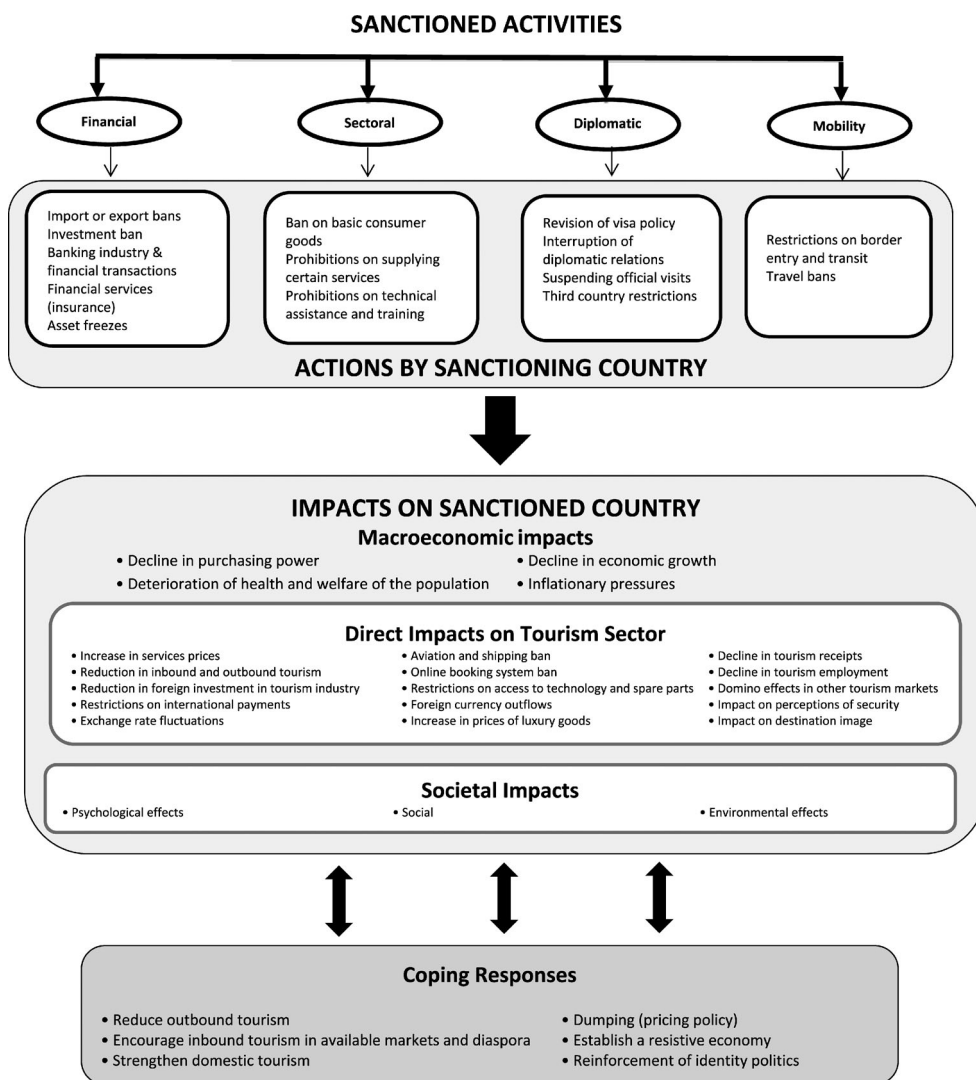


Figure 2. A conceptual model of the effects of sanctions on the tourism industry.

and indirect impacts (societal impacts). At the macro level, both the supply and demand side of the economy are affected by sanctions which have negative impacts on economic growth and lead to significant inflationary pressures. The latter potentially also creating social (e.g. accessibility to medicines), and environmental issues (e.g. shifting public resources to ensure regime survival rather than environmental sustainability) (Seyfi, Hall, & Fagnoni, 2019).

3.1. Travel bans and restrictive mobility

Restrictions on the mobility of nationals is regarded as one of the direct effects of sanctions which are some of the oldest, yet most controversial, approaches for sanctions (Hall, 2005). This class of intervention ranges from restrictions of the mobility of

people to international air travel restrictions. The ultimate impacts of restrictions on travel behaviour depend on the goals of the sanctioning countries or institutions. Restrictions can be extended to the international movement of identified individuals associated with regimes or groups whose behaviour is considered unacceptable by the international community or sanctioning country. Although the increasing influence of government travel advisories on the destination choice of travelers has been discussed in the literature (Hall, 1994; Henderson, 2003), there has been little discussion of travel bans that have been enacted as a result of sanctions policy. It is common, for example for governments to prohibit travel to the territories of hostile nations in which the government has no means of protecting the life and property of its citizens (Edgell, 1995), or to which they do not wish to contribute economically or give tacit recognition of the governing regime. In addition, restrictions may sometimes be placed on individuals, such as journalists, artists or academics, by the regime of destination countries so as to manage information and knowledge flows (Agence France-Presse, 2018).

