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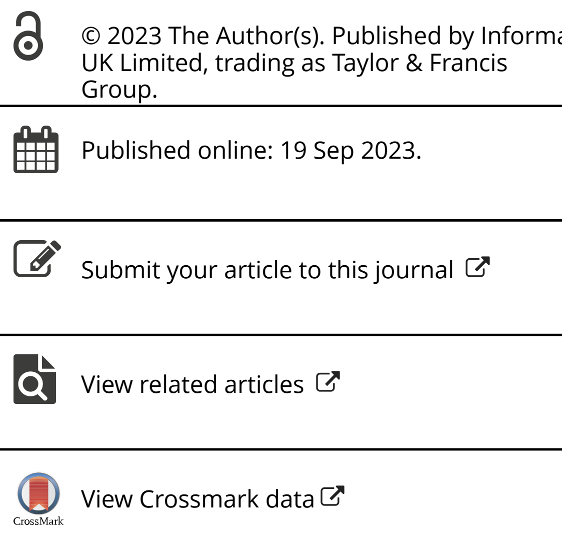

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ARTICLE

Navigating towards justice and sustainability? syncretic encounters and stakeholder-sourced solutions in Arctic cruise Tourism Governance

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ABSTRACT

Cruise tourism has a dubious reputation for conspicuous consumption and associated environmental harm. Cruises to the Arctic promise passengers pristine landscapes and authentic and engaging experiences interacting with local and Indigenous communities. Yet, these very environments and communities are under existential threat amidst the climate crisis, provoking the question of how to reconcile the ever-expanding Arctic cruise industry's conflict with the United Nations' Sustainable Development Goals (UN SDGs). To answer this question, the article proposes a novel approach that fuses concepts and methodologies from normative global governance research and critical tourism studies. Based on extensive empirical research in Norway, Canada and Iceland, the article presents stakeholder-sourced solutions that address a variety of justice conundrums associated with the expanding cruise tourism sector in the region. On the basis of the approach developed in the article, our research is able to inform public and policy discourse towards a just and sustainable transition of the polar cruise tourism industry in light of UN SDGs by highlighting the importance of creating 'syncretic encounters' based on four dimensions: authentic storytelling, decompressing spatial and temporal resources, just working conditions, and attention towards the built environment.

KEYWORDS

Arctic; cruise; tourism; transition; UN sustainable development goals; sustainability

1. Introduction

For centuries a mixed set of motivations has drawn people from outside the Arctic to venture to the region on a ship, often with negative repercussions for Indigenous and local societies. Economic incentives, for instance, lured whalers as well as fur traders to the high North. In the case of Canada, the latter established relations with Indigenous peoples, which led to an influx of settlers and colonial appropriation through the formation of political structures.[1] The search for fame represents a further incentive. It resulted in expeditions, such as the race to the North Pole, and explorations of the Northwest and Northeast passages, all of which were

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[1]Stephen Bown, *Transforming World Politics: From Empire to Multiple Worlds*.

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supported by nationalist ambitions that also aided state-building and continue to influence policy-making in the present.[2]

As a modern phenomenon, Arctic ship travel continues to feed off these motivations and represents a mixed blessing. This is particularly apparent in the leisure sector, where conventional Arctic cruises and expedition cruises maintain the legacy of economic, colonial, nationalist and prestige-driven excursions to the region against a changing backdrop of environmental shifts. Chief amongst these shifts is the climate crisis, the effects of which are disproportionately felt in the Arctic, a region warming at four times the global average.[3] These shifts both pose an existential threat and opportunity to expand for cruise tourism, threatening the pristine Arctic landscapes that appeal to tourists while luring more visitors to the region under the guise of so-called 'last chance' or 'doomsday' tourism.[4] As such, the shifting environmental conditions in the Arctic and related cruise-sector transition towards more sustainable ship travel not only distinguish Arctic cruise tourism from other types of cruise travel but promise useful lessons for other cruise settings in which environmental and sectoral transitions lag behind.

Beyond the overarching threat of climate change, cruises contribute to ocean acidification, eutrophication, and mass mortality and impairment among small aquatic animals, cetaceans, benthic organisms, and birds, that can be caused by the discharge of ballast water, wastewater (greywater and blackwater), oil bulge water, and solid waste, of which an average cruise ship produces approximately 50 tonnes per week.[5] Cruise ships also cause significant air pollution; an average cruise ship is estimated to release carbon dioxide, carbon monoxide, nitrogen monoxide, hydrocarbons, and sulphur emissions 'equal to those of 350,000 cars'.[6] These impacts add to the bio-geochemical changes that the Arctic is experiencing already, which threaten the socio-cultural and economic foundations of Indigenous and local societies.

Though cruise companies are able to operate year-round in various regions of the planet, the economic activity in local communities that Arctic cruise companies call upon is inherently tied to the seasonal variability in Arctic cruise tourism, and these communities are thus subject to much greater financial risk than the cruise companies themselves.[7] James et al. note the comparative lack of research on 'the views of stakeholders in the Arctic communities directly affected' in this context, particularly with regards to sustainability concerns.[8] Focusing on the sustainability-motivated transition of Arctic cruise tourism, our study seeks to address this research gap by engaging with

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[2]Danita Burke, *International Disputes and Cultural Ideas in the Canadian Arctic: Arctic Sovereignty in the National Consciousness.*

Corine Wood-Donnelly, *Performing Arctic Sovereignty: Policy and Visual Narratives*.

Hannes Hansen-Magnusson, 'Arctic Geopoetics: Russian Politics at the North Pole'.

[3]Mika Rantanen et al., "The Arctic has Warmed Nearly Four Times Faster than the Globe since 1979".

[4]Harvey Lemelin et al., "Last-chance Tourism: the Boom, Doom, and Gloom of Visiting Vanishing Destinations".

Tara J. Denley et al., "Individuals' Intentions to Engage in Last Chance Tourism: Applying the Value-belief-norm Model".

[5]Michael Lück et al., *Cruise Tourism in Polar Regions: Promoting Environmental and Social Sustainability?*, ch. 8.

Sheng Wang, "Environmental Compliance and Practices of Cruise Ships in Iceland: An Exploratory Case Study – port of Ísafjörður".

[6]Lück et al., *Cruise tourism in polar regions*, 113.

[7]Alain Grenier, 'The Diversity of Polar Tourism: Some Challenges Facing the Industry in Rovaniemi, Finland', 56–67.

Gunnar Jóhannesson, Edward Huijbens, and Richard Sharpley, "Icelandic Tourism: Past Directions – Future Challenges", 283–284.

[8]Laura James, Lise Smed Olsen, and Anna Karlsdóttir, *Sustainability and Cruise Tourism in the Arctic: Stakeholder Perspectives from Ísafjörður, Iceland and Qaqortoq, Greenland*, 1426–1428.

stakeholders from these Arctic communities as well as the cruise industry via interviews, a stakeholder workshop, and participant observation. In doing so, the study also raises important policy questions underlining the previously identified nationalist, colonial, economic, and prestige interests motivating polar tourism.

