



THIRD EDITION

TOURISM GEOGRAPHY

CRITICAL UNDERSTANDINGS OF
PLACE, SPACE AND EXPERIENCE

STEPHEN WILLIAMS AND ALAN A. LEW



Alan Lew provides a valuable update to the Williams classic, and in doing so brings together two of the most important voices in the field of tourism. They demonstrate in compelling fashion that geographers bring a great deal to the study of tourism practices, patterns and impacts as well as to the ambitious project of creating a sustainable and responsible tourism industry. Especially welcomed are *Tourism Geography's* new interactive online tools and concluding chapter, which maps emerging critical paradigms in tourism studies – from new theories about economy, human – ecosystem relations, and the cultural politics of language to the application of resiliency planning, mobile technologies and place-based information systems within tourism development.

Derek Alderman, *Department of Geography, University of Tennessee, USA*

A comprehensive update on the second edition, *Tourism Geography* remains very well grounded in current geographic concepts. The expanded global perspectives that Alan Lew has contributed as a new co-author are welcome additions to Stephen Williams' excellent introductory text. Enhanced access to web-based case studies will be an appealing feature for students and allow flexibility for instructors to customize relevant examples.

Alison Gill, *Department of Geography, Simon Fraser University, Canada*

Fully revised and updated, this classic text has once again been brought back to the vanguard of the tourism geography literature. The addition of Lew's considerable expertise and experience to this new edition has added further value to Williams' already strong work. *Tourism Geography* has reconfirmed its status as a bookshelf essential for geographers and non-geographers with an interest in tourism.

Julie Wilson, *Faculty of Tourism and Geography, Rovira i Virgili University, Spain and University of the West of England, UK*

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Tourism Geography, Third edition

For human geographers, a central theme within the discipline is interpreting and understanding our changing world – a world in which geographic patterns are constantly being reworked by powerful forces of change. These forces include population shifts, new patterns of economic production and consumption, evolving social and political structures, new forms of urbanism, and globalisation and the compressions of time and space that are the product of the ongoing revolutions in information technology and telecommunications. This book attempts to show how tourism has also come to be a major force for change as an integral and indispensable part of the places in which we live, their economies and their societies. When scarcely a corner of the globe remains untouched by the influence of tourism, this is a phenomenon that we can no longer ignore.

Tourism is also an intensely geographic phenomenon. It exists through the desire of people to move in search of embodied experience of other places as individuals and en masse and at scales from the local to the increasingly global. Tourism creates distinctive relationships between people (as tourists) and the host spaces, places and people they visit, which has significant implications for destination development and resource use and exploitation, which are exhibited through a range of economic, social, cultural and environmental impacts that have important implications for local geographies.

This third edition of *Tourism Geography: critical understandings of place, space and experience* presents an essential understanding of critical perspectives on how tourism places and spaces are created and maintained. Drawing on the holistic nature of geography, a range of social science disciplinary views are presented, including both historical and contemporary perspectives. Fundamentally, however, the book strives to connect tourism to key geographical concepts of globalisation, mobility, production and consumption, physical landscapes, and post-industrial change. The book is arranged in five parts. Part I provides an overview of fundamental tourism definitions and concepts, along with an introduction to some of the major themes in contemporary geographic research on tourism, which are further developed in subsequent chapters of this book. In Part II the discussion focuses on how spatial patterns of modern tourism have evolved through time from regional to global geographies. Part III offers an extended discussion of how tourism relates to places that are toured through their economic landscape, contemporary environmental change and socio-cultural relations. Part IV explores a range of major themes in the geographies of tourism, including place creation and promotion, the transformation of urban tourism, heritage and place identity, and creating personal identity through consumption, encounters with nature and other embodied forms of tourism experience. Part V turns to applied geography with an overview of the different roles of planning for tourism as a means of spatial regulation of the activity, and a look at emerging themes in the critical geography of contemporary and future geographies of tourism.

This third edition has been revised by Dr Alan A. Lew, who becomes the new co-author of *Tourism Geography*. Some of the major revisions that have been incorporated include moving most of the case study boxes to the website <http://tourismgeography.com>, which will provide a growing wealth of new case studies, over time. New material has been incorporated, some of the content reorganised to balance the topics covered, a new concluding chapter added that explores some recently emerging perspectives in critical tourism geography, and the text re-written to make it more accessible to a global English-speaking world. That said, the book is still very much the work of Dr Stephen Williams. As such, it maintains its original concise yet comprehensive review of contemporary tourism geography and the ways in which geographers critically interpret this important global phenomenon. It is written as an introductory text for students, and includes guidance for further study in each chapter that can form the basis for independent work. Lecturers using this textbook are welcome to contribute to the book's content developing through the supporting website by contacting the author at any time.



More online for *Tourism Geography, third edition* at <http://tourismgeography.com>

Stephen Williams is Emeritus Professor of Human Geography at Staffordshire University, UK. His extensive interests in recreation and tourism are reflected in his publications, which include *Outdoor Recreation and the Urban Environment* (Routledge), *Tourism and Recreation* (Prentice Hall) and a four-volume edited work *Tourism: critical concepts in the social sciences* (Routledge).

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Stephen Williams and
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I am excited to have had the opportunity to take Stephen Williams' highly respected *Tourism Geography* textbook into a third edition. I am grateful to Professor Williams for giving me this opportunity to continue to bring the geography of tourism to a new generation of students. I have maintained quite a few of his photos in this edition, along with many of the maps and figures created by his department cartographer, Rosie Duncan. I am thankful to both for these. I am also thankful to the staff at Routledge for their support in this effort, and to the four anonymous reviewers who commented on the changes that I had proposed for this edition. I hope those changes prove effective for all of our students. Finally, I would like to thank my colleagues in the Department of Geography, Planning and Recreation at Northern Arizona University for their continuing support for this and all of the various writing projects that I seem to always have underway.

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Part I

Introduction: tourism and geography

This first part of the book provides an introduction and overview of tourism as a social phenomenon and the particular interests that geographers have in it. Ian Matley (1976: 5) observed that ‘There is scarcely an aspect of tourism which does not have some geographical implications and there are few branches of geography which do not have some contribution to make to the study of the phenomenon of tourism.’ More specifically, Mitchell and Murphy (1991) identified environmental issues, regional development, spatial studies and evolutionary/historical processes as the primary traditional ways that geographers have contributed to the study of tourism. These themes run throughout this book, although we do take a clearly critical perspective to the issues that are raised by them. To understand tourism, however, we first need to understand what we mean by tourism. It is certainly among the more important parts of the larger topic of human mobility. But for both statistical and critically qualitative understandings, clearer boundaries are required. These two topics, defining the tourism phenomenon and the geographic interest in it, are the objectives of the first chapter.

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1

Tourism, geography and geographies of tourism

KEY CONCEPTS

- Geography
- Globalisation
- Leisure
- Mobility
- Recreation
- Relational geography
- Sustainability
- Tourism
- Tourism inversions
- Tourist motivation



More online for Chapter 1 at <http://tourismgeography.com/1>

The annual migrations of billions of domestic and international tourists worldwide is a fundamental geographic phenomenon that social scientists and planners cannot ignore because it has become an essential way that humans engage with other people, places, environments. Tourism is geographical because its dimensions include:

- human–environment interactions and landscape;
- conservation and management of places and environments;
- environmental perceptions and sense of place; and
- spatial behaviour and human mobility.

Part of the contemporary significance of tourism arises from the sheer scale of international travel and the rapidity with which it has developed. International tourist trips (at least one night) passed the one billion mark in 2012 in a phenomenal and seemingly unstoppable rise from less than 25 million such trips worldwide at the end of the Second World War (UNWTO, 2013a). The global gross receipts from the activities of these tourists amounted to US\$1.075 trillion in 2012, and accounted for almost 3 per cent of world GDP (WTTC, 2013) trade in services, making it the world's largest service sector industry (see Lew, 2011). In addition to these international travellers and their expenditures must be added the *domestic tourists* who do not cross international boundaries and *day trippers* who cross an international border for less than one day. For many countries, these two groups are several times more numerous than their international counterparts.

The significance of the number of tourists is in the range of economic, social and environmental impacts that the movement of people on this scale inevitably produces at local, regional, national and international levels. In addition to these impacts, as a form of popular culture, tourism offers a mirror on contemporary lifestyles, tastes and preferences. The sociologist John Urry has argued that mobility – in its various guises, of which tourism is an essential component – has become central to the structuring of social life and cultural identity in the twenty-first century (Urry, 2000).

Tourism impacts occur across the range of economic, social, cultural and environmental contexts. Globally, an estimated 100 million people derive direct employment from the tourism business: from travel and transportation, accommodation, promotion, entertainment, visitor attractions and tourist retailing (WTTC, 2013). Tourism plays a major role in social and economic globalisation (Shaw and Williams, 2004) and has been variously recognised: as a means of advancing wider international economic integration within areas such as the European Union (EU) and Southeast Asia; as a catalyst for modernisation, economic development and prosperity in emerging nations in developing economies (Britton, 1989); and as a pathway for regenerating post-industrial economies in developing economies (Robinson, 1999). It may contribute to the preservation of some aspects of local cultures in the face of the homogenising effects of globalisation. For example, it can encourage and enable the conservation and restoration of sensitive environments (Hall and Lew, 2009). In addition, it may also promote international peace and understanding (Higgins-Desbiolles, 2006).

