tourism and hospitality

MDPI

Article

Tourism Economics: 20 Years After the Critical Turn

John Tribe * and **Brendan Paddison**

York Business School, York St John University, York YO31 7EX, UK; b.paddison@yorksj.ac.uk
* Correspondence: j.tribe@yorksj.ac.uk

Abstract: Despite the many advances and successes of tourism economics, a number of major issues remain unseen by, immune to, and unaffected, or even exacerbated, by its approaches and prescriptions. To address this shortcoming, prompted by the 20th anniversary of the critical turn in tourism, this article proposes the addition of a more critical approach to the subject. It uses a rigorous conceptual method to assess tourism economics using a critical theory lens. It then sets out an agenda for a more critical economics of tourism. This requires the scrutiny of ideology, methodology, and power, and the development of alternative tools guided by the values of distributive justice and mindful of the constraints of sustainable development.

Keywords: economics; epistemology; science; objectivity; values; critical theory

1. Introduction

The year 2025 marks the 20th anniversary of the first critical tourism conference, which encouraged the systematic application of critical theory to tourism research. This anniversary offers an apposite opportunity to examine the effects of the critical turn and its challenges remaining across the field of tourism. The research questions for this study are twofold. First, what flaws in tourism economics are revealed by the application of critical theory? Second, how should tourism economics be reconfigured to address these flaws?

Tourism economics is a specialised branch of the social science of economics with which it shares many common features. The "social" aspect refers to its interest in individuals, organisations, communities, and society. The "science" aspect relates to methods where it seeks to emulate the surety of pure science through an attachment to positivism and objectivity. Economics differs from other social sciences through its scope. It is often referred to as the study of scarcity and choice. According to the [UK] Academy of Social Sciences, it focusses on how "Human beings interact with the physical world and each other to produce artefacts and services that support and enhance their lives—offering usefulness and pleasure. Economics is the study of the principles, laws and dynamics that drive these economic processes; about how such wealth is created and subsequently distributed" (Academy of Social Sciences, n.d.). A brief review of articles published in the specialist journal—*Tourism Economics*—illustrates how this general scope has been applied to specific issues in tourism. These include, for example, demand forecasting, the economic impact of tourism, tourism satellite accounting, tourism multipliers, destination competitiveness, and labour-force analysis.

There has been limited deployment of the critical in tourism economics. In 2024, *Tourism Economics* published eight editions with 93 full length articles. Of these, seven related in some way to critical themes. For example, Lelo de Larrea et al. (2024) analysed discrimination in the COVID-19 Paycheck Protection Program in the U.S. hospitality industry. Sharma (2024) investigated the effects of corruption on tourism. Marfil-Cotilla et al. (2024)

Academic Editors: Lewis Ting On Cheung and Elisabeth Kastenholz

Received: 6 January 2025
Revised: 28 January 2025
Accepted: 17 February 2025
Published: 26 February 2025

Citation: Tribe, J., & Paddison, B. (2025). Tourism Economics: 20 Years After the Critical Turn. *Tourism and Hospitality*, *6*(1), 37. https://doi.org/10.3390/tourhosp6010037

studied the gender wage gap in tourism. Qin et al. (2024) researched tourism carbon emissions. Chi (2024) evaluated tourism development effects on income inequality. Bolukoglu and Gozukucuk (2024) considered tourism development and women employment, and Dang et al. (2024) questioned whether rural tourism reduces relative poverty.

However, research in tourism economics has rarely addressed the big issues facing tourism. It seldomly challenges the free-market status quo or puts human betterment centre stage. The discussion of epistemological, ontological, axiological, and rhetorical issues and assumptions in tourism economics have been largely overlooked in the literature. There is, therefore, a significant opportunity for the subject to take critical reflexive stock with a view to providing a fuller contribution to the development of tourism. This article addresses these issues with a view to developing a more critical and humane economics of tourism. It is structured around four main headings commencing with the method. Next, "Critique" addresses the first research question analysing the shortcomings revealed by the application of critical theory. Then, "Critical Tourism Economics" addresses the second research question by proposing modifications to tourism economics to address these shortcomings. The relevant literature is embedded throughout the article. Whilst many of the issues raised have been previously discussed in the literature, the original contribution of this article is to offer a comprehensive review, evaluation, synthesis, critique, and proposition, which are summarised under the fourth heading—the conclusion.

2. Method

The method of this article is a critical–conceptual one, guided by the tenets of critical theory and following the conceptual method set out by Xin et al. (2013). Why critical? Because tourism economics has displayed a consistent tendency to accept the world "as is" and the status quo, as if they are natural and inevitable. Critical theory challenges this and is deployed throughout the analysis sections. How conceptual? We addressed Xin et al.'s (2013) guidelines for conceptual research as follows. First, we demonstrated good scholarship. This built upon the authors' expertise and entailed a comprehensive compilation, review, and analysis of diverse literatures. The authors were able to draw upon their unusual combination of subject expertise and research in the areas of economics, critical theory, sustainability, and tourism. They embarked on a process of interdisciplinary discovery and fusion. This enabled the authors to transcend existing disciplinary boundaries, synthesise ideas that were previously unconnected, and create novel juxtapositions and synergetic insights.

Second, we employed soft falsification by concept scepticism, not dismissing counter evidence but giving it due weight in the discussion. For example, in the conclusion, we state that we are not dismissive of orthodox tourism economics and discuss its advantages and achievements. Hence, critical tourism is not advocated as a replacement of orthodox economics but rather an extension to it. Third, we recognised the importance of rhetoric in concept development taking care to hone the logic, structure, and plausibility of our argument. For example, we use a mirroring technique to facilitate cross referencing between Section 3 (critique) and Section 4 (proposition) and use figures to simplify and clarify ideas. Fourth, we triangulated the concept against neighbouring ones. These included for example "orthodox economics", "new economics", "doughnut economics", and "critical tourism". This triangulation used compare and contrast techniques to add clarity in the elaboration of the new concept. Fifth, we sought validity by stating clear research aims and not deviating from these, so that any extraneous discussion was carefully edited out. Sixth, we offered transparency through the documentation of the method, a step often overlooked in conceptual research. Seventh and eighth, our results added to the understanding and made something visible that was previously not so. The contribution to knowledge was the conceptualisation of critical tourism economics and is summarized in the conclusion. Finally, we engaged in brief self-reflexivity and recognised that our situatedness as male, white, northern European academics inevitably affected the conduct and outcome of our research.

3. Critique

It seems that the critical turn in tourism studies (Ateljevic et al., 2007) has made surprisingly few inroads into tourism economics, but the Frankfurt group who inspired the critical turn offer a useful theoretical lens by which to deconstruct this sub-discipline from a social, political, and cultural standpoint. Critical theory involves a meticulous inspection of situations in order to challenge what is taken for granted and reveal hidden forces at work. Here, it is used to challenge assumptions embedded in orthodox tourism economics and explore how the subject may tacitly support power imbalances, which can lead to social inequality. This section is organised around the headings of ideology, economic method, values, tools and knowledge interests, power and interest, and other critiques.