To this effect, Timothy argues that Arctic states have sought to bolster and legitimise claims of sovereignty in the region through tourism, stating that 'a functioning tourism industry fulfils the three legal requisites for international recognition and acceptance', namely 1) proving that 'human habitation' is possible in the respective location, 2) providing 'a history of claimant-state occupation', and 3) exhibiting 'state functions/ responsibilities'.[9] In the past, the Norwegian government has employed Svalbard's growing tourism sector to ensure its sovereignty, first threatened by the Soviet Union and later Russia, and Canada has equally evoked Arctic tourism as a means to solidify its sovereignty claims, including references to the 'Northern First Nations [who] play a crucial role in tourism development in Arctic territories, [. . .] emphasising native-based tourism'.[10] Nowadays, tourism-based narratives of state influence in the Arctic include so-called non- or near-Arctic players. Perhaps the most prominent example of this is the debate surrounding Chinese tourism investments in the Arctic.[11]

These examples reveal the political nature of tourism in the region. Here, economic activities take place in a broader global context that is marked not just by climate change, but also by attempts to counteract it – such as the implementation of the United Nations' Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). They contain 17 objectives that stretch across social, economic and environmental aspects of sustainability.[12] The aim is to have a yardstick against which to assess the broader effects of human activities, including economic relations. In this regard, the tourism sector in general, but cruise tourism in particular, does not have the most flattering reputation. Cruises, like that of the *Arctic Serenity* that traversed the Northwest Passage in 2016, selling cabins from $50,000 onwards, are decried as a symbol of conspicuous consumption, which is marked by a more or less obvious display of wealth and wastefulness to project status and standing as well as catering for hedonistic longings.[13]

Conversely, expedition cruise operators argue that their vessels provide a more environmentally conscious way of travelling the high North due to the ships' technical features, smaller sizes compared to conventional cruise vessels, and onboard program engaging tourists in sustainability and conservation-focused conversations and activities, including hosting environmental experts onboard. However, scholars are quick to point out that this burgeoning sub-sector is currently self-regulated for the most part via the

[9]Dallen J. Timothy, *Contested Place and the Legitimization of Sovereignty through Tourism in Polar Regions*, 290–291.
Dallen J. Timothy, *Tourism and Political Boundaries*.

[10]Colin Michael Hall and Jarkko Saarinen, *Tourism and Change in Polar Regions: Climate, Environments and Experiences*, 299, 302–303.

[11]Anne-Marie Brady, *China as a Polar Great Polar Power*, 10, 17–23, ch. 8.
Edward Huijbens and Dominic Alessio, *Arctic 'Concessions' and Icebreaker Diplomacy? Chinese Tourism Development in Iceland.*

[12]Judith Schleicher, Marije Schaafsma, and Bhaskar Vira, "Will the Sustainable Development Goals Address the Links between Poverty and the Natural Environment?".

[13]David Johnson, "Environmentally Sustainable Cruise Tourism: A Reality Check".
Ana Raquel Coelho Rocha, Angela da Rocha, and Everardo Rocha, "Classifying and Classified: An Interpretive Study of the Consumption of Cruises by the 'New' Brazilian Middle Class".
Ian Mahoney and Victoria Collins, "The Capitalist Voyeur: Commodification, Consumption and the Spectacle of the Cruise".

membership requirements and guidelines of the Association of Arctic Expedition Cruise Operators (AECO).[14]

It is in this context of sustainability-focused cruise tourism shaped by *global* perspectives on issues such as climate change and frameworks like the SDGs that the link-up with *local* perspectives and implications matters profoundly. In recognising this link across scales, the article makes contributions to two sets of academic literature – Global Governance and Critical Tourism Studies (CTS) – by providing an integrated approach that develops recent advances in either field. Regarding the field of Global Governance, the contribution turns towards the tension between the global norms associated with the UN SDGs and local, everyday experiences of climate change and the apparent difficulty in developing the tourism sector sustainably. The article thus reverses the oft-taken approach in this academic field that privileges top-down perspectives of norm diffusion by foregrounding local, everyday experiences.[15] To enhance normative scholarship in Global Governance, this approach constitutes a deliberate attempt to lend an ear and agency to comparatively marginal actors. Drawing on two years of fieldwork in Norway, Iceland and Canada comprising interviews and participant observations, we advance the calls from political theory for more grounded, deliberative and contestatory empirical research.[16] By providing first-hand accounts of challenges towards a just transition of the economic sector and solutions based on the respective position of stakeholders involved, we can inform policy discourse that strives for a just and socially sustainable governance approach.

Critical Tourism Studies has been laying the groundwork for such an undertaking for the past couple of decades by developing research that foregrounds 'planetary justice and sustainability' with an explicit focus on reflexive scholarship and education of tourism professionals, promotion of human rights, and 'justice in tourism policy and practice'.[17] Like some scholars in Global Governance, CTS shares a normative approach to its object of study that underlines the political choices of seemingly banal, everyday occurrences, and approaches this on the basis of an interpretive, post-positivist methodology.[18] Bringing together these two strands of academic literature, our intention here is to underline the entangled and mutually constitutive fate of human communities near and far – ideally with a view to enabling what Global Governance scholars have referred to as a hermeneutic process, or syncretic engagement, which 'initiate a journey where agents of one world meet the horizons of those from another'.[19] CTS is well placed as a complementary approach to that strand of Global Governance that emphasises the importance of purposeful and emancipatory research in that it invites to combine

[14]James, Smed Olsen, and Karlsdóttir, *Sustainability and Cruise Tourism in the Arctic*, 1426.
[15]Thomas Risse, Stephen Ropp, and Kathryn Sikkink, *The Power of Human Rights: International Norms and Domestic Change.*
Lisbeth Zimmermann, *Global Norms with a Local Face: Rule-of-law Promotion and Norm-translation*, *Cambridge Studies in International Relations.*
Thomas Weiss and Rorden Wilkinson, "The Globally Governed – Everyday Global Governance".
[16]Karin Bäckstrand, "Democratizing Global Environmental Governance? Stakeholder Democracy after the World Summit on Sustainable Development".
Antje Wiener, *Constitution and Contestation of Norms in Global International Relations*.
[17]Nigel Morgan et al., "Ten Years of Critical Tourism Studies: Reflections on the Road Less Traveled".
Annette Pritchard, Nigel Morgan, and Irena Ateljevic, "Hopeful Tourism: A New Transformative Perspective", 942.
[18]Pritchard, Morgan, and Ateljevic, "Hopeful Tourism", 946.
[19]Anna Agathangelou and L. H. M. Ling, *Transforming World Politics: From Empire to Multiple Worlds*, 6.

localised research with broader, global issues. Global Governance, as developed here, similarly links global normative orders, of which the SDGs are a part, to instantiations in particular communities. We elaborate on both theoretical approaches throughout our discussion of stakeholder-based solutions in the analytical part of this contribution.

The remainder of the article is structured as follows. The following section discusses the current state of transition of the Arctic cruise tourism industry. Next, section 3 briefly specifies the methodology and methods applied for the empirical fieldwork, centring on stakeholder engagement via semi-structured interviews, a stakeholder workshop, and participant observation to solicit stakeholder-sourced solutions to particular governance problems. Section 4 presents stakeholder-based solutions. The emphasis here is on the notion of authenticity in providing the tourist experience; decompressing spatial and temporal resources in the region; ensuring just working conditions across the sector; and taking care of the built environment. Section 5 comprises a discussion of the analysis in the previous section, taking into account the different angles of the Global Governance and CTS literature. We conclude in section 6 with a discussion of how the article advances our understanding of Arctic tourism through a fusion of academic research literature, as well as the implications of the tourist experience for the sector in practical terms.