On the other hand, tourism can also result in a range of detrimental impacts on the physical environments that tourists visit, including air and water pollution, increased traffic congestion, the physical erosion of sites, the disruption of habitats and species declines, and unsightly visual blight caused by poorly planned or designed buildings. The display of local cultures and customs to tourists can be a means of sustaining traditions and rituals, but it may also be a potent agency for cultural change, the erosion of distinctive beliefs, values and practices, and the local adoption of globalised mass forms of culture. Likewise among its economic impacts, although tourism generates significant employment, it is also prone to the whims of popularity and fashion, and is susceptible to environmental disasters and global economic downturns, making it an insecure foundation on which to build national economic growth. In addition, the quality of jobs created within the tourism sector (as defined by their permanence, reward and remuneration levels) often leaves much to be desired, and more critically, it can be a vehicle for perpetuating economic inequalities, maintaining dependencies and neo-colonial relationships between developed and developing nations (Higgins-Desbiolles, 2006).

Other economic activities have similar globalising opportunities and impacts, though tourism is among the more visible and accessible of these. The study of tourism impacts has become a traditional means of understanding the significance of tourism (Mathieson and Wall, 1982; Hall and Lew, 2009). Thus tourism and tourist experience are now seen as influencing social differentiation (Ateljevic and Doorne, 2003); as a means by which we develop and reinforce our identities and locate ourselves in the modern world (Franklin, 2004); as a prominent source for the acquisition of what Bourdieu (1984) defines as ‘cultural capital’; and as a key context within which people engage with the fluid and changing nature of modernity (Franklin, 2004). Franklin and Crang (2001: 19) summarise the new-found relevance of tourism studies:

The tourist and styles of tourist consumption are not only emblematic of many features of contemporary life, such as mobility, restlessness, the search for authenticity and

escape, but they are increasingly central to economic restructuring, globalization, the consumption of place and the aestheticization of everyday life.

To disregard what has become a primary area of physical, social, cultural and economic development would be to deny a pervasive and powerful force for change in the world in which we live. Modern tourism creates a broad agenda for enquiry to which geographers can contribute, especially because the nature of tourism's effects is so often contingent upon the geographical circumstances in which it is developed and practised. The spaces and places in which tourism occurs are usually fundamental to the tourist experience – and space and place are core interests for human geographers.

The contingent nature of tourism has further encouraged a shift in critical thinking around the subject, away from traditional binary views of tourism and towards more relational perspectives. Thus, for example, rather than perpetuating a view of tourism impacts as being either positive or negative, recent work in tourism geography has promoted more nuanced, equivocal understandings that have provided insight into the ways in which tourists relate to the world around them.

This book is essentially concerned with developing an understanding of how tourism geographies are formed and maintained through the diverse and increasingly flexible relationships between people and the places that are toured and how those relationships become manifest across geographical space. It takes as its point of departure a key assumption – namely that to *understand tourism geography one must also understand tourism*. Hence, for example, in the following sections important basic concepts and issues are introduced relating to:

- an understanding of what tourism is and some of the inherent problems associated with the study of tourism;
- some of the ways in which tourists may be differentiated (since such a vast number of people is clearly far from homogeneous);
- how tourist motivation and experience may be understood.

This material is included, not because it is inherently geographical per se, but because the differentiation of tourist types, which reflects the motivations and the experiences that they seek, results in distinct geographical patterns and behaviours. It is probably a fair criticism that geographers have not made a particularly significant contribution to the development of these core concepts (especially the differentiation of tourists or the development of tourism motivation theory and concepts of tourism experience), but the understandings that other disciplines have developed are still essential to comprehending tourism geography.

What is tourism?

What is tourism and how does it relate to associated concepts of recreation and leisure?

The word 'tourism', although accepted and recognised in common parlance, is nevertheless a term that is subject to a diversity of definitions and interpretations (Leiper, 1993). Definitional problems arise because the word 'tourism' is typically used not only as a single term to designate a variety of concepts (Gilbert, 1990), but also as an area of study in a range of disciplines that includes geography, economics, business and marketing, sociology, anthropology, history and psychology. The conceptual structures and

epistemologies within these different disciplines lead inevitably to contrasts in perspective and emphasis. Furthermore, while there has been some convergence in ‘official’ definitions (i.e., those used by tourism organisations, governments and international forums such as the United Nations [UN]), public perception of what constitutes a tourist and the activity of tourism may differ quite markedly.

Traditional definitions of tourists and tourism – as found, for example, within dictionaries – commonly describe a *tourist* as a person undertaking a tour – a circular trip that is usually made for business, pleasure or education, at the end of which one returns to the starting point, normally the home. The word *tourism* is normally viewed as a composite concept involving not just the temporary movement of people to destinations that are removed from their normal place of residence but, in addition, the organisation and conduct of their travel activities and of the travel facilities and services that are necessary to meet their needs.

The core elements derived from these popular definitions that distinguish tourism activity include:

- Tourism involves travel with the temporary relocation of people.
- Motivations for tourism may come from one or more sources, including pleasure, business, education, social relations, health and religion.
- Tourism requires an accessible supporting infrastructure of transport, accommodation, marketing systems, entertainment and attractions that together form the basis for the tourism industries.

Official definitions of tourism have tended to be somewhat similarly broad in scope. For example, the United Nations World Tourism Organization (UNWTO) definition published in 1994 has tourism as comprising:

the activities of persons travelling to and staying in places outside their usual environment for not more than one consecutive year for leisure, business or other purposes.
(UNWTO, 1994)

This definition acknowledges that tourism occurs both between and within countries (i.e., international and domestic tourism) and that it covers overnight visitors who stay as well as those who visit for part of a day (Lickorish and Jenkins, 1997). The recognition of forms of day visiting as constituting a part of tourism is important, primarily because the actions, impacts and, indeed, the local geographies of day visitors and excursionists are often indistinguishable in cause and effect from those of overnight visitors. To confine the study of tourism to only those who stay overnight, omits an important component from the overall concept of tourism (see Williams, 2003). That being said, most tourism statistics, both international and domestic, only consider overnight visitors as actual tourists, while day-only visitors are referred to as ‘day trippers’ or ‘excursionists’. Hall and Lew (2009), graphically demonstrate how distance and time impact the conceptualisation of tourist types (Figure 1.1).

These traditional definitions of tourism have come under attack as developments in the critical analysis of tourism have raised fundamental challenges to their assumptions. As the discussion of motivation and experience later in this chapter will explain, the development of tourism was generally held to be a form of escape, a quest to experience difference and, in some readings, to find an authenticity that could not be obtained in normal routines (MacCannell, 1973, 1989). However, since the 1980s, post-industrial

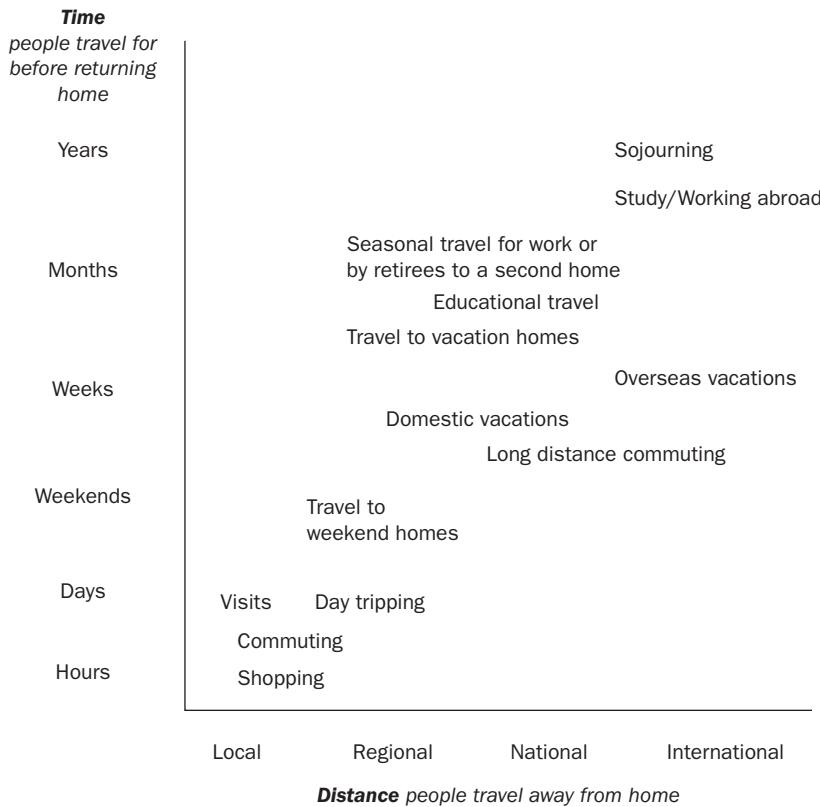


Figure 1.1 A generalized tourist typology based on time and distance (based on Hall and Lew, 2009)

restructuring of the global economy, society and culture has been progressively linked to what has been termed a process of ‘de-differentiation’, whereby formerly clear distinctions (e.g., between work and leisure; home and away; or public and private) have been blurred and eroded (Lash and Urry, 1994; Urry, 1994a; Rojek and Urry, 1997). In globalising societies what was once different is now familiar and the necessity to travel to encounter difference is greatly diminished as the experience of foreign cultures, practices, tastes and fashions become routinely embedded in everyone’s daily lives. Franklin (2004: 24) asserts that ‘it is difficult (and pointless) to define tourism in spatial terms: it is simply not behaviour that only takes place away from home’ – a thesis that is reinforced by Urry’s (2000) articulation of modern mobilities where he argues that in the excessively mobile societies of the twenty-first century, much of everyday life is now lived in a touristic manner. Hence, concepts of home and away (and their associated experiences) become less meaningful and sometimes meaningless in situations where, for example, people possess multiple homes.