3.1. Ideology

An ideology (Althusser, 1984) is a core collection of ideas about how the world operates. In simple terms, it describes the prevalent groupthink. Tourism economics exhibits features of an ideology, and this is important, as its ideology governs its approach and provides a selector role as to what ideas and investigations are encouraged and which are discouraged or excluded. According to Matthews and Mathews (1985, p. 52), "The study of ideology is thus partly concerned with the exposition and clarification of the, mainly unconscious, ethical and factual beliefs which lie behind particular systems of thought". This "unconscious" element of ideology is worth noting, because it means that an ideology's adherents accept its conventions and, indeed, in this case, generally unwittingly subscribe to its fundamental norms when inducted into the discipline as part of "this is how economists do things". For example, neoliberalism, competition, deregulation, and globalisation have been both promoted and perpetuated by economic thought and analysis. However, these "hidden assumptions" and "hidden agendas" of the discipline (Matthews & Mathews, 1985) are rarely surfaced but rather subsumed into regular patterns of analysis.

Ideologies become further entrenched and perpetuated through discourse (Foucault, 1980) circulating around, sustaining, and regulating tourism economics. Its discursive mechanisms include texts, conferences, journals, web groups, and departmental norms. Apple (1990) explains how ideology "saturates our very consciousness" (p. 5), so that it becomes the common sense, accepted and taken for granted view of the world. We thereby become accustomed and unquestioning, as we act within its parameters and overlook its existence or effects. So, the challenge for orthodox tourism economics is to subject its ideology to serious scrutiny. Two key tasks arise from the analysis of Matthews and Mathews (1985, p. 52): first, to recognise that "there is no analysis of social phenomena which is not the expression of some special social standpoint, or which does not reflect some particular social interest" and understand the consequences of this; and second, to counteract the tendency of tourism economics to be a vehicle for "a rationalisation of the present economic order with its distribution of property, social relationships, etc." (Matthews & Mathews, 1985).

3.2. Economic Method

The way that tourism economics, and economics itself, are hardwired into an adherence to scientific method reflects an ideological influence. The initial economics training of tourism economists invariably stresses the importance of positivism in maintaining the rigour and credibility of the discipline, a point emphasised by introductory textbooks. This method means that objectivity and "facts" are sought, generally through a positivist epistemology, and values (which cannot be proved scientifically) are discounted. This approach is deeply embedded. It affects how the world of tourism economics is seen, researched, and described. However, whilst it has enabled many important theoretical and practical advances, it has also caused the formation of significant blind spots.

The first of these is that positivism places limits on what can be researched. Empirical methods confine themselves only to those things that can be measured. Positive economics means that if something cannot be quantified or counted, then it does not count and should be excluded from analysis. That rules out a huge swathe of pressing issues in tourism. For example, things that do not have a market value (such as unpaid domestic labour, a beautiful landscape, or CO_2 emissions) do not generally figure in economic calculations. In this sense, economics is not the ally of unpaid workers, does little to protect the natural landscape, and has facilitated extensive CO_2 emissions over many years.

Tourism economics also tends to work in an engineering science mode within the paradigm of instrumental or technical rationality (Habermas, 1985a). Here, reasoning is focused on means rather than ends (which are largely unexamined) and is employed towards improving and applying techniques and problem solving. Simon (1957) discusses how technical rationality favours thinking geared to improving efficiency, a point echoed by Weber (1978) who also points up its emphasis on calculability and control. Whilst improved technique and efficiency are important goals, critique reveals the narrow bounds of technical reasoning and consideration of what is excluded when this paradigm is dominant. Habermas (1985b) argues for the importance of a different type of rationality—communicative rationality—to develop understandings that include social and ethic dimensions. Elster (1989) makes a similar point in advocating value rationality, whilst Sen (1999) highlights how important issues, such as choice, freedom, and human capabilities, are neglected in technical reasoning. Galbraith (1967) criticised the short termism of technical rationality, and Sennett (1998) examines how its application in labour economics can lead to worker alienation and a degradation of human welfare. In short, technical rationality is disinterested in improving society and the human condition.

Economic theory building also demands logical purity, so that most real-world issues have to be transformed by significant assumptions and simplifications into theorisable representations. In these cases, where the richness and complexity of real-life situations are stripped out, economic models and theories can become forms without life. Theoretical elegance on the page is achieved at a cost of representational and practical inadequacy.

At the centre of economic analysis, humans are depicted as homo economicus (Hinnant, 1998), or economic "man", where actions are guided rationally in the pursuit of self-interest by optimising utility and/or profit. Homo economicus lacks any ethical self-awareness. Other methodological assumptions are a belief in the supremacy and possibility of perfect markets and that actors have perfect knowledge about prices and possibilities in the economy. Ormerod (1995) critiqued orthodox economics, with its assumptions of rational behaviour and equilibriums reached in linear and mechanical ways, as overly abstract, flawed, and unrealistic. Keen (2022) (a heterodox rather than orthodox economist) laments the lack of realism of neoclassical economics and what he sees as the near religious status ascribed to their beliefs.

3.3. Values

Whilst there do exist more socially driven developments in tourism economics that consider, for example, welfare and environmental issues, a consequence of positivism's bracketing out of values is that tourism economics regularly overlooks issues that are central to the human condition. If we ask what role is assigned to humans in tourism economics, the simple answer is not enough. Labour is treated on equal terms with other factors of production and its unique human dimensions are ignored. Hence, economists advocate raising interest rates to quell inflation without regard to human consequences (especially more expensive home loans and unemployment). Inflation targets are, thus, prioritised over human costs. Minimum wages (especially important in tourism) are criticised for bringing the labour market into disequilibrium. The economically salient feature of a job is the wage rate and matters of employee health, equality, and wellbeing are regularly ignored.

For example, economic analysis may suggest that the equilibrium wage for housekeeping staff in Florida hotels is USD 12.50 per hour, but it is generally silent about the fairness of this wage or the consequences of it on employees. Similarly, dynamic pricing analysis may suggest an off-peak airfare of USD 30 for the 4.5 h flight from London to the Canary Islands, but it is similarly silent about the environmental costs of such a fare. Meagher (2020) makes a more general point that the economic imperative to cut costs and maximise profits encourages a kind of competition that concentrates on the bottom line, which can lead to exploitation and harm to people, society, and the planet.

The values promoted through widely accepted macroeconomic policy aims are growth, balanced government budgets, balanced international accounts, and low inflation, and national tourism strategies are generally targeted to help bring about these aims (Tribe & Paddison, 2023). Again, whilst these aims may bring about material improvements for some humans, it is notable that environmental, social, and wellbeing ends are rarely given due prominence and generally treated as add-ons rather than being central concerns.

From an epistemological view, it should also be noted that value freedom in economics is to some extent a myth, as the discipline is inescapably shaped by political, cultural, and historical contexts as well as personal preferences. All science is a human endeavour, and so, scientists' own values inevitably creep into the choice of research problem and their method of enquiry. The very choice of economic over, say, sociological analysis signals a value preference.