2. The state of transition in the Arctic cruise tourism sector

While cruise tourism only amounts to approximately 0.6% of 'all hotel beds offered worldwide', the Arctic cruise industry has significantly expanded in recent decades and created an enormous system of economic activity across the circumpolar North and beyond.[20] The economic activities associated with Arctic cruise tourism in its current state stretch across a wide variety of sectors including 'accommodation, transport, catering, attractions, retail travel, tour operations, tourism organisations, and financial services' as well as some location-specific sectors, pertaining to specific sports activities for instance.[21] These activities in turn involve an even broader group of stakeholders spanning from the tourists themselves, to the communities they enter, their governments, local businesses, non-governmental organisations and volunteers maintaining local cultural, heritage, and environmental sites, as well as cruise operators and crews, harbour personnel, and many more.[22] It is important to note that these networks cover the local, regional, national, and international spheres, often operating multilaterally.

In large parts of the Arctic, the tourism sector has increasingly filled the void left by declining industries, such as coal mining on Svalbard.[23] While cruise tourism remains defined by seasonal variability, climate change and related sea ice loss increasingly affect their duration.[24] Although the language of sustainability has increasingly crept into the Arctic tourism sector, critics emphasise the conundrum of cruise operators advertising vacations in pristine Arctic locations while damaging and polluting these very

[20]Lück et al., *Cruise Tourism in Polar Regions*, 2.
Statista, "Revenue of the Cruise Industry Worldwide from 2017 to 2026".
[21]Alain Grenier and Dieter Müller, *Polar Tourism: A Tool for Regional Development*, 35.
[22]Grenier and Müller, *Polar Tourism*, 37.
[23]Norwegian Ministry of Justice and Public Service, *Svalbard – Meld. St. 32 (2015–2016) Report to the Storting (white paper)*, 11–12.
[24]Alain Grenier, "The Diversity of Polar Tourism", 66–67.

environments.[25] Before coming to an abrupt halt due to the global COVID-19 pandemic, economic activity in the region continued to boom, with cruise ships numbers, sizes, and pollution continuously increasing, and as pandemic restrictions were lifted globally, the industry is predicted to outperform pre-pandemic numbers.[26]

Cruise ships are already the third most common type of ships recorded in Arctic waters, after shipping and fishing vessels, and their numbers continue to increase as cruise companies are looking to expand their interests and related infrastructure in the Arctic.[27] Overall, the number of cruises travelling to the circumpolar North has surged to unprecedented heights in recent years, with Arctic cruise passenger numbers rising from ca. 50 000 in 2005 to approximately 11 000 in 2019, and even smaller expedition cruises expanding from passenger numbers in the low hundreds to more than 3000.[28] While governments and local communities have welcomed the economic activities that these cruises bring to the locations where they dock, Arctic environments, local and Indigenous communities, and ecosystem services are already subjected to the effects of climate change and have also suffered from this influx of ships and visitors.

The impacts of Arctic cruise tourism span across the local, regional, national and global levels. At all levels, global trends associated with pollution control and climate change mitigation, or lack thereof, play a defining role. While Arctic cruise tourism is a contributor to these troubling trends, cruise companies argue that their operations also raise awareness of environmental issues by allowing tourists to see the effects of the climate crisis on the polar region first-hand.[29] However, numerous observers and scholars have questioned the efficacy of this kind of polar doomsday tourism, although some predict a potential uptick in the practice in coming years.[30] This display of degradation not only coins polar environmental tourism but is also exhibited in some Arctic on-land attractions inviting cruise tourists, such as ghost towns, abandoned by local communities and now reinvigorated as historic sites.[31]

The impact of tourism on Indigenous communities in the circumpolar North is a highly sensitive issue as Indigenous peoples both derive economic benefits from visiting cruise tourists and raise awareness of Arctic Indigenous matters, but are also subject to various risks and dangers that the tourism industry contributes to, from environmental degradation to economic vulnerability, and various social impacts.[32] Depending on the

[25]Stefan Gössling and Michael Hall, *Tourism and Global Environmental Change: Ecological, Social, Economic and Political Interrelationships.*

Bernard Stonehouse and John Snyder, *Polar Tourism: An Environmental Perspective.*

[26]Statista. "Revenue of the Cruise Industry", 2023.

[27]PAME, "Arctic Shipping Report #1: The Increase in Arctic Shipping 2013–2019", 12–14.

Frédéric Lasserre and Pierre-Louis Têtu, 'The Cruise Tourism Industry in the Canadian Arctic: Analysis of Activities and Perceptions of Cruise Ship Operators', 27–28.

Statista Research, "Cruise Industry – Statistics & Facts".

[28]Audrey Taylor et al., "Arctic Expedition Cruise Tourism and Citizen Science: A Vision for the Future of Polar Tourism", 103.

Nadja Steiner et al., *Climate Change Impacts on Sea-ice Ecosystems and Associated Ecosystem Services*, p. 19, figure 8a.

[29]Taylor et al., "Arctic Expedition Cruise Tourism and Citizen Science", 103.

[30]Hall and Saarinen, *Tourism and Change in Polar Regions*, ch. 17.

Soile Veijola and Hannah Strauss-Mazzullo, "Tourism at the Crossroads of Contesting Paradigms of Arctic Development", in *The Global Arctic Handbook.*

Lück et al., *Cruise tourism in polar regions*, ch. 1.

[31]Visit Svalbard and Svalbard Cruise Network. 'Slow Cruising Isfjorden'.

Norwegian Ministry of Justice and Public Service, *Svalbard – Meld. St. 32 (2015–2016).*

[32]Grenier and Müller, *Polar Tourism*, ch. 4.

Dieter Müller, Linda Lundmark and Raynald Lemelin, *New Issues in Polar Tourism: Communities, Environments, Politics*, ch. 14.

degree to which Indigenous communities lead or are integrated in the organisation and policing of tourist activities, scholars also raise questions concerning potential mental health and cultural impacts of historizing and 'performing' Indigenous culture and identity as well as 'concerns about cultural intrusion, loss of heritage and damage to resources upon which [. . .] traditional ways of life depend'.[33]

Observers have also raised questions regarding the impacts of governmental and domestic or international corporate investments in Indigenous and local communities, as well as on-land and maritime infrastructure as the polar tourism industry continues to grow.[34] Herein, foreign investments in local infrastructure have been a particular source of discussion, both with regard to international cooperation and innovation, as well as concerns of foreign interference and the impact of these investments (or lack thereof) on local and Indigenous Arctic communities.[35]

In recent years, the COVID-19 pandemic has highlighted many of the previously discussed vulnerabilities, chief amongst them the level of economic risk defining communities connected to cruise tourism, as well as the susceptibility of cruise ships to particular health risks. Other health risks frequently discussed in relation to cruise tourism relate to matters of safety at sea.[36] In addition, the environmental impacts of cruise tourism and associated industries continue to exacerbate these negative trends, as the remainder of this section illustrates.