Consequently, Shaw and Williams (2004: 9) confidently describe the quest for definitions of tourism as an ‘arid debate’ given the progressive blurring of boundaries between tourism and daily life, while Franklin (2004: 27) is openly hostile to what he perceives as the limiting effects of conventional definitions that place the travel and accommodation industry and the associated provision and purchase of commodities at the heart



Plate 1.1 Tourism as an integral part of daily life at this subway station entrance in Singapore's Chinatown (photo by Alan A. Lew)

of tourism, rather than tourist behaviour and culture. This tendency, he argues, 'denudes tourism of some of its most interesting and important characteristics'. Franklin's thesis places tourism at the core of individual engagement with the fluid and changing conditions of modernity and he is content to reflect both this belief and his resistance to industry-focused definitions through radically different descriptions of the subject, such that, for example, tourism is described as 'the nomadic manner in which we all attempt to make sense of modernity (and enjoy it) from the varied and multiple positions that we hold' (Franklin, 2004: 64).

These recent attempts to ground tourism as part of our daily experience, rather than a distinct and separate entity that expresses resistance to the everyday (e.g., through notions of escape and a quest for difference), raises the wider issue of the relationship between tourism, recreation and leisure. As areas of academic study (beyond within the discipline of geography), separate modes of investigation have emerged among these three fields, with particular emphasis upon the separation of tourism from the other two. Unfortunately, the terms 'leisure' and 'recreation' are themselves contested (see, e.g., Rojek, 1993a, 1997), but if we take a traditional view of 'leisure' as being related either to free time and/or to a frame of mind in which people believe themselves to be 'at leisure' (Patmore, 1983) and of 'recreation' as being 'activity voluntarily undertaken primarily for pleasure and satisfaction during leisure time' (Pigram, 1983: 3), then some significant areas of tourism are clearly related to major areas of recreation and leisure. Not only does a great deal of tourism activity take place in the leisure time/space framework, but much of it also centres upon recreational activities and experiences (e.g., sightseeing, travelling for pleasure, leisure shopping, eating and drinking, socialising) that may occur with equal ease within leisurely contexts that exist outside the framework of tourism.

Similarly, as has been argued above, tourism permeates day-to-day lifestyles, in both leisure and work. We read about tourism in newspapers or magazines and view television travel shows; we spend leisure time reviewing home videos or photo albums of previous trips and actively planning future ones; and we import experiences of travel into our home

and working lives; for example, by eating at foreign-food restaurants, or by including foreign clothing styles within our wardrobe. Thus, Carr (2002) argues that many forms of tourist behaviour are extensions of established behaviours in the leisure environment of our daily lives and hence rather than conceiving of leisure and tourism as polar opposites, it is more meaningful to visualise the different forms of engagement with leisure and tourism as being arranged along a continuum. This raises interesting questions relating to *where* tourism takes place (or is absent) on the geographical home and away continuum.

In approaching the study of tourism, therefore, we need to understand that the relationships between leisure, recreation and tourism are much closer and more intimate than the disparate manner in which they are treated in textbooks and by many scholars might suggest. There is considerable common ground in the major motivations for participation (attractions of destinations, events and experiences; social contacts; exploration), in the factors that facilitate engagement with activity (discretionary income; mobility; knowledge of opportunity) and the rewards (pleasure; experience; knowledge or memories) that we gain from tourism, recreation and leisure. Figure 1.2 provides a representation of these relationships as overlapping areas of experience and draws attention both to areas of coincidence and to areas of potential separation. However, rather than viewing each as a discrete and clearly delineated zone of practice and experience, it is more meaningful to emphasise the permeability of boundaries (as indicated by the use of broken lines) and hence a fluidity in the relationship between the different elements.

Problems in the study of tourism

The definitional complexities of tourism and the uncertain linkages with the allied fields of recreation and leisure are basic problems that confront the student of tourism geography. However, three further problems merit brief attention at this introductory stage.

First, in later chapters a range of statistics is used to map out the basic dimensions and patterns of tourism. This is a common starting point in understanding the geography of tourism since the number of arrivals and departures at differing geographical scales (e.g., continental, national, regional, and destinations) is a primary means of isolating and then describing the movements and concentrations of tourists. But it is important to appreciate that in many situations, comparability across space and time is difficult, if not

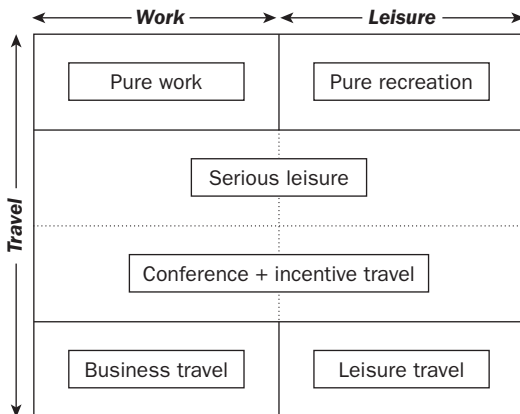


Figure 1.2
Relationship among leisure, recreation and travel/tourism

Source: Authors

impossible due to variations in official government practices in defining and recording tourist activity.

At a global scale, for example, there are some critical differences of approach between – on the one hand – the UN World Tourism Organization (UNWTO), and – on the other – the World Travel and Tourism Council (WTTC). The WTTC, with its strong focus on business, promotes a ‘tourism satellite accounting’ process (TSA) as a means of measuring tourism’s economic contribution to a country. The TSA approach estimates the varying contribution of different economic activities (such as restaurants, hotels, travel agencies and airlines) to tourism. In contrast, the UNWTO bases much of its measurement of tourism on data that enumerate arrivals and departures as tourist headcounts, which are then combined with estimates of tourism expenditures to derive economic impact. Because these two primary sources of global scale data adopt different approaches, the picture that each paints of the state of world tourism can also be different.

Moreover, comparing countries may seem simple, but can be problematic. For example, the industry mix that is included in the TSA of one country is often very different from that in another country, making direct country comparisons impossible (Hall and Lew, 2009). However, even arrival and departure numbers can be a challenge, because some countries do not count the arrivals of foreign nationals at their borders.

The relaxation of border controls between the European countries that are signatories to the Schengen Agreement (first signed by five states in 1995) permits largely unrestricted (and hence undocumented) movement of tourists between them. While many other countries record visitors at points of entry, local definitions of tourist status or a failure to identify precise motives for visiting can lead to less than full tourist data. For example, some count business travellers as tourists while others do not. Rather than border crossing data, more complete tourism statistics are often compiled through sample surveys of visitors or by reference to hotel registrations, both of which will naturally be selective and prone to imprecision. Hotel-based figures, for example, will exclude those visitors who lodge with friends or relatives. For some developing economies, these data may be based more on guesswork. Data, therefore, are seldom directly comparable between countries and destinations, and always need to be treated with some caution.

In addition to tourist arrival and economic impact data issues, there are problems inherent in the definition of tourism as a coherent industry. It has been argued that designating tourism as an ‘industry’ establishes a framework within which activity and associated impacts may be mapped, measured and recorded. More critically, it provides a form of legitimisation for an activity that has often struggled to gain the strategic recognition of political and economic analysts and hence a place within official policy agendas. However, tourism, in practice, is a nebulous area and the notion that it may be conceived as a distinctive industry with a definable product and measurable geographic flows of associated goods, labour and capital has in itself been debated.