3.4. Tools and Knowledge Interests

We next turn to examining the typical, well-established tools and knowledge interests of economists. At the heart of microeconomics is the concept of market equilibrium, which determines the price where demand and supply coincide. This model is not just central to economics but deeply ingrained in everyday language and thinking. Hence, we come to think of equilibrium price as somehow a good thing—natural and inevitable—and its use is largely unremarked and uncontested. It permeates and underpins policy making. The dominance of the market has meant that price has often become synonymous with value. Carney (2021) concludes that the ubiquitous use of market valuations has robbed society of its ability to express what is valuable, and as discussed above, there is rarely debate about what is a just price. Rather, there is a tacit understanding that resources are best deployed when used efficiently and allocated optimally via the free market mechanism.

At the heart of macroeconomics is the circular flow of income showing money and real flows around the economy and the effects of injections and withdrawals. It is the building block for sophisticated models that forecast economic growth. However, an important critique of this model is that it ignores context. It exists in a theoretical vacuum, only moored partially in reality. It is informed by market prices, largely excluding that which is unpriced. This means it ignores the consequences of its flows on people and the planet. In particular, it fails to problematise the use of resources (sources), the creation of waste products (sinks), or the effects of national income flows on human welfare or wellbeing.

The importance of econometrics as a subfield of economics reflects the increasing use of mathematics and statistics in economic analysis. The attraction and success of econometrics lies in its ability to replace qualitative results with succinct, numerical ones that are more readily usable by businesses and policy makers. However, as discussed above, not all aspects of human behaviour can be quantified, and the use of mathematics can distort rather than illuminate reality. Further, complex mathematical analysis is not conducive to dialogue with a lay audience. It is interesting to note that economists are happier incorporating mathematics rather than ethics into their models.

3.5. Power and Interest

The analysis of power and interests is also crucial to critical theory. Steinberg and Kincheloe (2010, p. 143) state that "critical theory analyses competing power interests among groups and individuals within a society, identifying who gains and who loses in specific situations". So, whilst in tourism economics the invisible hand of the market allocates resources according to demand and supply, critical theorists make visible the power of those with the most capital and disposable income in this process. For example, Piketty (2014) surfaces the frequently overlooked fact that capital and wealth have grown faster than income from labour in most economies, thus increasing the power of capital vs. labour and increasing inequality. His analysis refutes the prediction of the Kuznets curve (that growth will reduce inequality) and theories of the trickle-down effect. Critical theorists emphasise the role of power structures in maintaining social inequality. They reveal where benefits accrue to particular groups, further concentrating their power and wealth, whilst other groups are marginalised.

3.6. Other Critiques

Critical theory foregrounds a further range of issues that are pertinent to tourism economics. For example, capitalist economic structures can lead to worker exploitation and alienation. Exploitation can result from inadequate wages and working conditions (Huang et al., 2023), whilst alienation describes feelings of estrangement powerlessness, meaninglessness, and a lack of fulfilment in work. It is particularly evident in repetitive, low-status, and low-skill jobs with little worker control. A study by Shantz et al. (2014) found that a lack of meaningfulness at work was an important cause of alienation, as well as "not having a say over the work process" (p. 2530).

Whilst orthodox economists take the current ownership and distribution of resources and the workings of markets as givens, critical economists would challenge the status quo. They would, for example, interrogate the impact of colonial legacies on the economy of tourism, including the negative impacts of globalisation. Here, Tucker (2019) notes that the "structural and economic colonialism legacies in tourism are clearly apparent in the ways in which tourism perpetuates particular global relations of domination and subordination that have their roots in the history of modern European colonialism. These global relations of domination and subordination are argued to be forms of neocolonialism since neo-colonial relationships are deemed to exist when core powers exercise influence over the post-colonial periphery via the expansion of capitalism and economic power as is often the case in global tourism relations" (p. 92).

Adding a critical dimension to tourism economics invites an examination of the commodification of culture and the negative effects of consumerism. For example, one aspect of commodification in tourism is the transformation of heritage and local cultures into marketable products. At an uncritical level, this simply creates a market for economic analysis and enables these valuations to be included in national output figures and so on. However, there is a sense in which commodification leads to a corruption of the thing, where it loses its inherent quality or social meaning when it becomes part of "the domain of economic relations regulated by criteria of market exchange" (Cohen, 1988, p. 372). So, the impact of market forces on cultural values and identities is something to be explored.

Orthodox economic paradigms are challenged by critical theorists for a failure to consider ecological sustainability. They point to widespread environmental degradation that results from the growth-focused models that fail to incorporate environmental costs.

Critical theorists apply institutional analysis to examine how economic institutions contribute to power dynamics and social structures, and this can be applied to assess their effects on fairness and equity in tourism. For example, whilst the World Tourism Organisation and the European Union each promote social and environmental objectives, these are often secondary to their main goals of promoting and increasing tourism. Additionally, Tribe and Paddison (2023) found that government departments and DMOs responsible for tourism strategies placed little emphasis on fairness or equity, instead favouring mainstream economic policies to increase tourist spending and visitor numbers.

Feminist critiques (Agenjo-Calderón & Gálvez-Muñoz, 2019) draw attention to how orthodox economics can perpetuate gender biases and reinforce or overlook gender inequalities. They argue that its androcentric tendencies mean that women's economics contributions, roles, and experiences can be neglected. For example, the value of women's unpaid work is generally ignored in GDP data. Similarly, a gender pay gap and glass ceiling persist in tourism and hospitality labour markets, and research methods often overlook women's voices and experiences.

4. Critical Tourism Economics

A more critical tourism economics would not replace but would rather supplement and, sometimes, compete with existing practice. It should respond to the specific challenges raised by critical theory discussed above. It would recognize ideological influences and devise strategies to counter ideological biases and blind spots, where appropriate. This would involve an epistemological reappraisal with adjustments to what issues should be studied and how to study them. An important consideration is to delineate a space where critical values can inform analysis. Further, the influence of (especially hidden) power on agendas should be scrutinized. How then should critical tourism economics be operationalized?

4.1. Confront the Ideology Trap

The first task for critical tourism economics is ideology critique. This involves deep reflexivity to question whether dominant versions of the truth are partial and to discover what is overemphasised and what is overlooked. Critique should uncover ideology at work where assumptions, situations, behaviours, and outcomes are erroneously accepted as natural, or common sense and normal, or where reality is distorted. Giddens (1984, p. 26) described the process of ideology critique as "breaking free from the straitjacket of thinking only in terms of the type of society we know in the here and now". It should create an alternative agenda to incorporate important issues that have been unsaid and left out. Fletcher et al. (2023) note that tourism mainly serves the agenda of capitalist political economy and consider forms of post-capitalism in tourism development.

4.2. Embrace Diverse Methods

Critical tourism economics should have at its heart an interest in power, values, and human betterment and an ability to deconstruct the regular discourse of economics and propose radical alternatives. Ecological economics offers a useful approach to methods with its conscious move away from positivist and reductionist methodologies favoured by orthodox economists. Instead, Norgaard (1989) made the case for conscious methodological pluralism. This involves the following: first, a consciousness of the methodology being used and a critical appraisal of its advantages and disadvantages and a reflection about the legitimacy of judgments and the existence of implicit values; second, an understanding of the advantages and disadvantages of methodologies used by others; and third, a willingness to consider the use of different methodologies. For example, an intersectional approach promotes standpoint research that considers the issues of gender, disability, class, race, sexuality, and ethnicity.