In addition to the violation of existing regulations around waste management and pollution, the cruise industry poses a multitude of threats to Arctic environments and ecosystem services. Cruises can contribute to ocean acidification, eutrophication, and mass mortality and impairment among large and small aquatic animals and organisms as well as birds, that can be caused by the discharge of ballast waste, or oil bilge water, solid waste, and air pollution.[37] These not only add to previously mentioned negative trends, such as climate change, but also contribute to other harmful phenomena, such as acid rain, and create additional health concerns for local communities.[38] While the majority of environmental impacts caused by cruise tourism are water-based, there is also a spill over to land-based impacts.[39] The increasing size of Arctic cruise vessels and passenger numbers has been noted to exacerbate both land and water-based environmental concerns.[40]

Despite these well-documented environmental impacts of cruise tourism, it is the pristine imagery of a thriving Arctic environment that is used to attract tourists. To combat the erasure of this environment through pollution inflicted by cruise ships and tourists, some Arctic governments and communities are taking tourism-related actions

[33]Stonehouse and Snyder, *Polar Tourism*, 45, 114–115.
[34]Hall and Saarinen, *Tourism and Change in Polar Regions*, 303.
Lasserre and Têtu, "The Cruise Tourism Industry in the Canadian Arctic", 32–34.
[35]Grenier and Müller, *Polar Tourism*, 42.
Hall and Saarinen, *Tourism and Change in Polar Regions*, 111.
Huijbens and Alessio, *Arctic "Concessions"and Icebreaker Diplomacy.*
Jóhannesson, Huijbens, and Sharpley, "Icelandic Tourism", 283–284.
[36]Corine Wood-Donnelly, "The Arctic Search and Rescue Agreement: Text, Framing and Logics".
Hannes Hansen-Magnusson, "The Web of Responsibility in and for the Arctic".
[37]Lück et al., *Cruise Tourism in Polar Regions*, 113, ch. 8.
Wang, "Environmental Compliance and Practices of Cruise Ships in Iceland".
[38]Hall and Saarinen, *Tourism and Change in Polar Regions*.
[39]Lück et al., *Cruise Tourism in Polar Regions*, 109, 113–114.
[40]Taylor et al., "Arctic Expedition Cruise Tourism and Citizen Science".

towards environmental protection and climate change mitigation. For instance, in Svalbard's city of Røsvik, incoming tourists are required to pay an environmental tax, the profits of which amount to approximately one million dollars a year to be spent on environmental and conservation projects in the region.[41]

Overall, Arctic cruise tourism follows the trends of the global tourism industry, expanding significantly over the past decades.[42] Canada, Iceland and Norway, which are the focus of this case study, follow this trend too.[43] With regards to the increasing emphasis on environmental protection in the Arctic more broadly, an increase in the number of expedition cruises that generally adhere to more sustainable practices than conventional cruises can be observed.[44]

Having outlined the current state of the Arctic cruise tourism industry, its environmental impacts, and initial transitionary steps towards more just and sustainable development, the following section presents the justice and UN SDG-related questions and concerns inherent to such a transition.

3. Methods

The common denominator shared by CTS and the kind of Global Governance approach to which the article relates lies in the purposeful intent of research interested in the betterment of humanity and societies more broadly. It comes with a related methodology that acknowledges the political choices faced by communities as well as researchers, and, in addition, the hermeneutic situatedness of the latter, which eschews an 'unproblematic and trans-historically valid Archimedean point that allows for an incontestable "view from nowhere"'.[45] As numerous commentators have pointed out over the last four decades, normative research is not unscientific but rather openly discusses normativity.

It is in this regard, with a view to finding possible solutions for problems inherent to a just transformation of the cruise tourism sector, that we conducted fieldwork with tourism stakeholders over two years (2021–22) in Canada, Iceland and Norway. Although the term stakeholder is sometimes used to distinguish rightsholders and can therefore be contentious, we do not engage in this debate in this article. To generate and analyse the empirical material, we define stakeholder as any individual or association who is affected by a particular issue, and therefore holds a stake in it.[46] We discuss questions of rights and access to contestation in section 5 below.

[41]David Nikel, "As Arctic Cruise Tourism Booms, Are The Risks Worth It?".
[42]Statista, "Cruises – Worldwide | Statista Market Forecast",|"Cruises – Worldwide | Statista Market Forecast", Statista, www.statista.com/outlook/450/
100/cruises/worldwide
Statista Research Department, "Cruise industry – Statistics & Facts".
[43]Lasserre and Têtu, "The Cruise Tourism Industry in the Canadian Arctic".
[44]Jackie Dawson, Margaret Johnston and Emma Stewart, "Governance of Arctic Expedition Cruise Ships in a Time of Rapid Environmental and Economic Change".
[45]Friedrich Kratochwil, "Of False Promises and Good Bets: A Plea for a Pragmatic Approach to Theory Building (the Tartu lecture)", 2.
Peregrine Schwartz-Shea, *Interpretation and Method: Empirical Research Methods and the Interpretative Turn.*
Klotz, Audie, and Cecilia Lynch, *Strategies for Research.*
Cox, Robert W, "Social Forces, States and World Orders.
Fierke, "Critical Methodology and Constructivism".
[46]Hansen-Magnusson, Vetterlein, and Wiener, "The Problem of Non-Compliance: Knowledge Gaps And Moments of Contestation in Global Governance".

Our portfolio of stakeholders developed via online research of cruise and local tourism industry infrastructure and was subsequently expanded using the snowball sampling method.[47] To gather information on potential solutions to problems shaping the Arctic cruise tourism transition considered by stakeholders, we engaged in three forms of data collection described in the following: 1) 50 semi-structured interviews, 2) one stakeholder workshop, and 3) one instance of participant observation.

First, we conducted 50 semi-structured interviews with open-ended questions with people who associated with tourism operators, who worked in the hospitality sector, for tourism associations, training and certification bodies, museums, and municipal employees in Canada (municipality of Iqaluit, Nunavut), Iceland (Reykjavíkurborg), and Norway (Troms). We also interviewed individuals in other municipalities who had a professional connection to our case areas, including those connected via tourism organisation networks, remote workers, and tourism workers who were travelling or had moved amid the COVID-19 pandemic. Interviews ranged in duration between approximately 30 minutes and two and a half hours. Owing to pandemic-related travel restrictions at the time, 16 out of 50 interviews were conducted via video chat or telephone.

Second, we organised a participant workshop with Norwegian tourism company owners and guides who were invited to collectively talk about their work and engage in brainstorming exercises on the values they bring to their work in the field of tourism as well as problems and potential solutions.

Third, one of the researchers joined a Northern Lights boat tour in Iceland to follow the activities of the tourism workers as well as engage in unstructured and informal conversations with tourists partaking in the boat tour. The researcher took pictures and notes during and after the boat tour to document their observations.

Upon completing our fieldwork, we transcribed our interviews and workshop recordings and offered participants the opportunity to check the transcripts for accuracy. This review option was essential to ensuring that the data was not only collected in collaboration with study participants but also confirming the recorded data's 'accuracy, relevance, and suitability'.[48] Stakeholders were also given the opportunity to amend their statements and some stakeholders in close geographical proximity (Norway, Iceland) were invited to meet with researchers approximately one year after their initial interview to reflect on their involvement in the project. Most participants either declined to add further comments or reflections, or simply conferred their confirmation of the recorded data, while some suggested corrections regarding local terminology (e.g. place names) and minor transcription errors. To underscore stakeholders' contribution to this article, information based on data gathered through interviews, the workshop, or participant observation is referenced in footnotes, much like cited authors' works.

After confirming their accuracy, we coded the transcripts and participant observation-based data using the data analysis software NVivo. When this coding procedure revealed the stakeholder-sourced solutions presented in this article, we once again reviewed the

[47]Charlie Parker, Sam Scott, and Alistair Geddes, "Snowball Sampling", in *SAGE Research Methods Foundations.*
[48]Kathy Charmaz, *Constructing Grounded Theory.*
Nicole Curtin and Steven Bird, "'We are Reconciliators': When Indigenous Tourism Begins with Agency", 466.

Table 1. Illustration of UN SDGs with stakeholder-sourced examples and solutions.