Conventionally, an industry is defined as a group of firms engaged in the manufacture or production of a given product or service. In tourism, though, there are many products and services, some tangible (provision of accommodation, entertainment and the production of gifts and souvenirs), others less so (creation of experience, memories or social contact). Many of the firms that serve tourists also provide the same service to local people who do not fall into the category of tourists, however it may be defined. Tourism is not, therefore, an industry in the conventional sense. It is really a collection of industries which experience varying levels of dependence upon visitors, a dependence that alters through both space (at different places) and time (on different days of the week or seasonally). To address this, WTTC’s TSA approach gives an annual percentage to each industry that contributes to tourism, such as 50 per cent for restaurants, though these numbers will

vary with each country or destination within a country. The approach is effective in measuring changes in the tourism industry from year to year, but cannot be used for comparing different places.

A third practical problem is the lack of a unified conceptual grounding for the study of tourism (Williams, 2004a). Meethan (2001: 2), for example, describes the study of tourism as ‘under-theorised, eclectic and disparate’. Such criticisms are important because, in the absence of a theoretical underpinning, and related methodologies, they tend to regress towards a broadly empirical/descriptive approach (which is a common criticism of tourism studies). Insights that can arise from the more structured forms of analysis that a sound conceptual framework permits are harder to realise.

This is not to say that there have been no insightful theories within the study of tourism. As the following chapters will demonstrate, the understanding of many aspects of tourism has benefited from varying degrees of theoretical thought reflecting different disciplinary perspectives. But what is largely absent is the broader synthesis of diverse issues and perspectives (Llewellyn Watson and Kopachevsky, 1994).

As an intrinsically eclectic discipline, geography is better placed than others to provide the type of holistic perspective that a multi-dimensional phenomenon such as tourism requires. This perspective is central to the approach adopted in this book. But there are still limits to the level and extent of understanding that any one discipline, in isolation, can afford. The study of tourism geography must, therefore, be predisposed towards adopting multi-disciplinary perspectives in seeking to understand this most contradictory and, at times, enigmatic phenomenon.

Tourist motivation

The question of why people travel is fundamental to any understanding of the practice, experience and geography of tourism. The spatial patterns of tourist movement and the concentrations of tourists at preferred destinations is not an accidental process but is shaped by individual or collective motivations and the expectation that by travelling to particular places, those motivations may be realised. Other elements, such as the supply of tourist facilities and the marketing of places as tourist destinations, are also closely related to motivation, reflecting tourist interests while also influencing where they go and what they experience.

As Shaw and Williams (2004) note, many motivational theories are grounded in the concept of ‘need’, as originally conceived by Maslow (1954). This is evident in some of the early work on tourist motivation (e.g., Compton, 1979; Dann, 1981) which placed at the heart of the understanding of tourist motivation notions of a *need* to escape temporarily from the routine situations of the home, the workplace and the familiarity of their physical and social environments. Such needs arise, it is argued, because individuals strive to maintain stability in their lives (what is termed ‘homeostasis’). When a disruption occurs, then needs become evident. Homeostasis is restored – in theory – once those needs have been met. Hence an extended period of work might create a perceived need for rest and relaxation that might be met through a holiday. Embedded within these core motives are a range of related motivational components. Compton (1979) for example, proposed that tourists might seek opportunities to relax; to enhance kinship or other social relations; to experience novelty and be entertained; to indulge regressive (normally unacceptable) forms of behaviour; and to engage in forms of self-discovery. In a similar vein, Beard and Ragheb (1983) emphasised four motivational components: an intellectual component (in which tourists acquired knowledge); a social component (through which social

networks were maintained or extended); a competence component (in which skills were developed); and a stimulus-avoidance component (which reflects the desire for release from pressured situations – such as work – and attain rest or relaxation).

Implicit in these conceptualisations are two important propositions. First, tourist motivations are formed around combinations of stimuli that, on the one hand, encourage tourist behaviours (push factors) and, on the other, attract tourists to particular destinations or forms of activity (pull factors). Second, tourists expect to derive benefit (or reward) from activities undertaken. These two assumptions are brought together in Iso-Ahola’s (1982) model of the social psychology of tourism. Here elements of escape from routine environments are juxtaposed with a parallel quest for intrinsic rewards in the environments to be visited. By envisaging these key elements as the axes on a matrix (Figure 1.3) it is possible to construct a set of theoretical ‘cells’ in which elements of escape and reward are combined in differing ways and within which tourist motives may be located, depending upon their particular circumstances and objectives at any one time.

It is also implicit in viewing tourism as a form of escape that behavioural patterns will reflect motivations. One of the most interesting expositions of this idea is Graburn’s (1983a) explanation of tourist ‘inversions’ – shifts in behaviour patterns away from a norm and towards a temporary opposite. This might be shown in extended periods of relaxation (as opposed to work); increased consumption of food, and increased purchases of drinks and consumer goods; relaxation in dress codes through varying states of nudity; and, most importantly from a geographical perspective, relocation to contrasting places, climates or environments. Graburn proposes several different headings or ‘dimensions’ under which tourist behavioural inversions occur, including environment, lifestyle, formality and health (Table 1.1). Graburn emphasises that within the context of any one visit, only some dimensions will normally be subject to a reversal. This allows us to explain how the same people may take different types of holiday at different times and to different locations. In addition, actual behaviour patterns will exhibit varying degrees of departure from a norm, rather than automatically switching to a polar opposite. Thus the behavioural patterns of some tourists show minimal differences from most of the normal dimensions of their lives, though the notions of escape and contrast remain central to most forms of tourism experience.

The motivations that shape individual patterns of tourist behaviour will alter through time and across different situations. This idea has been articulated by Pearce (1993) in his

		<i>Seeking intrinsic rewards</i>	
		Personal	Interpersonal
<i>Escaping everyday environments</i>	Personal environment	(1) Personal experience in an isolated place (e.g., family beach holiday)	(2) Social experience in an isolated place (e.g., group camping trip)
	Interpersonal environment	(3) Personal experience in a social place (e.g., exotic urban destination)	(4) Social experience in a social place (e.g., urban group tour)

Figure 1.3 Social psychology of tourist motivation (adapted from Iso-Ahola, 1982)

Table 1.1 Examples of ‘inversions’ in tourism

<i>Dimension</i>	<i>Continua</i>	<i>Tourist behavioural pattern</i>
Environment	Winter vs. summer Cold vs. warmth Crowds vs. isolation Modern vs. ancient Home vs. foreign	Tourist escapes cooler latitudes in favour of warmer places. Urban people may seek the solitude of rural or remote places. Historic sites attract tourists who live in modern environments. Familiarity of the home is replaced by the difference of the foreign.
Lifestyle	Thrift vs. indulgence Affluence vs. simplicity Work vs. leisure	Expenditure increased on special events or purchases. Experiences selected to contrast routines of work with rewards of leisure.
Formality	Rigid vs. flexible Formal vs. informal Restriction vs. license	Routines of normal time-keeping, dress codes and social behaviours replaced by contrasting patterns and practices based on flexibility and informality.
Health	Diet vs. gluttony Stress vs. tranquility Sloth vs. exercise Age vs. rejuvenation	Tourists indulge through increases in consumption. Relaxation sought as relief from routine stresses. Active holidays chosen as alternative to sedentary patterns in daily life. Health spas and exercise used to counteract process of ageing.

Source: Adapted from Graburn (1983a)

concept of the travel career ladder (Figure 1.4), which builds directly on Maslow’s (1954) ideas of a hierarchy of needs, and proposes five levels of motivation that ascend from the comparatively simple matter of relaxation and the meeting of bodily needs, to an existential quest for self-esteem and fulfilment (also see Cohen, 1979 – below). Lower order needs are satisfied first, with higher order motives being accessed as the tourist gains experience. However, while the model has value in emphasising the importance of experience in shaping tourist motivation and behaviours, the notion of a progressive development of experience through a travel ‘career’ based on experience is confounded by the observable tendency for contemporary tourists to seek different kinds of experience whether they are a novice or a highly experienced traveller. In particular, the trend towards multiple

Maslow’s Hierarchy of Needs		Travel career ladder (types of holidays)
5. Self-actualisation	Creativity, personal fulfillment, spontaneity	Lifelong dream vacations, meditation retreats
4. Self-esteem	Confidence, respect of others, satisfaction	Special interest tours, volunteer tourism, hard adventure travel
3. Affection and belonging	Social membership, avoiding alienation	Reunions and re-connections, roots and genealogy tours
2. Personal safety	Protection from elements, disease, fear	Guided soft adventure tours, ecotours, slum tours
1. Basic physiology	Oxygen, food, water for basic survival	Relaxation, spas, beach holidays

Figure 1.4 Comparison of basic human needs and the travel career ladder (adapted from Maslow, 1954 and Pearce, 1993)

holiday-taking (see Chapters 2 and 3) allows tourists to indulge a range of motives, more or less simultaneously, rather than sequentially as the model implies.