The travel ban to Cuba by United States citizens is one of the most longstanding bans on travel and mobility to a destination (Macaulay, 2007). Following the revision of the travel advisory on Cuba and the subsequent lifting of the U.S. travel ban for Americans wishing to visit the country in the final years of President Obama's administration, there was a hope that this could result in reversing a decline in American visitors (Gordon, 2016). However, President Trump announced a return to the strict policies surrounding American travel to Cuba that existed before former President Barack Obama softened the country's stance in 2014. As a result, Americans are no longer allowed to visit the country as individuals outside of the confines of guided tours run by licensed providers as allowed by Obama, and visitors are required to avoid financial transactions with military-controlled businesses within the country, including certain hotels and restaurants. Airlines are also affected by these regulations (Curley, 2018).

Sanctions may be used to express the opposition of some states to another's changes in foreign policy. For example, following the peace talks between Egypt with Israel which led directly to the 1979 Egypt–Israel Peace Treaty known also as Camp David Accords, some Arab countries, e.g. Syria, Iraq, Libya and Algeria banned travel to Egypt as a retaliatory foreign policy measure. This had serious consequence on Egyptian tourism for which regional tourists were a significant market. This was especially significant as the number of Western tourists, always very sensitive to the political situation in the area, fell drastically during and immediately after the Egyptian-Israeli wars of 1956, 1967 and 1973 (Lavy, 1984). More recently, sanctions imposed by Russia on Turkey over a downed warplane in 2015 provide another example of a travel restriction being put into place to further domestic and foreign policy goals where Russia banned the sale of charter vacations to Turkey for Russian citizens. With tourism accounting for more than half of Turkey's current account earnings, this was a significant economic measure (Cetin et al., 2016).

The sanctions against Russia following the Russian military intervention in Ukraine and the annexation of Crimea 2014 by many Western countries were extended to travel bans and asset freezes for certain Russian Federation citizens. New travel conditions not only targeted those individuals who were instrumental in the Russian threat

to Ukraine's sovereignty, but also affected the overall mobility of Russian citizen wishing to visit EU and other sanctioning countries. The imposition of a fingerprint policy for Russian citizens seeking a Schengen visa and further escalation in the conflict in Ukraine also led to a sharp decrease of the tourist flow from Russia to EU countries in 2014. The greatest reduction of tourist flows was witnessed in European destinations such as Finland, Greece, Austria, Czech Republic (Falk, 2013).

One notable more recent example of the effects of sanctions is the Executive Order signed by United States President Trump on 27 January 2017, temporarily suspending entry of individuals from seven countries (i.e. Iran, Iraq, Libya, Somalia, Sudan, Syria, and Yemen) and placing restrictions on visa renewals for an additional 38 countries. These controversial travel bans and restrictive measures of mobility and the accompanying perceptions and confusion the measures created in third countries resulted in a swift drop in the number of tourists to the United States and illustrated that the imposition of sanctions not only affects both targeted countries but also perceptions of ease of traveller access (Taylor, 2017). Since the introduction of the first travel ban in January 2017 to October 2017, there was a 1.4% decline in international visitors as compared to the same period the previous year which translated into a loss of billions of dollars for the U.S. economy (Taylor, 2017). Moreover, this issue was subjected to significant domestic debate as the restrictions not only affects inbound tourists but also students, business travellers and workers, refugees, family members and diasporic communities in the US and thousands faced indefinite separation from family members from affected countries (Morello & Reardon, 2017; Reardon, 2017). Such restriction in terms of travel bans on either individuals in a target destination or entire categories of country's nationals can potentially also affect flows across the global tourism system (Arafa, 2018). The opponents of such visa restrictions point to the fact that the security threats are often exaggerated and emerge from both domestic and international policy objectives rather than objective threat assessments (Arafa, 2018; Volpp, 2017). However, this has not stopped their use.