UN Sustainable Development Goals	Examples of problems associated with cruise tourism	Stakeholder-sourced Solutions
1 No Poverty	Cruise tourists not spending money in the communities they visit	• Require cruise ships to stay in communities for extended periods • Forbid cruise ships to bring in their own guides allowing locals to provide guided tours
8 Decent Work and Economic Growth	Precarious work conditions of local tourism workers	• Provide year-round employment in tourism • Create training opportunities allowing tourism workers to find alternative employment in the off season(s)
9 Industry, Innovation & Infrastructure	Tourists damaging the local environment	• Installing signs informing tourists of appropriate waste disposal • Creating necessary infrastructure, e.g. hiking paths and sanitation facilities
11 Sustainable Cities & Communities	Tourist presence overwhelming local communities	• Stagger tourist groups instead of letting all passengers visit the community simultaneously • Joint activities with cruise passengers, crew and locals, e.g. community barbecue
12 Responsible Consumption & Production	Excessive food waste and meat-heavy diets served on cruises	• Include more vegetarian and vegan meals in menus • Serve food on plates vs. buffets
13 Climate Action	Cruise ship contributions to global emissions	• Communities only allowing smaller expedition cruise vessels to dock in their harbours
14 Life Below Water	Cruise ships and whale-watching boats disturbing whales, e.g. getting too close to the animals to allow tourists to observe them	• Require training and licenses for whale watching tours • Enforce rules and guidelines already in place

data with the solutions in mind. Finally, we coded the data again based on the connection of stakeholder-sourced solutions and related problems to specific SDGs.

4. Stakeholder-sourced solutions

Having outlined some of the challenges facing the just transition of the cruise tourism sector in section 2, the remainder of this article will focus on discussing potential solutions to these problems identified via exchanges with interview partners and workshop participants. This solution-driven analysis focusing on negotiations of spatial and temporal resources is structured in four sections: 1) licencing, certification and monitoring to ensure quality and safety standards, 2) authenticity in providing the tourist experience, 3) ensuring just working conditions across the sector, and 4) taking care of the built environment. The findings are summarised in Table 1 at the end of this section.

4.1 Licensing, certification, and monitoring

A structural aspect that speaks directly to all of the UN SDGs mentioned concerns the issues of licencing, certification, and monitoring. From across the spectrum, our interviewees referred to these aspects as a set of means to ensure fair working conditions for

their businesses – to prevent undercutting each other in terms of standards – and to ultimately provide a better touristic experience for visitors. Interviewees hold that a better quality of the product would lead to a higher rate of satisfaction among customers and sustained demand for tourist services in the long run.

Licenses and certifications concern both cruise and tourism operators in general as well as particular employees, while monitoring refers to the level of policy-making. For example, two interviewees draw a comparison between the regulation of the industry in Costa Rica, where tourism is regarded as central to the economy, and Iceland, where they see room for improvement in that regard, and perhaps a wider European or at least Scandinavian certification scheme potentially based on the Icelandic tourism certification VAKINN:

> 'Well, I think because they have the people's welfare [in mind] within Costa Rica, [. . .] they have the people and the nature first and foremost, number one, and that the tourism industry is just going to help Costa Rica to be a good place to visit and good place to live in. And I think (their) regulations are very strict, and they are not shy to say that and [. . .] make rules and regulations. [. . .] You know, I think we Icelanders are so shy to make rules and say them out loud. [. . .] And I think Costa Rica is, they are known for it and you accept it. [. . .] it's not the Wild West. [. . .] Maybe the European Union should take VAKINN as the European certification. [. . .] And maybe it would [. . .] be helpful to have a [. . .] Scandinavian certification for the Nordic countries. That would be helpful. [. . .] You know, having the certification, having the support from it, you know, having something criteria to work with, how to, really is helpful. We've just seen it with our own eyes'.[49]

While the reference to the 'Wild West' is a metaphorical evocation of an alleged lack of rules and rule enforcement in the region, this sentiment is shared more broadly among interviewees and refers to all aspects of the tourism industry. Interviewees refer to the implementation of the Polar Code and ensuing regulations for ships, especially after the near-fatal incident of the Viking Sky in 2019 whose engine failure in heavy seas triggered a large rescue operation.[50] Others compare working in the tourism sector to the rules that structure business in other areas, like working as an electrician or opening a restaurant, which come with health and safety standards:

> 'But in the tourist industry, especially in Norway and also in Sweden, we don't have any certificate saying that you are licensed or you are allowed to sell these activities and it's kind of ironic because it's things that we are doing with other people. So, the chance if something goes wrong is actually bigger than if I make the wrong line for my chord for electricity. Of course, their house can burn down, but you know, you can hurt 45 people if you do the wrong thing when you're working with people. So it's kind of funny that Norway doesn't have any quality stamps or certificate saying, you can pre book or sell other suppliers or you are a qualified supplier'.[51]

In a similar vein, others bemoan the lack of licencing, related training and minimum standards for whale watching tours.[52] In all of our interviews, tourism workers agreed on

[49]Alda Þrastardóttir and Áslaug Briem, "JUSTNORTH interview".
[50]This is not to say that the Viking Sky did not adhere to rules. Rather, the incident made apparent the importance of having regulations in place and monitoring compliance in order to minimise risk to life and the environment.
Jedidajah Otte, "Viking Sky Reaches Port with 900 Still Onboard after Dramatic Rescues".
[51]Henriette Bismo Eilertsen, "JUSTNORTH interview".
[52]Karen Marie Christensen, "JUSTNORTH interview".
Agnes Árnadóttir, "JUSTNORTH interview".

the importance of having local businesses provide on-land tourist activities to cruise and regular tourists, rather than having the cruise companies bring their own guides and equipment that might not be aware of or comply with local standards and regulations.[53] The importance of this type of local engagement for the quality of tourism experiences also raises questions of authenticity regarding these activities, as the following section demonstrates.

4.2 Authenticity, stretching time & space

The argumentative topos that inhabitants of the Arctic hold a special relation to nature has been at the heart of local discourses and self-ascribed identities for decades, addressing the aims of UN SDGs 1, 8, and 11.[54] It emphasises the idea of being a steward of the natural world, often with spiritual connotations, marked by sustainable use of resources.[55] This argument thus stands in marked contrast to concepts, such as disenchantment, that are used to refer to secularised and rationalised modern societies.[56] In this regard, touristic visits to the Arctic can resemble a collision of life-worlds, which poses a challenge to local communities as the brief visit strains the availability of local resources – both in terms of nature's resources as well as those of local workforces.

Across our interviews in Norway, Iceland and Canada, a common theme kept re-occurring that suggests a way to deal with the issue of accommodating different life-worlds in a manner that is sustainable for local resources. This theme develops in two steps, emphasising first the importance of conveying authenticity of the place and its people to visitors, and subsequently the sustainability of the process in which the encounter takes place. In particular, interviewees emphasise resources of 'time' and 'space' which they regard as central to their life-world and the touristic experience. They would like policy-makers to take this into consideration and set up frameworks that would allow these resources to be used more expediently.