These models offer what might be considered ‘traditional’ readings of tourist motivation. Since perhaps the early 1990s, work in fields such as cultural studies has brought new perspectives to bear on the question of why people travel and how they choose between alternative destinations, some of which offer significant challenges to traditional approaches. In particular, writers such as Crouch (1999), Franklin and Crang (2001) and Franklin (2004) have developed persuasive lines of argument that emphasise the progressive embedding of tourism into daily life, in which – as a consequence – tourism practice becomes not just a means of relaxation, entertainment, social development or bodily reconstitution, but also an expression of identity and of social positioning through patterns of consumption. Thus tourism is not only a vehicle for accessing the world through travel, but increasingly a way of defining ourselves within it.

Whether people (as tourists) consciously recognise such motives in shaping the choices they make is a moot point, but if we accept Franklin’s (2004) assertion that tourism is a way of *connecting* to the (post)modern world rather than escaping from it, many of the established theories of motivation may need to be reappraised. What is equally important from the geographical perspective is that such processes encourage alternative spatial patterns of tourism (in new destinations, attractions, experiences and modes of travel) and new forms of engagement between people (as tourists) and place and space, as we will see in greater detail in Part III of this book.

Tourism typologies

Murphy (1985: 5) is probably correct when he writes that ‘there are as many types of tourist as there are motives for travel’. The complexity of tourism has stimulated repeated attempts to create typologies of the contrasting forms of tourism and of different types of tourist, in an attempt to bring some semblance of order – and hence, understanding – to the subject. The creation of typologies as a means for comprehending tourism has attracted some critical comment, because if tourism is truly an integral feature of postmodern life, then structures that compartmentalise or infer boundaries to experience, become barriers rather than pathways to developing understanding (Franklin, 2004). That said, the fact remains that comprehension of the diversity of tourism requires some means of differentiating one form of activity from another and so some consideration of typological approaches is merited.

The benefits of typologies are that they allow us to use a common language in identifying key dimensions of tourism and tourists. In particular, typological analyses help us to:

- differentiate types of tourism (e.g., recreational or business tourism);
- differentiate types of tourist (e.g., mass tourists or independent travellers);
- anticipate contrasting motives for travel;
- expect variations in impacts within host areas according to motives and forms of travel;
- expect differences in structural elements within tourism (e.g., accommodation, travel and entertainment) that different types of tourism will generate.

From a geographical perspective, these key dimensions are also central to the processes that demarcate the different forms of geographical space in which tourism may occur, and

the contrasting ways in which tourism relates to those spaces. We would expect that tourism would differ in form, for example, in the sophisticated city destinations of the business tourist; in the highly developed resorts that attract the mass recreationist; and in the more remote, undeveloped places that attract independent travellers and tourists on existential journeys of ‘discovery’.

Attempts at the categorisation of tourism normally use the activity that is central to the trip as a criterion around which to construct a subdivision. Thus we may draw basic distinctions between recreational tourism (where activities focus upon the pursuit of pleasure, whether through passive enjoyment of places as sightseers or through more active engagement with sports and pastimes) and business travel (where the primary focus will be the development or maintenance of commercial interests or professional contacts). However, it is also recognised that people may travel to secure treatment for medical conditions, for educational reasons, for social purposes or, in some cultures, as pilgrims for religious purposes. Furthermore, most of these categories may themselves be subdivided. It is, though, risky to push such distinctions too far or to assume that tourists travel for a narrow range of reasons. Most tourists choose destinations for a diversity of purposes and will combine more than one form of experience within a visit.

One of the intractable problems of isolating generalities within patterns is that the real-world complexity of tourism admits a whole spectrum of motives and behaviours that in many cases will co-exist within visits. So, for example, the business traveller may visit friends, take in a show or tour a museum, alongside the business meetings that provide the primary motive for the trip.

One of the earliest and most influential attempts to classify tourists was proposed by Cohen (1972). Cohen developed a four-fold categorisation of tourists, differentiated according to whether they were institutionalised (i.e., effectively managed through the travel industry) or non-institutionalised (i.e., very loosely attached – or independent of the tourist establishment). The two institutional categories are described by Cohen as organised mass tourists and individual mass tourists, while the non-institutional categories embrace people that Cohen labels as explorers and drifters.

Organised mass tourists characteristically travel to destinations that are essentially familiar rather than novel – familiarity commonly having been gained through previous experience, through reported experiences of others or through media exposure. The sense of familiarity is reinforced by the nature of goods and services that are available at the destination, which are often tailored to meet the tastes of dominant tourist groups. The mass tourist is highly dependent upon travel industry infrastructure to deliver a packaged trip at a competitive price and with minimal organisational requirements on the part of the tourist. Incipient tourists, feeling their way into foreign travel and new destinations for the first time, may typically operate in this sector, at least until experience is acquired. Organized mass tourism is dominated by recreational tourists.

Individual or small-group mass tourists are partly dependent upon the infrastructure of mass tourism to deliver some elements of the tourist package, especially travel and accommodation, but will structure more of the trip to suit themselves. The experiences sought are still likely to be familiar but with some elements of exploration or novelty. The sector will contain business tourists alongside recreational travellers and is also more likely to accommodate activities such as cultural or educational forms of tourism.

Explorers generally arrange their own trips and seek novelty and experiences that are not embodied in concepts of mass tourism or the places that mass tourists visit. Hence, for example, contact with host societies will often be a strong motivation for explorers. It is

possible, too, that people with very specific objectives in travelling (e.g., some business tourists, religious tourists, and health tourists) would travel in an explorer mode. There may be some dependence upon elements in the tourism industry, transportation and accommodation bookings being the most likely point of contact, but these are minimal.

The people that Cohen labels as ‘drifters’ may not consider themselves to be tourists in any conventional sense. They plan trips alone, shun other tourist groups (except perhaps fellow drifters) and generally seek immersion in host cultures and systems. People engaged in this form of tourism may sometimes be considered as pioneers, constituting the first travellers to previously untouched areas. In the process, however, they may also initiate new spatial patterns of travel that become embedded over time in changed geographical patterns of tourism, leading to the eventual mass tourism development of destinations.

To some extent these typological subdivisions of tourists may be linked to contrasting patterns of tourist motivation. The actions of organised, mass tourists, for example, have been widely interpreted as essentially a quest for diversionary forms of pleasure through an escape from the repetitive routine of daily life and a desire for restorative benefits through rest, relaxation and entertainment. The individual or small-group traveller may retain all or some of these motives but might equally replace or supplement them with an experiential motive, a desire to learn about or engage with alternative customs or cultures – what MacCannell (1973) identified as a quest for authenticity or meaning in life. This tendency becomes most clearly embodied in the motives of the explorers and the drifters who, it is argued, seek active immersion in alternative lifestyles in a search for a particular form of self-fulfillment and authenticity. However, we should exercise caution in overstating assumptions about untested links between motivation and forms of travel. As Uriely (2005: 205) reminds us, ‘the inclination to couple external practice with internal meaning needs to be resisted’.

The patterns of behaviour that are associated with different types of tourism may also lead to a range of particular impacts in the local geography of host areas. Organised mass tourism, for instance, generally requires infrastructure development such as the extensive provision of hotels and apartments, entertainment facilities, transportation systems and public utilities. The development of these inevitably alters the physical landscape of places, and will probably affect their environment and ecosystems, as well. In addition, the actions of tourists en masse will usually have an impact upon local lifestyles and culture. In contrast, the much smaller numbers of explorers make fewer demands for infrastructure and, through different attitudes and expectations towards host communities, usually exert a much reduced impact upon local life, although even these forms of tourism are not impact-free.

These ideas are summarised in Figure 1.5, which offers a typological framework of tourism and tourists that builds upon Cohen’s classification. In interpreting this summary, however, it is important to reiterate that differing forms of tourism may be combined within a single trip, and as individuals we can and will shift within the framework to suit our interests and take advantage of opportunities as they arise. In addition, one’s stage of life may influence travel patterns, with people who were strongly independent travellers in their youth possibly gravitating towards mass forms of tourism in later life, perhaps when acquiring a family or with the onset of old age when the capacities to travel independently may diminish.