3.2. Development of negative and unstable destination images

The ensuing effects of sanctions on political stability is extremely important when it comes to the determining the image of destinations in tourist-generating regions and the real and perceived safety of tourists (Avraham & Ketter, 2017; Hall, 2002). Political stability and safety is a prerequisite for tourist visitation. Risk perceptions can influence tourist decision-making and destination choice, with substantial negative economic consequences for destinations if tourists select alternative vacation opportunities which may take years to overcome (Avraham & Ketter, 2017; Hall, 2002). As indicated in figure 2, the psychological and mental effects of sanctions, can creating a negative image of a destination (Khodadadi, 2016a) and increased perceived risk and thus contribute to lower tourist arrivals. This image can be conveyed both by media, which acts to convey political decisions and perceptions, as well as via formal travel advice (Hall, 2002). This can then suggest that visitors may be highly vulnerable and subject to local political sensitivities (Seyfi & Hall, 2019). A major consideration in a potential traveller's decision to visit a destination is its political stability and security conditions

(Bianchi, 2006; Hall & O'Sullivan, 1996; Hall, Timothy, & Duval, 2004). Any evidence of domestic turmoil is likely to result in a decision not to visit that country. Furthermore, governments can and do exert political pressure through tourism and use it as a promotional vehicle to convey a positive image of themselves or their allies or a negative portrayal of other countries. Iran provides a good example of some of the problems which sanctions poses for tourism. Closed off to much of the world for more than 35 years, Iran's reputation as a tourist destination had all but disintegrated. The sanctions imposed on Iran for decades had changed the country's image as a tourism destination and few people were aware of the country's rich cultural and natural history (Khodadadi, 2016a; Seyfi & Hall, 2018b, 2018c).

The Iranian case illustrates that the effect of sanctions on tourist destination risk perceptions are also reinforced by the associated political commentary surrounding the reasons for sanctions in sanctioning states (Fuchs & Reichel, 2011). However, restoring an image can take many years in some markets (Avraham, 2015). For any given travel situation, consumers are spoilt by choice of available destinations, and the images held of destination play a critical role in purchase decisions (Tasci & Gartner, 2007) and the competitiveness of travel destinations (Pike & Page, 2014). Perceptions of political insecurity in destinations, whether reflecting on the ground realities or not, are reinforced by the imposition of sanctions (Avraham & Ketter, 2017).

3.3. Shrinking markets and a damaged economy

Sanctions also negatively influence the socio-economic status of the population in sanctioned countries by increasing poverty and widening the income gap (Figure 2). For example, as a result of the sanctions imposed on Iran, Iranian's living standards have been adversely affected with Iranian workers losing 90% of their purchasing power over the sanctions period (Seyfi & Hall, 2018a). Many of the affected in the sanctioned countries are middle class people who are otherwise consumers of tourist services. For example, following EU and US sanctions against Russia's annexation of the Crimea, tourist flows from Russia to Europe have reduced (Ovcharov et al., 2015). The sanctions contributed to the collapse of the Russian ruble, impacted the image of Russia in tourism and investment terms, and contributed to the Russian financial crisis which led to the decline of leading Russian players in the tourist market. Similarly, in their study on tourism development in Serbia, Popesku and Hall (2004) noted that due to the economic sanctions then in place, Serbia became isolated from the international tourism market which became a major issue along with regional and political change for the long-term development of tourism in Serbia. Furthermore, even without sanctions on nationals, outbound mobility is also potentially restricted given the resulting currency devaluation in the sanctioned countries which can lead to the over-all reduction in tourist trips and tourist expenditure.

The purchasing capacity of the national currency is an important economic indicator of the amount of goods and services a consumer can purchase. As national currencies devalue as a result of sanctions imported goods become more expensive, if they can be obtained at all, while salaries remain the same. For example, unless produced locally, cars and other vehicles become more expensive with implications for domestic

mobility while outbound tourism mobility is also affected as the purchasing power for travel abroad is reduced. Currency devaluations due to sanctions can even affect leading players in the tourist market. In the case of Russia, for example, Ovcharov et al. (2015) observed that high competition and many years of lower currency values led to a series of bankruptcies of tour operators and high tension in the organized tourism market. Additionally, the U.S. embargo on Cuba affects tourism development and trade by restricting investment by some companies from third party countries. For example, the U.S. State Department warned some hotel chains such as Sol Melia, the Spanish hotel chain, and France's Club Med noting them that they could be subject to litigation and penalties in the USA for their business activities in Cuba (Gordon, 2016).

3.4. Coping responses to sanctions

Despite the widespread adoption of sanctions as a foreign policy instrument, knowledge as to how the sanctioned destinations deal with the effects of sanctions in tourism context is surprisingly limited. This may be related to the fact that, historically, countries subjected to sanctions are often neither a main tourism destination nor influential in terms of global tourism generating market. However, recent sanctions on Russia and Turkey as two of the main players in the global tourist system may provide new perspectives on sanctions issues in relation to tourism.