In the first step, respondents emphasised the opportunity that visitors bring to a place in terms of economic benefits, especially through employing locals. But this is not a purely economic transaction – equally important from the perspective of CTS and Global Governance is the potential process in which 'agents of one world meet the horizons of those from another'.[57] For example, as one interviewee, who preferred to stay anonymous, said, 'Obviously, cruise operators benefit because they're operating the cruise. Inuit benefit when they get jobs on cruise ships. My favourite cruise ships are the ones that hire people from here to talk about culture, because that makes better tourists

[53]Knut Westvig, "JUSTNORTH interview".
Agnes Árnadóttir, "JUSTNORTH interview".
[54]Jessica M. Shadian, "From States to Polities: Reconceptualizing Sovereignty through Inuit Governance ".
Jessica M. Shadian, "Reimagining Political Space: The Limits of Arctic Indigenous Self-Determination in International Governance?", in *Governing Arctic Change – Global Perspectives*.
Sheila Watt-Cloutier, "From States to Polities: Reconceptualizing Sovereignty through Inuit Governance".
[55]F. Stuart Chapin III, "Social and Environmental Change in the Arctic: Emerging Opportunities for Well-being Transformations through Stewardship".
Andrey Petrov, *Arctic Sustainability Research: Past, Present and Future.*
[56]Max Weber, "Politics as Vocation", in *From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology*.
[57]Agathangelou and Ling, *Transforming World Politics*, 6.
Hermeneutic scholarship would express this as a fusion of horizons, see
Hans-Georg Gadamer, *Truth and Method*.

by the time they come to the community'. In this sentiment, we can detect an attitude towards tourism that goes beyond a purely consumption-oriented approach.[58] As the interviewee continues to explain, 'I'd say that Nunavut as a whole benefits from any exposure it gets, especially if the information and the stories [that] are told are authentic and true. They'll learn something about this place and take it home with them because a lot of people have misconceptions about the North'.

The Canadian Nalunaiqsijiit programme that trains Indigenous people in the Canadian Arctic to become guides in the tourism sector is a case in point, with a number of graduates of the programme finding employment on cruise ships. As one Nalunaiqsijiit alumni asks, 'you're telling stories about Inuit who better to do it with [than] local people [. . .] Who better to tell about Inuit culture than Inuit themselves'?[59] However, questions about such approaches to addressing injustices remain, as the guide acknowledges the 'mental drain' that comes with telling one's story and answering a myriad of tourist questions, some of which might be ignorant or triggering.[60] This highlights the need for further investigation of this broad range of justice aspects that can be applied to the case study findings.

The sentiment of using such encounters to educate is mirrored in other statements that emphasise 'authentic experience' and creating 'realistic expectations' for visitors, even if that entails 'watching nature, and waterfalls, and glaciers'[61] rather than towns and villages. Importantly, interviewees implicitly reject, or at least re-work, the often-stated colonial relations of tourism encounters.[62] Studies that highlight a continuation of colonial and often 'orientalist' practices tend to blur the potential of local agency, which is an aspect that finds strong expression in the statements of our interviewees.

Based on this first step, the question then becomes how the process of shaping encounters with visitors from the local perspective can take place in a way that achieves its aims for interviewees. They make a number of suggestions that are similar in structure. In accordance with the topos of sustainable relations towards nature, interviewees emphasised the value of making the resources last. Obviously, the vista of a landscape is not a private good in the sense that finite or perishable resources are, such as food, where the consumption of an item is exclusive – only one person can eat a particular sandwich whereas a landscape does not disappear from looking at it. Importantly, though, the *experience* of a view can yield similar characteristics to exclusive, private goods if too many people seek access at the same time. Interviewees across locations show awareness of this dilemma and therefore seek remedy. To them, the experience of nature is embedded in temporal and spatial characteristics which they strongly advocate to stretch in order to make it last longer and at a higher level of quality. For example, interviewees express this sentiment by saying, 'Make [visits by cruise boats to the Norwegian city of Bodø] a year-round activity',[63] while another response suggested

[58] Christy Hehir et al., "Evaluating The Impact of a Youth Polar Expedition Alumni Programme on Post-Trip Pro-Environmental Behaviour: A Community-Engaged Research Approach".
Irena Ateljevic, Annette Pritchard, and Nigel Morgan, *The Critical Turn in Tourism Studies.*
[59] Anonymous interviewee,"JUSTNORTH interview".
[60] Ibid.
[61] Anonymous interviewee, "JUSTNORTH interview".
[62] Catherine Palmer, "Tourism and Colonialism: The Experience of the Bahamas".
Peter Burns, "Tourism, Political Discourse, and Post-Colonialism".
[63] Knut Westvig, "JUSTNORTH interview".
Eirunn Hatlem, "JUSTNORTH interview".

that, 'If you want to stop in [the Icelandic city of] Akureyri, you have to spend two days here'.[64] Some interviewees even actively advocated for such extended stays under the label of 'slow tourism'.[65]

But it is not only by slowing down the length of a visit or constricting harbour space – thereby limiting the number of potential visitors overall – that interviewees seek to provide tourists with a better, more authentic local experience. This theme continues with regard to particular sites on land and the flow of tourists themselves. One strategy is to split groups of visitors into smaller units because it changes the perception of visitors, thereby stretching them out over a larger number of guides. Interviewees emphasise that tourists thus get a chance to talk with tour guides and feel taken care of, which results in measurable satisfaction, as suggested by the results of surveys.[66]

Another strategy, which is less reliant on additional staff, can involve an artificial limitation on visitor numbers during peak times in order to distribute them throughout the day. A pertinent example is the 'Golden Circle' tour in Iceland covering a set of natural sites. Buses typically leave Reykjavik between eight and nine o'clock in the morning and drive the same route, leading to artificial peaks in visitor numbers in specific localities on the way: 'In Thingvellir National Park, you have 1000 tourists between nine o'clock and 10 o'clock. [At] one o'clock, you have maybe 50 tourists and at five o'clock you have maybe 25'.[67] Stretching the use of the landscape over a longer period of time represents a more sustainable use which results in higher levels of satisfaction among visitors.[68] The art of regulation is to find the balance that leads to 'the right visitors at the right time for the right venue'[69] but without raising the bar too high so that visits become a question of affordability and exclusivity. Interviewees expressed the view that visits should potentially be affordable to anyone, and we perceived their statements less as a motivation to maximise profits, but rather as a gesture to genuinely meet visitors. This desire to potentially lower the barrier of entry and afford everyone aboard a cruise ship or engaged in tourist activities an accessible and decent experience is also reflected in the expectations of tourism workers, as the following section illustrates.

4.3 Improve conditions for tourism workers

Across our interviews, the theme of sustainability also entailed a concern over workers' rights and work conditions more broadly (UN SDGs 1 and 8). Typically, statements in this field also corresponded to the theme of stretching space and time that we discussed in the previous section. This approach stands in marked contrast to a maximising strategy that would entail compression of space and time to allow for a higher turnover of tourists during the year or in particular localities. There is widespread acknowledgement that the tourism sector suffers from seasonal volatility with peaks and troughs, but that sustainability would need to involve year-round employment. This would come with

[64]Baldvin Esra Einarsson, "JUSTNORTH interview".
[65]Mirjam Blekkenhorst, "JUSTNORTH interview.".
[66]Henriette Bismo Eilertsen, "JUSTNORTH interview.".
[67]Jónas Guðmundsson, "JUSTNORTH interview.".
[68]Ásta Kristín Sigurjónsdóttir and Stephanie Langridge, "JUSTNORTH interview.".
[69]Karen Marie Christensen, "JUSTNORTH interview.".

added benefits of retaining trained and knowledgeable employees, which would have a positive impact on a company's ability to deliver a quality product.