Cohen’s work provides a useful summary of the forms of tourism that are broadly reflective of the modernist tradition that developed under the so-called ‘Fordist’ pattern

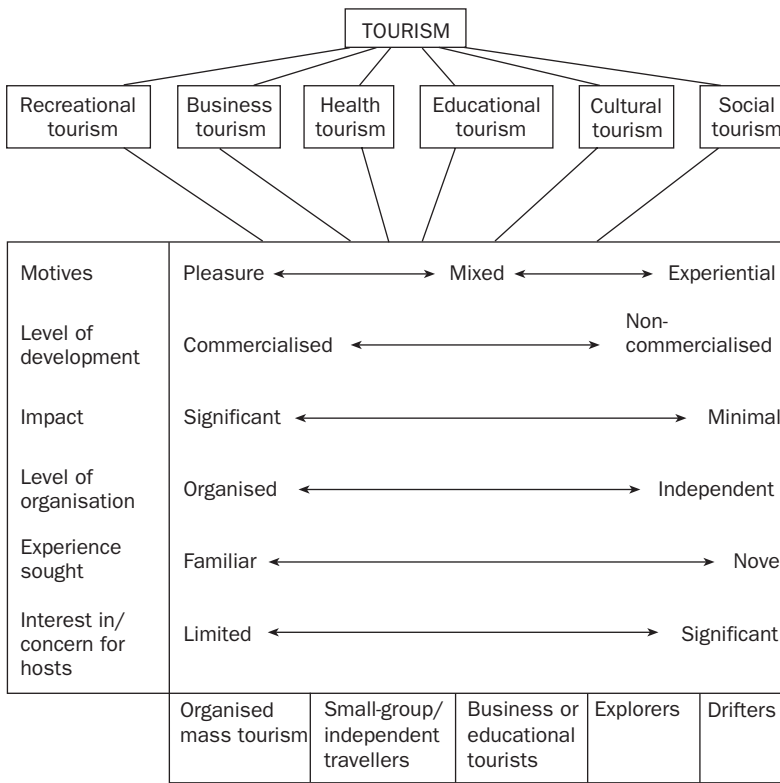


Figure 1.5 Tourism and tourists: a typological framework

of mass production and consumption (named for Henry Ford, who popularized the assembly line mode of production), with its emphasis upon mass packaging and the standardisation of tourism products. But tourism is seldom a static entity. For example, Poon (1989) noted a shift that became evident from perhaps the mid-1980s onwards, towards new patterns of tourism that are characterised by high degrees of segmentation within tourism markets, with highly flexible patterns of provision that are customised to meet the diverse demands of niche markets (see also Urry, 1994a; Ioannides and Debbage, 1997, 2014). The diversity of these ‘post-Fordist’ forms of tourism is not so effectively captured in typologies of the style developed by Cohen (although the distinctions between mass and independent forms of travel remain relevant, if less clearly identified). Recent work on tourist typologies has tended to focus on how the segmented markets that are characteristic of post-Fordist patterns are formed. Shaw and Williams (2004) provide a range of examples based around the emerging popularity of eco-tourism (see Chapter 5) that illustrate how typologies have been constructed around variables such as visitors’ levels of interest in, or knowledge of, the natural environment; their degree of dedication; levels of physical effort entailed in undertaking visits; as well as more conventional criteria relating to levels of organisation (or otherwise) of tours. The different perspectives offered in these typologies is revealing, not just of the changing nature of tourism, but also the more flexible ways in which the study of tourism needs to be approached.

Tourist experiences

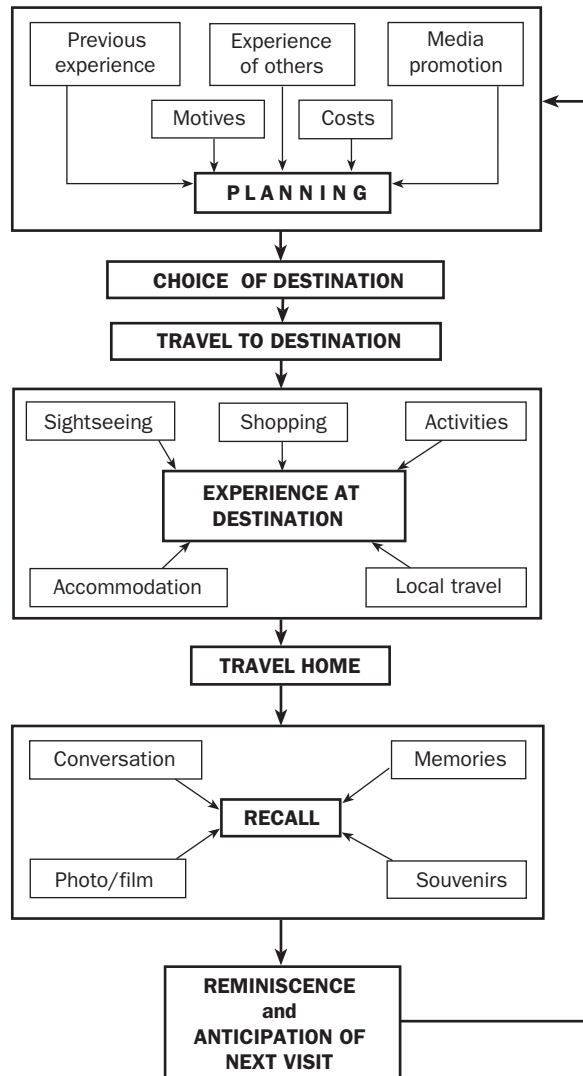
Alongside interest in motivation and the typological structure of tourism, the need to understand the nature of tourist experience has also been a recurring theme in the development of tourism studies and tourist typologies (see, e.g., Cohen, 1979; Urierly, 2005). It is important to recognise some significant changes in the way in which tourist experience has been viewed. Urierly (2005) suggests that the shift toward experience is reflective of transitions from a modernist perspective in which tourism was seen as essentially distinct from everyday life, to a postmodern perspective in which tourism becomes an embedded facet of life and where the meanings attached to the act of touring are defined at an individual level and are contingent on the context of the individual.

The seminal work in the modernist tradition is probably Cohen's (1979) essay on the phenomenology of tourist experience. Here Cohen proposed five 'modes' of experience (recreational, diversionary, experiential, experimental and existential) that he envisaged as spanning a spectrum from the outwardly simple pursuit of pleasure acquired through the experience of difference (the recreational mode) to a quest to establish a meaning to life (the existential mode). In articulating the experimental and existential modes in particular, Cohen suggests a number of parallels with MacCannell's (1973: 591) interpretation of tourist experience as a quest for authenticity – a desire 'to see life as it is really lived' and which is pursued as an antidote to the perceived inauthenticity of the modern lives that are lived out by tourists in their home settings.

The conceptual understandings developed by writers such as Cohen and MacCannell typically frame the tourist experience as a bounded event that stands apart – and is therefore distinct – from the routines and the geographical spaces of day-to-day life. However, even a simple analysis of how a tourist event is constructed and experienced challenges this assumption. Figure 1.6 illustrates a theoretical summary that proposes a tourism event as comprising a series of key phases and related processes:

- An initial phase of planning the trip in which destinations, modes of travel, preferred styles and levels of accommodation are evaluated and a destination is selected. The planning phase is informed by a number of potential inputs (including previous experience, images and perceptions of places, and suggestions made by others) and will reflect the motivations for travelling.
- Outward travel. All tourism involves travel, and it is important to realise that travelling is often more than just a means to an end. In many tourism contexts, getting there is half the fun, and in some forms of tourism – most conspicuously in sea cruising – the act of travelling rather than visiting places often becomes the central element within the tourism experience as a whole.
- Experience of the destination. This element is normally the main component within the visit and most clearly reflects the category or categories of tourism in which the trip is located and the motivations of the visitors. In general forms of tourism, experience of the destination will typically include elements of sightseeing, leisure shopping and the collection of souvenirs and memorabilia. It may also include varying levels of contact with host populations, society and culture, and the natural environment, the extent and significance of which will vary based on the type of trip.
- Return travel, which, as with the outward journey, may be an integral part of the tourism experience, although it may not realise the same degree of pleasure, anticipation and excitement, as the trip is nearing its end and fatigue may have begun to affect the tourist.

Figure 1.6
Structure of the tourist experience



- Recall. The trip will be relived subsequently and probably repeatedly, in conversation with friends and relatives, in holiday photographs and/or videos, or in response to the visual prompts offered by souvenirs that may now be arranged around the home. The recall phase will also inform the preliminary planning of the next visit and may be a positive, mixed, or negative stimulus, depending upon the perceived levels of success or failure of the trip.

This approach to understanding the structuring of experience around a specific tourism event makes three fundamental points. First, by emphasising how the actual visit is prefigured by a planning phase and then subsequently relived through memory, the model demonstrates the holistic nature of experience and the fact that the total experience of tourism is much more than the visit itself. Second, the model shows how experience is strongly grounded in geography since the places in which the experience is located and the geographic transitions between those places are seen as central to the overall process.

Finally, the model shows how important aspects of the tourist experience occur in the home environment and thus become enmeshed in aspects of daily life, rather than being confined to the trip itself.

As noted above, the tendency to question conventional wisdoms regarding the separate nature of tourist experience from everyday life has become much pronounced within contemporary tourism research. Passing reference has already been made to some of the ways in which globalisation (especially in areas such as the popular media and in patterns of material consumption) infuses tourism-like experiences of difference places and cultures into our daily life. In turn, daily life directly shapes our tourism experiences. Ritzer and Liska (1997: 99) note that ‘people increasingly travel to other locales in order to experience much of what they experience in their day-to-day lives’, or as Franklin (2004: 10) observes, we mostly travel ‘within the realm of the familiar’. Moreover, in societies that are increasingly formed around mobilities (Urry, 2000), tourism becomes an expression of that way of life rather than a form of resistance in opposition to it.