Critical economics also needs to locate itself firmly and deeply within the world rather than operate only on an abstract theoretical level. Ormerod (1995) pointed to the need to understand human society as a complex nonlinear system. He urged economists to adopt the practices of subjects such as climatology and astronomy, where theories are built around and upwards from real-world facts. The complexity of many economic problems means that many come under the banner of "wicked problems" (Harris & Mainelli, 2011). To approach problems of such complexity requires economists to venture beyond the confines of Mode 1 knowledge production, with its uni-disciplinary focus and rules, and to embrace Mode 2 (Nowotny et al., 2003) ways of working. Nowotny et al. (2003, p. 179) state that "Mode 1 is characterised by the hegemony of theoretical or at any rate experimental science; by an internally driven taxonomy of disciplines; and by the autonomy of scientists and their host institutions the universities". In contrast, "Mode 2 is socially distributed, application oriented, transdisciplinary, and subject to multiple accountabilities".

Mode 2 knowledge production is characterised by an interdisciplinary approach, which is problem-focused and context-driven. Limoges (1996, pp. 14–15) referred to this as "'context-driven' research, meaning 'research carried out in a context of application, arising from the very work of problem solving and not governed by the paradigms of traditional disciplines of knowledge". Mode 2 knowledge promotes interdisciplinary collaboration, which might mean working with those from subjects such as environmental science, sociology, or planning. The emphasis on practical problem solving means that extra-disciplinary collaboration with government, industry, and community members is valued. Norgaard (1989) also encourages transdisciplinarity as part of post-normal science, where traditional knowledge, outside of disciplinary approaches, is valued, and peer communities extended.

4.3. Value Values

Whilst positive economists attempt to avoid value judgements, values would be at the heart of critical tourism economics. It is mindful of Feyerabend (1975, p. 54) who warned "is it not possible that an objective approach that frowns upon personal connections between the entities examined will harm people, turn them into miserable, unfriendly, self-righteous mechanisms without charm or humour?" A values-rich approach entails working beyond technical rationality with its emphasis on means to a full consideration of ends. Here, Habermas offers the emancipatory project of critical theory as a way forward. Emancipation "is a moral construct designed to reduce human suffering in the world" (Steinberg & Kincheloe, 2010, p. 140). It is about freedom from oppressive power and improvement in the human condition through "greater degrees of autonomy and human agency" (McLaren & Kincheloe, 2007, p. 437). Equity and social justice replace profit and growth as primary goals with an emphasis on research to improve the position of marginalized groups, reduce inequalities, and identify and address economic discrimination.

Carney's (2021) study of values in economics explains how the value at the heart of most economics is a monetary one based on how much something can be exchanged for. The predominance of this use of value has had a profound effect on the values of society, so that the market economy has evolved into the market society. A major consequence is that "within societies virtually without exception inequality of outcomes both within and across generations has demonstrably increased" (p. 137). Carney argues that radical change is needed if we are to reclaim an economy and society based on human values rather than market values. He identifies three essential components of a good society as fairness between the generations, in the distribution of income, and of people's life chances. He further underlines the importance of the pursuing the values of "solidarity, fairness, responsibility, resilience, sustainability, dynamism and humility—all laced with compassion" (p. 472) to create a society that can work better for all. Cohen (2020) argues that capitalist businesses should have explicit social purpose by replacing their "risk–return" model into a "risk–return–impact" one.

A related step in re-evaluating values in tourism economics is to repurpose homo economicus into homo moralis. Homo economicus is the key agent in orthodox economics whose actions are guided by the value of self-interest, so that any broader societal interests are excluded from his or her actions. However, as Kargol-Wasiluk et al. (2018) argue, this characterisation is oversimplified, as revealed by, for example, behavioural economics, heterodox economics, and neuroeconomics. They conclude that "the explanation of economic behaviours requires a more holistic and dynamic approach [and] that the rationality of the economic man results not only from concern for self-interest but also from his embeddedness in society and culture, . . . economic behaviour is context-dependent and additionally determined by morality derived from social and religious systems" (p. 33).

4.4. Use Alternative Tools and Knowledge Interests

An important route to more critical tourism economics is to create alternative tools that build on the successes and link with progressive agendas that have made critical inroads into the subject. It is evident that many of these share similar aims.

4.4.1. Doughnut Economics

Doughnut economics (Raworth, 2017) provides a robust counterpoint to many of the critiques outlined above and the implication that economics has no heart and no brain. It provides heart by advocating a set of simple values based on sustainability and distributive justice. It provides brains by putting an emphasis on regenerative economics rather than the pursuit of economic goals, which are ultimately unsustainable and self-destructive. It also has the benefit of simplicity, as depicted in Figure 1, and is closely aligned with the United Nations' (United Nations, 2015) sustainable development goals.

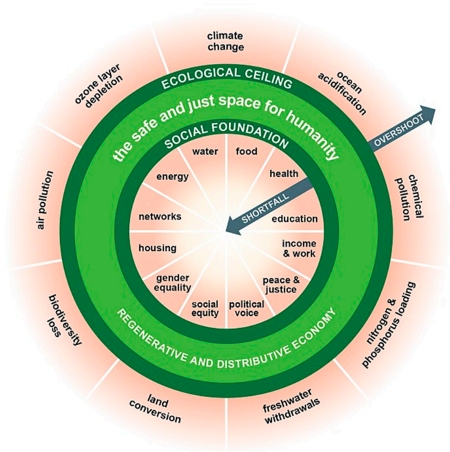

Figure 1. Doughnut economics. Reprinted from Raworth (2017).

Raworth reframes economic orthodoxy through this new system where the creation of a "safe and just space for humanity" (Raworth, 2012, p. 1) is the guiding principle. This is presented as the desirable circular disc (the doughnut). Development outside of this safe space means breaching the earth's ecological ceiling and with catastrophic consequences in areas including climate change, air pollution, and biodiversity loss. The inner core of the doughnut represents the social foundations that development must contribute to and ensure, i.e., the "just space". These indicators of wellbeing include health, food, education, and jobs. Hartman and Heslinga (2022) have discussed how doughnut economics can be applied to destination management.

Raworth underlines her model with seven ways to rethink economics for the 21st century. The most fundamental of these is a move away from the goal of GDP growth to a broader one based around "doughnut" values. Second is a rejection of atomised models—such as the simple circular flow—which are disconnected and separated from the real world. Instead, models should reflect and be embedded in a richer social reality. Next, the key player or "director" of the economic system as a self-centred, self-serving "rational economic man" is replaced with economic agents who have richer human qualities, including social awareness and adaptability. The static system of equilibrium reached by the mechanical-type interaction of demand and supply is replaced by dynamic interlocking systems that recognise complexity. In trickle-down economics, poverty and inequality are reduced as a by-product of economic growth. In Raworth's rethinking, distributive justice becomes a goal that is designed in from the outset. Similarly, regenerative economics should be planned, so that ill effects are designed out, rather than becoming a problem to be dealt with at a later stage. Finally, Raworth is agnostic about growth. It is not reified as an objective, nor is degrowth advocated. Rather, growth is a second-order consideration after the first order goals have been prioritised.