Russia has been a major tourism generating market for Turkey and this has contributed to the significant role of tourism in the Turkish economy and the Mediterranean coastal regions of Turkey in particular. The country was the second most popular holiday destination for Russians in 2014, attracting about 3.3 million visitors (Girit, 2016). Nevertheless, Turkey became the first country outside of the post-Soviet space to which Russia unilaterally applied a sanction regime. On 28 November 2015, President Vladimir Putin imposed a ban on charter air transportation between the Russian Federation and the Republic of Turkey and urged travel agents to abstain from selling tours to Turkey, starting 1 January 2016, Turkish citizens were also required to have tourist visas to enter Russia. (Punsmann et al., 2016), although regular flight connections of Turkish Airlines to Russia were not affected. The number of Russian nationals who travelled to Antalya during January 2016 decreased by 81% compared to the previous year while between January and March of 2016, the total number of Russians who travelled to Turkey decreased by 56 per cent compared to the same period in the previous year (Punsmann et al., 2016). In response to the loss of the Russian market Turkey has sought to develop alternative markets such as China, Ghana, as well as regional tourists from Iran (Girit, 2016), while Russia has also sought to use the sanctions on Turkey as a means to encourage more domestic tourism. It should also be noted that the use of packaged holidays as a focus for sanction by Russia was clearly carefully targeted as Turkey is also heavily reliant on energy imported from Russia, which was not subject to sanctions (Girit, 2016). However, the longer-term imposition of Russian sanctions will depend on the overall set of relationships between Turkey, Russia and other regional powers and how this affects economic cooperation and wider coalition building.

In the case of Russia's response to the sanctions placed on it, one strategy was to reorientate from outbound to inbound tourism and use state-private partnerships to

form, improve and diversify domestic tourism products. A response to sanctions by individual firms was to use a variety of tactics, such as price discounts, season sales, and *dumping* in order to maintain market share (Figure 2). Dumping is the selling of goods and services at prices lower than cost value. The large tour operators, which later became bankrupt (Neva, Yuzhniy krest, Labirint), all used dumping schemes (Ovcharov et al., 2015). Although this strategy might be successful in the short-term to maintain market share and it is not negative for the tourist market in general, it has a significant impact on the development of various forms of organized tourism. Ovcharov et al. (2015) observed that the bankruptcies of tour operators, which had been considered reliable, undermined the trust of consumers in the work of tour operators and agents and, as a result, many Russians have stopped using the services of tourist agencies and begun organizing their own vacations.

Despite the inconvenience of sanctions and the economic turbulence they create, including in the case of Russia and Turkey, noted above, Oechslin (2014, p. 24) concluded, 'such sanctions have usually failed to achieve their stated goal. Paradoxically, in some cases (e.g. Haiti, Iraq), they even made the targeted regimes resort to policies which severely amplified the direct negative economic consequences'. In Iran and Palestine, the notion of the resistive economy emerged as an overt policy response toward sanctioning countries (Seyfi & Hall, 2019). In the case of Iran the resistive economy is intended to primarily nullify the negative effects of Western sanctions, and make the country's economy more self-sufficient, reduce the country's heavy dependence on oil revenue through fiscal belt tightening, increase agricultural and manufacturing output, and strengthen the role of science in boosting technological innovation (Esfandiari, 2012). However, Seyfi and Hall (2019) argued that while the notion of the resistive economy builds on some of these strands of thought, it is very much a response to external political and economic sanctions and constraints, rather than being an indigenous development that seeks to achieve socio-economic and environmentally progressive goals. Nevertheless, the extent to which promoting domestic tourism, for example, is a means of implementing resistive economy measures has not been fully acknowledged in the literature.

4. Conclusions and implications

Sanctions have become an increasingly popular tool for exercising foreign policy and politico-economic pressure on targeted actors. These are undertaken at the multilateral level (at the UN), regionally (the EU in particular) and unilaterally by a single state. They are likely to continue as a major foreign policy tool in the foreseeable future as they serve to respond domestic and international audiences to show that action has been taken while not endangering lives of nationals by undertaking military action. However, tourism is not usually a part of the wider policy and media discourse on sanctions even though it is directly and indirectly affected by many of the sanctions regimes put in place against countries. Notwithstanding the potentially far-reaching impacts of sanctions, there is relatively little literature on the subject within a specific tourism context. This study aimed to respond to this gap in knowledge by providing a scoping review in order to synthesize what is currently known about sanctions and

tourism and provide a foundation for future research in the area. The findings show that tourism is profoundly affected by sanctions where business and destination image can be negatively affected, international travel severely restricted, financial investment and supply chains disrupted and, in the most comprehensive forms of sanctions, substantial economic and personal hardship experienced. The analysis also revealed that, historically, countries subject to sanctions tend not to be major tourism destinations or tourism-generating markets, although tourism is often a significant part of their economy. Sanctions against Russia, by the European Union and the United States, and Turkey, by Russia, represent some of the few occasions when major tourism countries have been targeted. Nevertheless, in most cases sanctions regimes are put in place against much smaller countries by large national or international actors.