Better salaries are part of such a strategy, as is a general willingness to balance a company's profits with the requirements of employees' personal circumstances and show consideration for individual situations. A typical statement comes from the operator of a Northern Lights tour who explained how they accommodate a young employee's autism with a specific set of tasks tailored to suit their abilities: 'We try to find solutions for everybody [although] of course, [. . .] we are not running this [company] on goodwill'.[70] Values such as decent wages and fairness that accommodates individual circumstances obviously require specific solutions with the support of the human resources department and a willingness to reject a 'Taylorised' approach to work in favour of 'tailored', that is, bespoke approaches.[71]

While happiness and pride in working for a particular company are repeated tropes across interviews, the employment situation also requires a persistent bargaining approach vis-à-vis the seemingly more powerful cruise providers. In tune with the theme of 'authenticity' discussed above, providers are prepared to insist on local employees: 'We have already seen that [cruise providers attempt to bring their own guides]. If they tried to do that against our company, then we just say, "Find someone else, it's okay. We won't do it". So, we are selling the package with the guide and the transportation. And we are not willing to divide it into smaller pieces'.[72] Yet even in cases when cruise companies provide their own guides, local guides work with the companies' guides on occasion to 'tell them the right story about the city and the areas and also take them to the places and the activities that we want them to'.[73]

Local expertise embedded in secure employment is thus one solution that interviewees proposed to make the (cruise) tourism sector in the Arctic more sustainable. While economic activities are not bereft of profit incentives, interviewees rejected attempts to maximise them. These considerations are informed by a concern for the local people but also the local place, as highlighted in the next section.

4.4 Sustainable built environment and infrastructures

Providing visitors with a local, authentic experience does not only require local guides or general frameworks in which activities take place. It also requires ensuring that the contextual setting of the encounter takes place in a way that prioritises the safety and well-being of all involved. This aspect foregrounds the importance to include the 'built environment' into considerations of sustainability and speaks directly to UN SDGs 9, 11, 12, 13, and 14.

One aspect in this regard is the provision of general search and rescue capacity, which has been growing ever since the 2011 agreement signed by the eight Arctic states in the Arctic Council (Canada Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Norway, Russia, Sweden, and the

[70]Katrin Georgsdóttir, "JUSTNORTH interview".
[71]Frederick W. Taylor's approach to production, also referred to as "scientific management", emphasised the optimisation of output through standardised practices that left little to no discretion for employees' individual circumstances, nor any creativity.
[72]Knut Westvig, "JUSTNORTH interview".
Eirunn Hatlem, "JUSTNORTH interview".
[73]Inger-Lise Brones, "JUSTNORTH interview".

United States).[74] Yet, saving lives at sea is but one component of a process that also involves 'post-rescue' responsibilities. Arguably, this is a more demanding part because it may involve developing costly infrastructure that represents an overcapacity for most of the time, i.e. outside cases of emergency and during off-season times when fewer tourists mean fewer people to save. Practical considerations involving the provision of excess capacity in cases of emergency are typical of the region, as evident in the example of an emergency simulation in the Norwegian region of Alta: "We said how many people can we take care of if there's a big accident? If there is a fire out here, how many people can be rescued?"[75] These considerations entail the provision of search and rescue, fire-fighting, and hospital capacities. Such capacities would need to be developed and maintained as an eventuality and only as a result of the potential presence of additional people in the area. A decision to do so would of course bind public resources that could be spent in different ways – and in a case of emergency might present rescuers with the practical problem of who to attend to first, as was the case in the fires on Rhodes and Hawaii during summer 2023.[76]

Provided there is no accident, the influx of visitors still comes at costs for local populations, mostly in the form of pollution caused by the presence of ships. While stricter regulations on the use of fuels containing sulphur have been issued in recent years, some stakeholders expect the use of hybrid motors, more sustainable fuels, and the development of new technologies to make shipping activities considerably more sustainable – to the extent that it also becomes a marketing aspect for local businesses that provide Northern Lights, nature excursion, or whale watching tours for instance, because they would reduce the footprint of the activity and also be less disturbing for 'life below water' (SDG 14).[77] In addition, some Arctic towns increasingly encourage and even require ships to use the local electric grid when docking in the harbour. This practice, of course, requires considerable investment in local infrastructure to meet the energy demands of cruise ships.[78] Returns on these investments would be safeguarded if the infrastructure is used consistently over extended periods of the year rather than sporadically.

Other investment into the built environment occurs on a smaller scale but also with the explicit aim of ensuring the physical well-being of visitors and the environments they visit. These might be the development of footpaths along scenic landmarks or observation platforms. This infrastructure serves two aims, that is, to allow visitors to safely walk through the landscape as well as to be able to experience it. By providing a dedicated path

[74]Wood-Donnelly, "The Arctic Search and Rescue Agreement".
[75]Henriette Bismo Eilertsen, "JUSTNORTH interview".
[76]We thank the editor for this comment. On the issue of simultaneous and conflicting responsibilities see Hannes Hansen-Magnusson, "The Web of Responsibility in and for the Arctic".
[77]Ingi Thor Guðmundsson, "JUSTNORTH interview".
Katrin Georgsdóttir, "JUSTNORTH interview".
Agnes Árnadóttir, "JUSTNORTH interview".
Anonymous interviewee, "JUSTNORTH interview".
Benjamin Hofmann, "Oil Pollution and Black Carbon in the Arctic", in *Routledge Handbook of Marine Governance and Global Environmental Change*.
Carol Kline, Hindertje Hoarau-Heemstra and Christina Cavaliere, "Wildlife Equity Theory for Multispecies Tourism Justice".
Reuters, "UN Adopts Ban on Heavy Fuel Oil Use by Ships in Arctic".
[78]R. Winkel, U. Weddige, D. Johnsen, V. Hoen, and S. Papaefthimiou, "Shore Side Electricity in Europe: Potential and Environmental Benefits".

(potentially alongside bins and sanitary facilities), such infrastructure would also limit visitors' intrusion and pollution of the environment. Of course, there is a connection to the aspect of managing visitor flows mentioned previously: if numbers of visitors are spread out over space and time, there would be a reduced need to interfere in the built environment as paths and platforms would have to provide for lower numbers at any one time. Arguably, this infrastructure would come at a lower cost and also not be unused and empty for extended periods. Similar to the development of port infrastructure, sustainability would therefore also be improved through managed and reduced visitor numbers at any given point because it would require lower levels of developing a built environment.

5. Discussion: justice through stakeholder-based solutions?

Based on the cross-scale perspective adopted in this article which combines Global Governance approaches and CTS it is possible to address a number of interlocking and overlapping justice debates. These debates directly relate to the solutions that emerged from the fieldwork in different parts of the Arctic to making cruise tourism more sustainable in the areas of the Arctic covered by research for this article. With a view to enhancing CTS as well as Global Governance, the discussion links global normativity, such as embedded in the SDGs, to particular practices 'on the ground', thereby reflexively integrating the global and the local. It sketches proposed solutions in terms of justice issues, which can be taken up by CTS and Global Governance, respectively, for further research.

The global topic of climate justice is perhaps the most foundational of the different justice issues to address, given that climate change forms the basis for a number of processes that directly and indirectly matter in the region and beyond. Climate change triggers questions over complex temporal and geographical scales because development in the past and in spatially distant regions affects the future of the Arctic environment and the livelihood of inhabitants. The origins of pollution in the industrial centres have a disproportionate impact on the planetary margins, linking faraway regions into a global 'community of fate'.[79] The main subject of justice is the environment whose long-term survival (in the present form) is under threat. As a consequence, Indigenous and local populations in the Arctic, whose livelihood closely depends on intact nature, are under threat as well – and arguably more immediately than the societies whose emissions primarily cause global warming.