4.4.2. The Circular, Regenerative Economy

In the traditional economy, a linear production process follows the stages of take, make, use, dispose, and pollute. It is a process that generates considerable side effects, since it is resource-hungry and prolific in the creation of waste. In contrast, the circular economy is defined as "a regenerative system in which resource input and waste, emission, and energy leakage are minimised by slowing, closing, and narrowing material and energy loops" (Geissdoerfer et al., 2017, p. 763). It aims to address the unwanted effects by adopting three key principles. First, the designing out of the wasteful use of resources and the end of pipe pollution. Second, the designing in of the reusing, remaking, repairing, sharing, and recycling of products for as long as possible, so as to extend their life cycle. Third, the regeneration of natural systems where energy and waste are repurposed as inputs for other processes or returned safely to the environment. The circular economy has its roots in Boulding's (2013) exhortation to move from an open ecology that he called "the cowboy economy", where resources were systematically exploited, and pollution went largely unheeded, to a closed ecology of "spaceship earth", where resources are finite, and waste accumulates and pollutes the biosphere.

4.4.3. Diverse Economies

Gibson-Graham (2008) uses the metaphor of an iceberg to foreground the diverse range of often overlooked economic practices and activities that exist beyond traditional market-based transactions and economic valuations. These offer opportunities in tourism, and Cave and Dredge (2018) draw attention to "transactions (e.g., unpaid labour, in-kind transactions, gifting, sharing, collaboration, virtual, etc.) and alternative economic spaces (e.g., informal economies, community co-operatives, etc.)" (p. 473) and how these can generate value outside the monetised economy.

Informal economy activities, such as street vending, informal guiding, and souvenir selling, are evident in many tourism destinations, and Pécot et al. (2018) uncovered a range of such economic activities operating on popular beaches in Ecuador. Community-based tourism can mobilise host communities to engage in activities that provide revenue, balanced with heritage conservation and cultural preservation. For example, a case study of Māori ecotourism is presented by Amoamo et al. (2018, p. 478) that describes "a business model that invests in and supports the building of capacity and enterprise while balancing both cultural and economic values". Cooperatives and social enterprises in tourism prioritise objectives beyond financial goals, and Gyimóthy and Meged (2018, p. 496) reported on the Camøno walking trail "an alternative, bottom-up initiative" to address socioeconomic decline in Southern Denmark and "harness the potentials of the collaborative economy with novel forms of communitarian initiatives in tourism". Other examples of diverse economies in tourism include sharing the economy with peer-to-peer initiatives, such as couchsurfing, and volunteer tourism, where travellers engage in volunteer work and community projects in exchange for accommodation. Diverse economies can also be important in rebalancing power relations and enhancing the agency of its participants.

4.4.4. Beyond GDP (Gross Domestic Product)

Dwyer (2023) advocates more critical attention to the use of GDP and the related issue of wellbeing in tourism economics. He points to the shortcomings of an overemphasis on GDP growth that leads to a "mismeasurement" error (Stiglitz et al., 2010), where important factors, such as "quality of life, social progress, human development or happiness" (p. 2), are not included. To counter this, Dwyer recommends that tourism economists become more attuned to the "Beyond GDP" (Stiglitz et al., 2018) agenda, noting that "Tourism economics in general is yet to address seriously some challenges posed by the Beyond GDP approach" (p. 15). This amounts to a greater sensitivity to wellbeing in research. In terms of practical insights, Dwyer recommends use of the OECD Better Life framework (Durand, 2015), which identifies "over 80 indicators of current and future wellbeing, the Better Life dashboard comprises current well-being outcomes, well-being inequalities and the resources and risks that underpin future well-being" (Dwyer, 2023, p. 8). Hickel (2020), an economic anthropologist, argues that humanity and the planet will only be saved by moving to a degrowth agenda with greater respect for nature, an issue also explored by Higgins-Desbiolles et al. (2019) for tourism.

The Happy Planet Index (HPI) and Gross National Happiness (GNH) are two initiatives to counter the widespread use of the narrowly defined GDP as a measure of economic success. The promoters of the Happy Planet Index note that "GDP growth on its own does not mean a better life for everyone . . . It doesn't take into account inequality, the things that really matter to people like social relations, health, or how they spend their free time, and crucially, the planetary limits we are up against" (*Happy planet index—How happy is the planet*, n.d.). The index is based on three elements. First, data collected from the Gallup World Poll are used to see how people rate the quality of their lives (QL). Second, the United Nations Development Programme data are used to measure average life expectancy (LE). Third, data from the Global Footprint Network are used to determine each resident's ecological footprint, expressed as global hectares per person (EF). The formula $(QL \times LE)/EF$ is used to compile the index to reveal how efficiently each country's populations are using environmental resources to lead happy lives. Interestingly, Costa Rica was ranked top in the recent Happy Planet report; whereas, the USA, which ranks highly for its GNP was ranked 122nd. A Happy Tourism Index could be developed from the Happy Planet Index.

In 1972, the King of Bhutan declared that Gross National Happiness was more important than Gross Domestic Product, leading to the development of The Gross National Happiness Index (Ura et al., 2012), which was deeply influenced by Buddhist spiritual values. Its key values are equity and sustainability, cultural and environmental protection, and good governance. Its method was developed around the measurement of the nine domains of psychological wellbeing, health, education, time use, cultural diversity and resilience, good governance, community vitality, ecological diversity and resilience, and living standards. These are illustrated in Figure 2, along with the components of each domain. A clear contrast with GDP indices can be seen, since household per capita income dominates GDP measurement but is only one of many holistic indicators of GNH. Bhutan's 2022 GNH Index of 0.781 showed a growth of 3.3% compared to 2015. Improvements were noted in income, housing, literacy, schooling, and positive emotions, whilst mental health, healthy days, and cultural and political participation had deteriorated. So, here is another challenge for critical tourism economists. Tourism satellite accounts have been developed to enable national income accounts to better reflect the contribution of tourism to GDP. A similar project could adapt gross national happiness accounts to reflect gross tourism happiness.

Figure 2. The 9 domains of the GNH Index. Reprinted from Ura et al. (2012).

4.4.5. Pro-Poor Tourism

Pro-poor tourism (Ashley et al., 2000) is a good example of where free market solutions to tourism development are challenged by advocating approaches that specifically emphasise local benefits, including poverty reduction. Development plans are judged not just on their aggregate contributions to GDP, employment, and trade but are evaluated on their specific contributions to poverty alleviation. Similarly, the concept of decent work has been applied to tourism (Wang & Cheung, 2024). The International Labour Organisation defines it as "work under conditions of freedom, equity, security and dignity, in which rights are protected and adequate remuneration and social coverage are provided" (Somavia, 1999, p. 15). The above are examples where the human aspects of labour are emphasised, so that labour becomes more than just an input or number on an economist's spreadsheet. Interestingly, the issue of minimum wages in tourism tends not to be addressed as an ethical issue but rather one that assesses its effects on productivity and the bottom line (e.g., Mun and Woo (2021)).