The paper identified four central themes on the relationship between sanctions and tourism namely travel bans and restrictive mobility, development of negative and unstable destination images, shrinking markets and a damaged economy, and coping responses to sanctions. Furthermore, it also provides a comprehensive framework for understanding the linkages between sanctions and tourism and reveals how tourism is affected in the macroeconomic environment of a country exposed to sanctions and shows the direct and indirect effects of sanctions on the tourism in such a destination. This paper has also highlighted some of the ways in which tourism in a destination is economically affected by sanctions with consequent social and environmental effects. As such the paper also contributes to the growing literature on tourism and critical geopolitics by showing that embodied, everyday practices such as tourism cannot be divorced from state-scale geopolitics (Hall, 2017a). A topic that is only likely to become more significant in the future given the popularity of sanctions as a foreign policy tool.

Although, from the sanctioning institution or state's perspective, the rationale behind imposing economic sanctions is to change political behaviour, they are often blunt economic instruments with very few discriminatory measures to lessen the negative impact on civilians. Sanctions rarely affect the coercive capacity of the targeted government and induce political behavioural change. Furthermore, sanctions also serve to highlight the geopolitical significance of identity and resistance. The impact of sanctions on identity appears to be used in a tourism context by both sanctioned and sanctioning states to portray different notions of security to both international and domestic audiences, including the tourist and investors. Indeed, identity politics also appear extremely significant for the development of resistive economies (Seyfi & Hall, 2019) in response to sanctions. Some of the themes and issues identified here are clearly of increasing significance for tourism studies and demonstrate some of the potential insights that a geopolitical perspective may bring to research on the multi-levelled relations between the international geopolitical system and the mobility of the individual. At the macro level, the role of the state is of obvious significance to tourism. However, at the micro-level the geopolitical dimensions of displacement, hospitality, and the attempted constraint of 'mobilities and border crossing clearly offer insights into the political imaginary of territory, tourism and space' (Hall, 2017a, p. 20).

Substantial scope for future research remains particularly with respect to the impacts of sanctions on third countries as well as the long-term effects of sanctions on the trajectories of tourism development in sanctioned destinations. In addition,

there is a need to examine the relative resilience of different markets in the face of sanctions, e.g. leisure, compared to VFR and business travel, as the importance of diasporic and migrant relations and family ties would appear to suggest that this may be one of the least impacted markets that are influenced by sanction regimes and the publicity surrounding them. Indeed, there are potentially fruitful grounds for further research on the geopolitical dimensions of diasporas in a tourism context. Moreover, a majority of studies on sanctions and tourism in the extant literature are based on case studies, often with little connection to the wider foreign policy, geopolitical and international relations literature. Furthermore, it is recommended that future studies explore how and why different sanctions operate and the extent to which tourism is consciously targeted in sanctions policies or not. Such studies can highlight the means by which sanctions are implemented and the measures undertaken by sanctioned countries to circumvent the punitive measures of sanctioning bodies.

Given the growing criticism of the effectiveness of sanctions as a foreign policy tool (Brzoska, 2015; Cortright & Lopez, 2018; O'Sullivan, 2010), which may suggest that the continued use of sanctions are as much a device for domestic audiences as they are for any foreign policy goals, i.e. that governments are seen by their domestic political base to be 'doing something' in response to political or ideological concerns or agendas, there is potential for further research on perceptions of sanctions. As a result, there is an important need in public policy terms to look at the relations between domestic audiences and stakeholders and foreign policy decisions and the place of tourism within such geopolitical discourses. In such a context it may be possible to see tourism and the mobility of individuals as a relatively less controversial sanctions focus than other areas of economic activity and trade.

This review has demonstrated the intertwined relationship between tourism and sanctions and has developed a foundation for future research to build upon. In view of the growing use of sanctions as a foreign policy element by world and regional powers and international organizations, there is a significant need to better understand their implications for the tourism sector and appropriate responses.

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