Tourism has also become a more overtly embodied and sensual form of experience (MacNaghten and Urry, 2000; Crouch and Desforges, 2003) (e.g., through the development of adventure and extreme sport forms of tourism) and has acquired a degree of diversity (e.g., in visiting friends and relatives, in beach holidays, in nature tourism, in activity holidays or visiting theme parks) that defies traditional concepts of authenticity (what is ‘real’ and ‘unreal’). Indeed, in a world in which tens of millions of people base their tourist experiences in what Eco (1986) describes as the ‘hyper-reality’ of Disney-style theme parks or the artificial environments of resorts such as Las Vegas, the notion of ‘authentic experiences’ seems, at one level at least, to be very outdated. However, as Wang (1999) explains, such forms of tourism may acquire a different form of authenticity that is no less important as a touristic experience (see Chapter 6).

Although we have clearly moved into an era in which tourism has acquired an embedded place in (post)modern lifestyles and the boundaries between tourism and other aspects of life have become blurred, we should not assume that the activity of touring has surrendered all meaning or all its claims to distinctions from everyday life. Tourism – especially in the form of holidays – remains a prominent component in the ordering of individual and family life and a very significant area of personal expenditure. Despite the outward familiarity of many forms of contemporary tourism, most tourist trips still deliver experiences of varying degrees of difference and of change from our daily routine. Consequently, tourism still endows most people with experiences that are sufficiently distinct to form memories that survive long after other (more routine) events are forgotten.

Geography and the study of tourism

Although tourism (with its focus upon travel and the movement of people, goods and services through time and space) is essentially a geographical phenomenon, it has occupied what Coles (2004: 137) has described as a ‘curiously estranged’ position within human geography. Initially the issue was one of the credibility and legitimacy of serious academic investigation of a fun-related activity, but even when acceptance was generally forthcoming, the treatment of tourism within the literature of human geography has remained extremely uneven. Fortunately some have been more willing to recognise the significance of tourism within human geography (e.g., Aitchison et al., 2001; Crouch, 1999), both as a valid subject in its own right and, equally important, as a ‘lens’ through which a range of contemporary issues can be examined.

Geographical approaches to the study of tourism have moved through a number of evolutionary phases. Butler (2004) suggests that three distinct eras of development may be discerned: pre-1950; 1950 to *circa* 1980; and *circa* 1980–present. The pre-1950 period is labelled by Butler as ‘the descriptive era’, during which the study of tourism was uncommon within human geography and an activity of marginal interest. Where work was conducted it was highly descriptive and related to traditional interests within the discipline. Gilbert’s (1939) study of the growth of seaside resorts as a form of urban geography is an example of this approach.

Second was the period between 1950 (when the first reliable data on tourism began to emerge along with the rise in post-Second World War travel) and the early 1980s. Butler (2004) argues that during this time the geographical study of tourism entered ‘the thematic era’ as connections between tourism and some of the wider interests of the discipline became more evident. As Ateljevic (2000) notes, the geographic approach at this time was strongly spatial in focus, deploying largely positivist (quantitative) perspectives to describe and record the geographies of tourism. Issues such as the effect of scale, spatial distributions of tourism phenomena and of tourist movement, people–land relationships and tourism impact, and the spatial modelling of tourism development were typical foci for geographical work which established a basic approach to tourism geography that remained influential into the 1990s (see, e.g., Boniface and Cooper, 1987; Burton, 1991; Lew, 1987; Mathieson and Wall, 1982; Pearce, 1987, 1989; Williams, 1998). Within such analyses geographical approaches centred on some now-familiar questions:

- Under what conditions (physical, economic, social) does tourism develop, in the sense of generating both demand for travel and a supply of tourist facilities?
- Where does tourism develop and in what form? (The question of location may be addressed at a range of geographical scales while the question of what is developed focuses particularly upon the provision of physical infrastructure.)
- How is tourism developed? (This question addresses not just the rate, form and character of tourism development but also the question of who are the developers.)
- Who are the tourists (defined in terms of their number, characteristics, travel patterns, etc.) and what are their motives?
- What is the impact of tourism upon the physical, economic and socio-cultural environments of host areas?

Third, Butler (2004) describes the period since the mid-1980s as being ‘the era of diversity’. As the scale of tourism has grown worldwide and become more diverse in its composition (e.g., through the emergence of niche markets in areas such as health tourism and eco-tourism, and the expanding popularity of heritage tourism), so the approach to the study of tourism has, in itself, tended to become more diverse. So the focus of work has extended beyond the issues that characterised Butler’s ‘thematic’ era and added new areas of interest. These include important areas of work relating to, amongst others: tourism and communities (Murphy, 1985); tourism and capitalist political economies (Britton, 1991); tourism, production, consumption and the ‘new’ economic geography (Shaw and Williams, 1994); cultural change and new cultural readings of tourism (Crouch, 1999); tourism as an agent of urban regeneration and place promotion (Gold and Ward, 1994; Law, 1992, 2000); and tourism as a sustainable form of development (Hall and Lew, 1998; Mowforth and Munt, 2003).

Underlying Butler’s ‘era of diversity’ are several important shifts in the nature of geographical approaches to the study of tourism which reflect wider change in the

epistemology of human geography. Three areas of change are worth noting. First, and perhaps most influential, has been the impact on tourism studies of the so-called ‘cultural turn’ and associated rise of postmodern critical perspectives in human geography (Ioannides and Debbage, 2014). Arguably the most significant aspect of the new cultural geography is that it offers a sustained challenge to conventional views of the pre-eminence of political and economic understandings of the world in which we live and, instead, emphasises a different set of perspectives on the way that we think about human geography. Issues of how places and their people are represented (and the subjective nature of those representations), how identities are constructed (especially in relation to difference, or – in the language of cultural studies – ‘others’), and how patterns of consumption become embedded in cultural rather than economic processes, have defined a new agenda for the subject (Cragg, 1998). These shifts in critical thinking have directly affected approaches to tourism, not just because tourism entails, as central components, representations of places and people and consumption-based definitions of culture and identity, but because tourism is now seen as a practice (rather than a product) that is actively made and re-made through complex human and social engagements, relations and negotiations (Crouch, 1999).

Second, arising from these new cultural perspectives, approaches to understanding tourism have become more relational in character. As a result, traditional binary readings of tourism’s impacts and effects are being replaced by more nuanced interpretations that recognise the negotiated and contextual nature of how tourism relates to the places, peoples, societies and cultures that are toured. For example, until quite recently, social science perspectives (including human geography) tended to present the relationship between tourists and the people they visited in terms of ‘hosts and guests’ (Smith, 1977) or, in economic terms, producers and consumers. However, the notion of hosts and guests has been challenged through the work of writers such as Castells (1997) and Shurmer-Smith and Hannam (1994) on the construction of power relations. Consequently there is now a better understanding of how outcomes, rather than being predicated on fixed relationships (in which there is a presumed dominance of the tourist), are often negotiated in variable and quite surprising ways.

Cheong and Miller (2000) argue that while tourism outcomes are often regarded as being driven by the tourist, in practice a tripartite power structure of tourists, locals and brokers (guides and travel agents) creates a dynamic flexibility in which there is no fixed, one-sided relationship between the power of one group over another. Indeed, in many situations the tourist operates from a position of insecurity rather than influence. They may be located in unfamiliar political, cultural or geographical areas; they may be subject to new social norms and expectations; and they may be required to communicate from a distinct linguistic disadvantage. Similarly, Ateljevic (2000) (drawing on work by Johnson [1986] and du Gay et al. [1997]) shows how assumed notions of tourists as passive consumers of ‘products’ within a uni-directional relationship between producer and consumer, are being replaced by new understandings of the producer–consumer relationship as a circular process. Hence the nature of the product is seen as a negotiated outcome in which the product is continuously reproduced in light of shifting tastes, preferences and even meanings that are expressed by consumers through the process of consumption. The making and remaking of Las Vegas that is discussed in Chapter 9 is a good example, expressed on a spectacular scale, but the key point is that many areas of tourism production are subject to the same essential process.

Finally, the understanding of tourism has been enriched by closer association with a number of new critical and conceptual positions within human geography and the wider social sciences. In some respects this has become a reciprocal relationship in so

far as while the understanding of tourism has benefited from the application of new critical positions, so tourism has become widely recognised as a ‘lens’ through which those same positions may be studied. Five areas of conceptual thinking that are relevant to tourism geography are worth highlighting:

Modernity and mobility. Urry’s (2000) thesis is that under modernity, mobility, as both a metaphor and a process, is at the heart of social life and that travelling has become a means through which social life and cultural identity is recursively and continuously formed and reformed. Mobility encompasses goods, information, images, ideas, services, finance and, of course, people (Shaw and Williams, 2004), all within complex systems of what Urry (2000) terms ‘scapes’ and ‘flows’. (The ‘scapes’ comprise the networks of machines, technologies and infrastructures that enable mobility – such as airports, motorways and computer networks, while the ‘flows’ are the movements of people, goods, ideas or images.) Tourism and tourist spaces, it is argued, are directly structured by the patterns of scapes and flows. As one of the most significant areas of modern mobility, tourism becomes a key area of change.