4.4.6. Fair Trade

Free trade, based on the benefits of comparative advantage advocated by Ricardo (1821), is a further core tenet of orthodox economics. Cleverdon and Kalisch (2000, p. 171) critiqued its unexamined power asymmetries, stating "Due to historical inequality in global trading relationships on the basis of 'core-periphery' dependency, globalisation and liberalised free trade, mainstream mass tourism reinforces the social and economic disadvantages of southern destinations". They were early advocates of fair trade in tourism to provide a better deal for those negatively affected by the asymmetries of free trade. They advised that the Global South should be empowered in determining fairness principles and the actors in the Global North "be examined as to whether and how they might create or reinforce unequal trading patterns" (p. 171).

4.4.7. Capital

Applying the ideas of Piketty's (2014) "Capital in the Twenty-First Century" around income and wealth inequality to tourism offers a rich agenda for research. For example, analysis of the ownership patterns of major tourism assets, such as resorts and hotels, can reveal concentrations of ownership and consequent asymmetries of power in development. The analysis of patterns of wealth vs. income growth in tourism may reveal insights into the distribution of the fruits of tourism as well as an understanding of how these patterns affect wages in tourism and the ability of workers to achieve fair remuneration and improved working conditions. There are also interesting relationships to explore between the influx of capital and house prices and the cost of living in tourist destinations. At a global level, the analysis of the distribution of tourism-related capital and the power of multinational corporations can reveal where the benefits of international tourism are accruing and what distortions of power, benefits, and costs are arising. All of this has implications for policy and the application of land-use regulations, tax policies, and development levers.

4.4.8. The Wellbeing Economy Alliance

The Wellbeing Economy Alliance is a collaboration group of organisations and individuals who share a common goal to promote human and ecological wellbeing. Their mission is "to change the debate and build momentum for economic transformation so that economies around the world deliver shared wellbeing for people and planet by 2040" (Wellbeing Economy Alliance, n.d.). The significant size of its membership demonstrates the strength of opinion and will to challenge orthodox economic thinking.

One of the most renowned alliance members is the New Economics Foundation, which describes itself as a "think-and-do tank". The thinking part of its programme recognises that "the rules and institutions that shape our economy are not forces of nature beyond our control but have been designed by people" (New Economics Foundation, 2023). It, therefore, wishes to modify profit-, market-, and growth-centred economics in favour of an emphasis on economics that works for people within environmental limits. The doing part of its programme focusses on the following three outcomes: first, a new green deal to reduce carbon emissions and create green jobs; second, a democratic economy, where power vested in the state and capital owners is more equally shared with societal stakeholders; and third, a social settlement, where workers are paid enough for a decent life and granted reasonable time off.

There are many other Wellbeing Alliance members. For example, Rethinking Economics has a global network of student groups "fighting for a new way of teaching and practising economics so that it truly helps us deal with the real-world challenges we all face today like climate collapse and inequality" (Rethinking Economics, 2024). Planet Happiness has a particular focus on the relationship between tourism and the wellbeing of host communities and raising awareness and use of gross national happiness accounting. Ecological Economics for All includes in its educational hub free access to an alternative Economics 101 textbook, which emphasises the biophysical and social foundations in which economics is embedded and advocates "a post-growth paradigm to achieve wellbeing for all within planetary boundaries" (*ECon 101 virtual textbook—Ecological economics for All*, n.d.).

5. Conclusions

This article does not advocate the replacement of orthodox tourism economics with a critical version. Guided by the neoclassical paradigm, observing the rigours of positivism and objective science and the application of econometric techniques has enabled the subject to make significant contributions in areas key of tourism (and, sometimes, to its parent discipline). Notable here are advances in research into tourism demand and elasticity, tourism supply, economic impact, multiplier effects, growth theory, destination competitiveness, and environmental policy (Song et al., 2012). New inroads can also be observed in, for example, discrete choice experiments (Kemperman, 2021), performance modelling (Assaf & Tsionas, 2019), and demand forecasting (Song et al., 2019).

However, the 20th anniversary of the critical turn in tourism offers a timely opportunity to critique orthodox tourism economics, suggest new horizons, and create a space for critical tourism economics based around the headings of ideology, methodology, values, power, and interests. The analysis suggests that, where the subject is influenced by capitalist ideology, tacitly accepting a taken-for-granted view of the world, ideology critique is recommended to foreground and challenge any ideological bias. Where the subject is disadvantaged by an over-reliance on positivist method, this may be countered by encouraging methodological pluralism and a Mode 2 epistemology. This can foster engagement with complex problems beyond those that are typically constrained by the subject's tendency to frame problems by unrealistic and limiting assumptions when operating as a Mode 1 discipline. The conundrum of value freedom alongside a tacit attachment to market value has been shown to be a weakness of orthodox economics. Values are central to critical tourism economics based around critical theory's emancipatory interest in improvement in the human condition, together with a valuing of the planet's ecology. Further, whilst market equilibrium appears to be an interest-free mechanism, critical theorists wish to dig deeper into its workings and outcomes to reveal the power dynamics at play and thereby the identities of key gainers and losers.

The analysis then turned to the tools and knowledge interests that can turn critique into action, and a number of initiatives were examined, each of which can be adapted for tourism economics. Doughnut economics offers a simple model for guiding economic growth through tourism so as to improve the human condition, whilst acting within ecological constraints, informed by a circular, regenerative economic model. There is much to take from the "Beyond GDP" movement so that the status of narrow GDP growth is challenged by alternative measures that take greater account of human happiness. Diverse economies uncover opportunities for development outside of mainstream capitalist transactions. Pro-poor tourism and fair trade offer important counters to unconstrained neoliberal development, and the Wellbeing Economy Alliance demonstrates the wealth of organisations working at the cutting edge of critical economics. Table 1 offers examples of the key differences between orthodox and critical tourism economics.

Finally, we may note that there already exist broad critical evaluations of the general fields of tourism (Tribe, 2008; Gibson, 2021) and hospitality (Lugosi et al., 2009; Lynch et al., 2021) and ask, therefore, whether there is a need for a separate and specific evaluation of tourism economics? The answer is yes. We need a careful conceptualisation of critical tourism economics, because economists are conferred with a high degree of expertise and credibility. As such, they are in demand for, and have an extensive influence on, government policy, destination strategy, and organisational behaviour. They also perform a strong agenda setting role as favoured by public intellectuals. They have made significant contributions to advancing the tourism economy, but in doing so, they may give tacit support to some interests over others. Consequently, the range of challenges facing the sector persist, including measurement of progress, climate change, airport expansion and aviation emissions, decent work, overtourism, water and other resource shortages, poverty amongst plenty, exclusive enclaves, healthy menus, host–guest wellbeing asymmetries, displacement of locals' assets, and the power of multinationals, amongst many others. This points to the need to search beyond "business-as-usual", orthodox economic approaches and supplement these with a well-developed critical economics of tourism.