The long-term negative effects of climate change are well known and will cause the main assets of the region to significantly change over time, perhaps disappear from the region entirely, and threaten the culture and livelihoods of local and Indigenous inhabitants. Burdens are borne by present and future generations whose livelihoods are likely to be subject to change. Although it is not entirely clear in what ways this change will occur, infrastructure development and the appearance of cities and communities will be different. Relating to UN SDGs 9 and 11, updating and creating sustainable transport infrastructure is part and parcel of achieving these goals, with national, regional and local governments and companies intent on making significant investments in the sector.

[79]David Held and Kevin Young, "Global Governance in Crisis? Fragmentation, Risk and World Order".

Arctic countries are especially looking to expand maritime infrastructure found to be lacking, in particular ports and harbours.[80] For instance, Icelandic municipalities are teaming up with a German harbour management company and an Icelandic engineering firm to create the Finnafjord Port Project, set to draw on renewable energies.[81] Comparably, the Norwegian government has outlined plans to develop ports, transport, sustainable housing, and infrastructure in Svalbard.[82]

In this regard, the proposed solution to operate locally based on licencing and channelling the stream of visitors across time and places, along with the proposed educational aspect to make them aware of how climate change affects local communities and 'bind them in' demonstrates the fruitfulness of combining Global Governance and CTS approaches. The solution represents a correction to the organising principle of modern consumer societies. This principle centres on exclusive, private goods consumption, which is conspicuous and wasteful, embedded in self-illusory hedonism.[83] The struggle over authenticity is thus both emancipatory in the sense that creating a 'syncretic engagement' affirms the speaking position of local and Indigenous communities vis-à-vis visitors but is also consistent with the call for just working conditions of tourism workers in general, especially the most vulnerable ones who often operate unseen in the engine rooms or backstage spaces of cruise ships.[84] A lack of awareness on the side of visitors of the consequences of their actions (including in their domestic societies) is one of the reasons why visitors should be educated about the fragile well-being of the region and what it means for the people who live there.

Ultimately, the question of whether all of this represents an issue of cultural or environmental preservation is futile, as both are intrinsically related. But what is more: so are seemingly detached questions of just working conditions. Significant burdens are borne by some shipping crew and local tourism workers in vulnerable and precarious employment as tourism activities create both on and offshore jobs. This observation relates to UN SDGs 1 and 8. In Iceland alone, tourism employment constituted 15,7% of the Icelandic workforce, employing approximately 30 000 people.[85] This focus on tourism also provides opportunities to address inequalities among those employed in the Arctic tourism sector, including gender disparities and pay gaps and improving the compensation and work conditions of local tourism workers.[86] However, this is arguably a problem indicative of the shipping industry more broadly. Yet, heightened shipping activity further contributes to the climate crisis, making it more of an issue in the Arctic region than previously. Here, liberal theories of justice would fall short of providing the full picture in that they would merely foreground particular individual rights and questions of equality in light of certain working conditions and hiring practices.[87] By contrast, what this article sketched here was how a set of cross-scale developments affect

[80]Lasserre and Têtu, "The Cruise Tourism Industry in the Canadian Arctic", 32–34.
[81]Bremenports, "Finnafjord".
[82]Norwegian Ministry of Justice and Public Service, *Svalbard – Meld. St. 32 (2015–2016)*, 12–13, 41–44.
[83]Colin Campbell, "The Romantic Ethic and the Spirit of Modern Consumerism".
Colin Campbell, *Consumption and Consumer Society.*
[84]Agathangelou and Ling, *Transforming World Politics.*
[85]OECD, "OECD Tourism Trends and Policies 2020: Iceland".
[86]Thrane, "Earnings Differentiation in the Tourism Industry: Gender, Human Capital and Socio-Demographic Effects".
Lück et al., *Cruise Tourism in Polar Regions.*
[87]Corine Wood-Donnelly and Johanna Ohlson, *Arctic Justice.*

the rights of employees as well as indigenous groups and local societies amid broader questions of cultural and political sovereignty in the context of a changing climate.

Intergenerational aspects of justice are closely intertwined with the climatic aspects and relate to the long-term survival of communities (UN SDG 11). This is a result of spatially and temporally distant gains by non-Arctic communities, i.e. particularly the industrialisation in Europe and North America that fuelled (sic) wealth and prosperity while allowing for negative, un-taxed externalities. This observation serves as a reminder that UN SDG 12 transcends localities. While there may be some gains in the region in the short-term from increased shipping activities, it is not clear to what extent this is a sustainable arrangement. In all likelihood, the degrees of freedom of Arctic inhabitants will shrink if the assumption holds that culture and ways of life are closely dependent on current climatic conditions (SDGs 1, 11, 13). Stewardship may have local benefits, but this does not equate to empowerment, as the main causes of climate change do not reside in the region itself.

Spatial and landscape justice are in close relation to the previous two points, though perhaps more as a supplement. The Arctic landscape is the primary asset for inhabitants, which does not only interweave with a way of life but also can be monetised (SDG 1, 11, 14). It is a source of income also for outside actors (cruise companies). In this regard, it is worth considering a distinct spatial justice aspect in that global capitalist developments interact with local populations (SDGs 1, 8, 12). Global profit search also brings global rules – like the working conditions on board the vessels – to the region. However, the potential benefit for local and Indigenous communities may arise from empowering moves if local guidelines and laws are applied and enforced.

6. Conclusion

This article fused concepts and methodologies discussed in critical global governance and tourism studies research to provide an account of stakeholder-sourced solutions to the governance of cruise tourism. This approach resulted in two insights which concern both the academic approach in general as well as the substance of the article in particular. Regarding the former, academically the article demonstrated the possibility and fruitfulness of drawing on a broader methodology that runs across several strands in the social sciences. The emancipatory intent shared by CTS and normative Global Governance research was addressed by linking the cross-scale governance processes to local experience 'on the ground', i.e. in different communities and localities. The shared normativity is broadly embedded in Enlightenment ideals, i.e. to improve life on Earth, but the direction of this improvement is left open. Our discussion in the previous section mapped some of the possible pathways in relation to different justice issues. The section thereby demonstrated for CTS how the role of global norms can be incorporated into research. On the other hand, incorporating local perspectives is a desideratum that Global Governance research has demanded for some time – and the discussion helped fill that gap.

Substantially, then, the first-hand accounts of the main challenges to a just transition of the cruise sector mapped four fields in which solutions should be sought. Herein, the statements based on the empirical work conducted for this article suggest a range of policy measures that can aid this endeavour and make cruise tourism more just and

(socially) sustainable, variation in national legal frameworks permitting. Stakeholders foregrounded the importance of enabling 'syncretic encounters' between seemingly incommensurable lifeworlds.[88] This would not only allow for a 'fusion of horizons' in an ideational sense,[89] which could be explored further in another project. Preferably, it would also have practical implications regarding norms, habits and behaviour associated with capitalist modes of production and conspicuous consumption prevailing in visitors' domestic societies. Towards this end, the solutions sourced from stakeholder accounts presented in this study highlight the importance of state-aided governance to decompress spatial and temporal resources. It forms a key component on the way towards a sustainable future for the Arctic tourism sector and associated economic activities that come close to meeting the UN SDGs addressed in this article.

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[88]Agathangelou and Ling, *Transforming World Politics*.
[89]Gadamer, *Truth and Method*. We are indebted to Reviewer 2 to point out that "horizons of hospitality" could be explored further in another project.

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