Table 1. Comparison of orthodox vs. critical tourism economics.

Topic	Orthodox Tourism Economics	Critical Tourism Economics
Ideology	Capitalism	Humanism
Economic Agent	Homo economicus	Homo moralis
Method	Positivism	Methodological pluralism
Epistemology	Mode 1	Mode 2
Rationality	Technical	Emancipatory
Values	Value free/hidden	Value driven/disclosed
Power	Ignored	Investigated
Key Performance Indicator	Gross Domestic Product	Gross National Happiness
Typical Research Agenda	Forecasting Competition Labour market Free trade Pro-growth Efficiency	Forewarning Cooperation Decent work Fair trade Pro poor Wellbeing

Author Contributions: Conceptualization, J.T.; methodology, J.T. and B.P.; formal analysis J.T. and B.P.; writing—original draft preparation, J.T. and B.P.; writing—review and editing, J.T. and B.P. All authors have read and agreed to the published version of the manuscript.

Funding: This research received no external funding.

Data Availability Statement: No new data were created or analyzed in this study.

Conflicts of Interest: The authors declare no conflict of interest.

References

Academy of Social Sciences. (n.d.). *What is a social science?* Available online: https://acss.org.uk/what-is-social-science/ (accessed on 25 February 2025).

Agenjo-Calderón, A., & Gálvez-Muñoz, L. (2019). Feminist economics: Theoretical and political dimensions. *American Journal of Economics and Sociology*, *78*(1), 137–166. [CrossRef]

Althusser, L. (1984). *Essays on ideology*. Verso.

Amoamo, M., Ruckstuhl, K., & Ruwhiu, D. (2018). Balancing indigenous values through diverse economies: A case study of Māori ecotourism. *Tourism Planning & Development*, *15*(5), 478–495. [CrossRef]

Apple, M. (1990). *Ideology and the curriculum*. Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Ashley, C., Boyd, C., & Goodwin, H. (2000). *Pro-poor tourism: Putting poverty at the heart of the tourism agenda*. Overseas Development Institute.

Assaf, A. G., & Tsionas, M. G. (2019). A review of research into performance modeling in tourism research-Launching the Annals of Tourism Research curated collection on performance modeling in tourism research. *Annals of Tourism Research*, *76*, 266–277. [CrossRef]

Ateljevic, I., Pritchard, A., & Morgan, N. (2007). *The critical turn in tourism studies: Innovative research methods*. Elsevier.

Bolukoglu, A., & Gozukucuk, T. (2024). Tourism development and women employment: A study on the European union countries. *Tourism Economics*, *30*(2), 442–456. [CrossRef]

Boulding, K. E. (2013). *The economics of the coming spaceship earth*. RFF Press.

Carney, M. (2021). *Values: Building a better world for all*. Signal.

Cave, J., & Dredge, D. (2018). Reworking tourism: Diverse economies in a changing world. *Tourism Planning & Development*, *15*(5), 473–477. [CrossRef]

Chi, J. (2024). Tourism development and income inequality in OECD countries: New insights from method of moments quantile regression. *Tourism Economics*, *30*(3), 767–784. [CrossRef]

Cleverdon, R., & Kalisch, A. (2000). Fair trade in tourism. *International Journal of Tourism Research*, *2*(3), 171–187. [CrossRef]

Cohen, E. (1988). Authenticity and commoditization in tourism. *Annals of Tourism Research*, *15*(3), 371–386. [CrossRef]

Cohen, R. (2020). *Impact: Reshaping capitalism to drive real change*. Random House.

Dang, P., Ren, L., & Li, J. (2024). Does rural tourism reduce relative poverty? Evidence from household surveys in western China. *Tourism Economics*, *30*(2), 498–521. [CrossRef]

Durand, M. (2015). The OECD better life initiative: How's life? And the measurement of well-being. *Review of Income and Wealth*, *61*(1), 4–17. [CrossRef]

Dwyer, L. (2023). Why tourism economists should treat resident well-being more seriously. *Tourism Economics*, *29*(8), 1975–1994. [CrossRef]

ECon 101 virtual textbook—Ecological economics for All. (n.d.). Ecological Economics for All. Available online: https://www.ecologicaleconomicsforall.org/ee101 (accessed on 25 February 2025).

Elster, J. (1989). *Nuts and bolts for the social sciences*. Cambridge University Press.

Feyerabend, P. (1975). *Against method: Outline of an anarchistic theory of knowledge*. Verso Books.

Fletcher, R., Blanco-Romero, A., Blázquez-Salom, M., Cañada, E., Murray Mas, I., & Sekulova, F. (2023). Pathways to post-capitalist tourism. *Tourism Geographies*, *25*(2–3), 707–728. [CrossRef]

Foucault, M. (1980). *Power/knowledge; selected interviews and other writings 1972-77*. Harvester Press.

Galbraith, J. K. (1967). *The New Industrial State*. Princeton University Press.

Geissdoerfer, M., Savaget, P., Bocken, N. M., & Hultink, E. J. (2017). The circular economy—A new sustainability paradigm? *Journal of Cleaner Production*, *143*, 757–768. [CrossRef]

Gibson, C. (2021). Critical tourism studies: New directions for volatile times. *Tourism Geographies*, *23*(4), 659–677. [CrossRef]

Gibson-Graham, J. K. (2008). Diverse economies: Performative practices forother worlds'. *Progress in Human Geography*, *32*(5), 613–632. [CrossRef]

Giddens, A. (1984). *The constitution of society: Introduction to the theory of structuration*. University of California Press.

Gyimóthy, S., & Meged, J. W. (2018). The Camøno: A communitarian walking trail in the sharing economy. *Tourism Planning & Development*, *15*(5), 496–515. [CrossRef]

Habermas, J. (1985a). *The theory of communicative action: Volume 1: Reason and the rationalization of society* (Vol. 1). Beacon Press.

Habermas, J. (1985b). *The theory of communicative action: Volume 2: Lifeword and system: A critique of functionalist reason* (Vol. 2). Beacon Press.

Happy planet index—How happy is the planet. (n.d.). Available online: https://happyplanetindex.org/ (accessed on 25 February 2025).

Harris, I., & Mainelli, M. (2011). *The price of fish: A new approach to wicked economics and better decisions*. Hachette UK.

Hartman, S., & Heslinga, J. H. (2022). The doughnut destination: Applying Kate Raworth's doughnut economy perspective to rethink tourism destination management. *Journal of Tourism Futures*, *9*(2), 279–284. [CrossRef]

Hickel, J. (2020). *Less is more: How degrowth will save the world*. Penguin.

Higgins-Desbiolles, F., Carnicelli, S., Krolikowski, C., Wijesinghe, G., & Boluk, K. (2019). Degrowing tourism: Rethinking tourism. *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*, *27*(12), 1926–1944. [CrossRef]

Hinnant, C. (1998). The invention of homo oeconomicus: A reading of John Stuart Mill's "On the definition of political economy". *Prose Studies*, *21*(3), 51–68. [CrossRef]

Huang, X., Ye, Y., Wang, Z., Liu, X., & Lyu, Y. (2023). The influence of perceived organizational exploitation on frontline hospitality employees' workplace deviance: An organizational justice perspective. *International Journal of Contemporary Hospitality Management*, *35*(12), 4137–4157. [CrossRef]

Kargol-Wasiluk, A., Wildowicz-Giegiel, A., & Zalesko, M. (2018). The evolution of the economic man. From homo oeconomicus to homo moralis. *Gospodarka Narodowa. The Polish Journal of Economics*, *293*(1), 33–57. [CrossRef]

Keen, S. (2022). *The new economics: A manifesto*. Polity Press.

Kemperman, A. (2021). A review of research into discrete choice experiments in tourism: Launching the annals of tourism research curated collection on discrete choice experiments in tourism. *Annals of Tourism Research*, *87*, 103137. [CrossRef]

Lelo de Larrea, G., Altin, M., Koçak, E., & Okumus, F. (2024). Paycheck protection program and lending discrimination in the US hospitality industry. *Tourism Economics*, *30*(7), 1780–1799. [CrossRef]

Limoges, C. 1996 April 26. *L'université à la croisée des chemins: Une mission à affirmer, une gestion à réformer*. Colloque Le Lien Formation-Recherche à L'université, Les Pratiques Aujourd'hui.

Lugosi, P., Lynch, P., & Morrison, A. (2009). Critical hospitality management research. *The Service Industries Journal*, *29*(10), 1465–1478. [CrossRef]

Lynch, P., McIntosh, A., Lugosi, P., Germann Molz, J., & Ong, C.-E. (2021). Hospitality & society: Critical reflections on the theorizing of hospitality. *Hospitality & Society*, *11*(3), 293–331.

Marfil-Cotilla, M., Campos-Soria, J. A., & García-Pozo, A. (2024). The gender wage gap across the wage distribution: Evidence in tourism at the sectoral level. *Tourism Economics*, *30*(4), 996–1020. [CrossRef]

Matthews, A., & Mathews, A. (1985). Economics and ideology. *The Crane Bag*, *9*(2), 52–59.

McLaren, P., & Kincheloe, J. (2007). *Critical pedagogy: Where are we now?* Peter Lang.

Meagher, M. (2020). *Competition is killing us: How big business is harming our society and planet-and what to do about it*. Penguin UK.

Mun, S. G., & Woo, L. (2021). The effects of the minimum wage on the operating performance of hotels in the us. *Tourism Management*, *82*, 104205. [CrossRef]

New Economics Foundation. (2023, November 3). *Together we can change the rules*. Available online: https://neweconomics.org/ (accessed on 25 February 2025).

Norgaard, R. B. (1989). The case for methodological pluralism. *Ecological Economics*, *1*(1), 37–57. [CrossRef]

Nowotny, H., Scott, P., & Gibbons, M. (2003). 'Mode 2' revisited: The new production of knowledge. *Minerva*, *41*(3), 179–194. [CrossRef]

Ormerod, P. (1995). *The death of economics*. St Martin's Press.

Pécot, M., Gavilanes, J., & Sáenz De Viteri, A. (2018). Tales of informality: Tourism development in four Ecuadorian beaches. *Tourism Planning & Development*, *15*(5), 584–599. [CrossRef]

Piketty, T. (2014). *Capital in the twenty-first century*. Harvard University Press.

Qin, F., Liu, J., & Li, G. (2024). Accounting for tourism carbon emissions: A consumption stripping perspective based on the tourism satellite account. *Tourism Economics*, *30*(3), 633–654. [CrossRef]

Raworth, K. (2012). *A safe and just space for humanity: Oxfam discussion paper*. Oxfam.

Raworth, K. (2017). *Doughnut economics: Seven ways to think like a 21st-century economist*. Penguin.

Rethinking Economics. (2024). *Home—Rethinking economics*. Available online: https://www.rethinkeconomics.org/ (accessed on 25 February 2025).

Ricardo, D. (1821). *On the principles of political economy and taxation*. John Murray. (Original work published 1817).

Sen, A. (1999). *Development as freedom*. Oxford University Press.

Sennett, R. (1998). *The Corrosion of Character: The personal consequences of work in the new capitalism*. WW Norton & Company.

Shantz, A., Alfes, K., & Truss, C. (2014). Alienation from work: Marxist ideologies and twenty-first-century practice. *The International Journal of Human Resource Management*, *25*(18), 2529–2550. [CrossRef]

Sharma, C. (2024). Good and bad effects of corruption and political uncertainty on tourism-growth linkage: World-wide evidence. *Tourism Economics*, *30*(6), 1423–1447. [CrossRef]

Simon, H. (1957). *Models of man: Social and rational; mathematical essays on rational human behavior in society setting*. Wiley.

Somavia, J. (1999, June 1–17). *Decent work*. Report of the Director-General to the 87th Session of the International Labour Conference, Geneva, Switzerland.

Song, H., Dwyer, L., Li, G., & Cao, Z. (2012). Tourism economics research: A review and assessment. *Annals of Tourism Research*, *39*(3), 1653–1682. [CrossRef]

Song, H., Qiu, R. T. R., & Park, J. (2019). A review of research on tourism demand forecasting: Launching the annals of tourism research curated collection on tourism demand forecasting. *Annals of Tourism Research*, *75*, 338–362. [CrossRef]

Steinberg, S. R., & Kincheloe, J. L. (2010). Power, emancipation, and complexity: Employing critical theory. *Power and Education*, *2*(2), 140–151. [CrossRef]

Stiglitz, J. E., Sen, A., & Fitoussi, J.-P. (2010). *Mismeasuring our lives: Why GDP doesn't add up*. The New Press.

Stiglitz, J. E., Sen, A., & Fitoussi, J.-P. (2018). *Beyond GDP: Measuring what counts for economic and social performance*. OECD Publications.

Tribe, J. (2008). Tourism: A critical business. *Journal of Travel Research*, *46*(3), 245–255. [CrossRef]

Tribe, J., & Paddison, B. (2023). Critical tourism strategy. *Annals of Tourism Research*, *98*, 103511. [CrossRef]

Tucker, H. (2019). Colonialism and its tourism legacies. In D. Timothy (Ed.), *Handbook of globalisation and tourism* (pp. 90–99). Edward Elgar.

United Nations. (2015). *Transforming our world: The 2030 agenda for sustainable development*. United Nations.

Ura, K., Alkire, S., & Zangmo, T. (2012). *An extensive analysis of GNH index*. The Centre for Bhutan Studies.

Wang, D., & Cheung, C. (2024). Decent work in tourism and hospitality—A systematic literature review, classification, and research recommendations. *International Journal of Contemporary Hospitality Management*, *36*(7), 2194–2213. [CrossRef]

Weber, M. (1978). *Economy and society: An outline of interpretive sociology*. University of California Press.

Wellbeing Economy Alliance. (n.d.). Available online: https://weall.org/ (accessed on 25 February 2025).

Xin, S., Tribe, J., & Chambers, D. (2013). Conceptual research in tourism. *Annals of Tourism Research*, *41*, 66–88. [CrossRef]