Globalisation. An important aspect of Urry’s concept of mobility is that the scapes and flows transcend (and in many situations dissolve) national boundaries. Mobility, therefore, connects directly to processes of globalisation, which is one of the primary consequences of the time–space compression that is associated with enhanced and accelerated mobilities (Harvey, 1989). However, globalisation is not simply about greater levels of physical connectivity; more importantly it is both an economic and a cultural phenomenon that is shaped by progressively more complex and extended networks of interchange within transnational systems of production and consumption (Robins, 1997). Tourism is a prominent component of the process of globalisation and is a primary channel for economic and cultural exchange, but it is also shaped by globalisation through the evolving system of scapes and flows.

New geographies of production and consumption. Globalisation connects closely to new geographies of production and consumption. Change in patterns of production is complex and involves both spatial and sectoral shifts. Thus, for example, there has been a significant migration of manufacturing capacity from old centres of production, such as Western Europe, to new spaces of production in regions such as Southeast Asia. As a linked process, we have also seen sectoral shifts with Western Europe experiencing declining manufacturing industries and expanding service industries. At the same time we have seen a move from Fordist patterns of mass production of mass produced, standardised products, to post-Fordist patterns of flexible production in which goods and services are outwardly matched to the needs of different market segments.

But there are countervailing tensions here since there is extensive evidence that in the area of consumption, the spread of global capital and its associated consumer culture becomes a profound source of erosion of cultural traditions and difference that is quite capable of overwhelming local and regional experience (Crang, 2005). Ritzer’s (1998) well-known thesis of the ‘McDonaldisation’ of society articulates these concerns with particular clarity, but there is much within the contemporary literature on tourism that explores the same themes.

Consumption and identity. Although consumption is evidently an economic process, it is not exclusively so. Indeed, advocates of cultural readings of contemporary society will be quick to point to the many ways in which consumption is socially and culturally

produced (Crang, 2005). Thus although many of the goods and services that we consume are still mass produced, in the process of consumption people will impart individual meanings and significance to products by the way in which they are utilised. Crang (2005) provides the example of the motor scooter – developed in Italy as a fashionable means of urban travel for a largely female market, it was adopted (and adapted) as an iconic component of a largely male ‘Mod’ culture in 1960s Britain. In these ways consumption becomes one of the primary mechanisms through which people form and then project their identity and tourism – as an arena of conspicuous consumption and a recurrent focus of popular social discourse – has assumed an increasingly central role in this process.

Sustainability. As Sharpley (2000: 1) notes, the period since the publication of the report of the World Commission on Environment and Development (1987) on ‘Our Common Future’, the concept of sustainable development has become the focus of increasing attention amongst tourism theorists and practitioners. This has served several purposes. First, by connecting tourism with the wider agenda of sustainability, the debate has helped to emphasise the relevance of tourism as a significant arena for interaction between people and their environments. In this way, the political significance of tourism has been reinforced. Second, although – as authors such as Clarke (1997) have illustrated – there are significant difficulties in capturing the essence of what sustainability actually means, the discourse surrounding the sustainable nature of tourism has helped to refocus traditional debates on tourism impacts. Hence, in place of approaches that sought to isolate tourism impacts as positive or negative in their effect, the perspective of sustainability casts a more revealing light on the *processes* by which tourists might affect the places that they visit. As we shall see in subsequent sections of the book (especially Part II), a focus on process rather than outcome is often a more revealing way of understanding tourism’s effects.

MORE ONLINE: Case Study 1.1 Globalisation and tourism in Guilin, China’s urban landscape

Overview of the book

Coles (2004: 140) writes that ‘knowledge (of tourism) is shaped not only by recent influences ... but also by the embedded nature of certain ideas, approaches, perspectives and traditions that have persisted over a longer time’. Tourism geography is essentially concerned with understanding how people, as tourists, relate to the places that are toured. However, this outwardly simple statement conceals more complex and detailed issues that tourism geographers need to address, particularly if we want to progress beyond the basic description of spatial patterns of tourism (which constitutes a very simple notion of what tourism geography is about) and instead access the much more interesting explanations of those patterns and the meanings and values that might be embedded within them.

In developing that understanding, part of the discussion in this book draws on a traditional geographic interest in the processes of tourism development through which the modern geography of tourist space is shaped. In most situations, the spatial patterns of tourism are a combination of historical–geographic processes that have since been modified by contemporary change. Part of the discussion that follows demonstrates the important history that needs to be recognised and understood as a context for contemporary tourism geography.

This theme is the focus for Part II of the book – ‘The emergence of global tourism’ – in which we examine some of the primary ways through which the contemporary spatial patterns of tourism, and the associated development of tourist places, have been shaped. The discussion is organised around the familiar geographic concern for scale and examines evolving patterns in both domestic and international tourism, with some focus on resorts. The approach is broadly historical–geographical, but parts of the discussion also connect to issues of mobility as well as contemporary concerns for the impacts of globalisation.

The types of spatial patterns that are discussed in Part II show the complex and highly variable relationships that exist between tourism development and the spaces and places in which it develops. These relationships embrace the full physical settings of tourism, including the environments, the economies, the societies and the cultures that tourists visit. These relationships are neither fixed nor consistent through time and over space. An essential challenge to tourism geographers is to isolate and explain the processes by which these changes emerge and result in tourism effects that are often so variable from place to place.

The chapters grouped in Part III, ‘Tourism’s economic, environmental and social relations’, explore the broad theme of the interaction between tourism and the natural environments, economies and societies of host communities. The concept of tourism ‘relations’ (rather than the more traditional concern for impacts) is used to emphasise how tourism relates to the places that are toured while also connecting to wider issues of sustainability, circuits of production and consumption, place commodification, and power relations.

To some extent the thematic content of Parts II and III mirror many of the established traditions of tourism geography, as well as tourism in general, which are found in many textbooks. However, Part IV of the book, ‘Understanding tourism places and spaces’, aims to bring in some of the newer thoughts on tourism as a geographical phenomenon. In particular, this section of the book attempts to examine some of the differing ways in which tourist places are created, experienced and understood by the tourist (e.g., through the rise of heritage tourism or the remaking of cities as tourist places). Part IV also makes some important connections to several of the newer foci of interest in human geography, such as the changing relations between production, consumption, identity and experience. Here themes such as the embodied nature of tourism, its role in identity formation, its infusion into daily experience, and the role of tourism as a means of enabling people to explore and make sense of the world in which they live, come to the fore.

While geographical approaches to understanding tourism fall primarily within the realm of human geography as a social science, tourism is also an area of active government and private sector planning and development. Part V, ‘Applied and future tourism geographies’, examines the role of planning as a mechanism for creating and managing tourism development. This section closes with a look at emerging directions and frameworks for critical tourism geography research, including evolutionary economic geography, political ecology and mobile information technologies. The latter of these has significant potential for reshaping tourism from the global to the local.

Summary

Tourism has become an activity of global significance and, as an inherently geographical phenomenon that centres upon the movement of people, goods and services through

time and space, it merits the serious consideration of geographers. Our understanding of tourism is, however, complicated by problems of definition, by the diversity of forms that tourism takes, by the contrasting categories of tourists, and by the different disciplines in which tourism may be studied. Geography, as an inherently eclectic subject with a tradition in the synthesis of alternative perspectives, is better placed than many to make sense of the patterns and practices of tourists. However, as a major global contemporary phenomenon, tourism provides a valuable lens through which many of the contemporary themes in geography may be studied. These include new relationships between modernity and mobility; globalisation; new patterns of production and consumption; the links between consumption and identity; and sustainability.

Discussion questions

- 1 Why is the definition of 'tourism' problematic?
- 2 What do geographers bring to the study of tourism?
- 3 Explain why it is important in tourism geography to distinguish between different types of tourist and forms of tourism.
- 4 How does an understanding of tourist motivations help us to interpret the geographical patterns of tourism?

Further reading

A number of recent texts provide useful overviews of geographical approaches to the study of tourism, including:

Hall, C.M. (2005) *Tourism: Rethinking the Social Science of Mobility*, Harlow: Prentice Hall.

Hall, C.M. and Page, S.J. (2006) *The Geography of Tourism and Recreation: Environment, Place and Space*, London: Routledge.

Hannam, K. and Knox, D. (2010) *Understanding Tourism: A Critical Introduction*, London: Sage.

Lew, A.A., Hall, C.M. and Williams, A.M. (eds) (2014) *The Wiley-Blackwell Companion to Tourism Geography*, Oxford: Blackwell.

Nelson, V. (2013) *An Introduction to the Geography of Tourism*, Lanham, MD: Rowan & Littlefield.

Nepal, S. (2009) 'Traditions and trends: a review of geographical scholarship in tourism', *Tourism Geographies: An International Journal of Tourism Space, Place and Environment*, Vol. 11 (1): 2–22.

Williams, S. (2003) *Tourism and Recreation*, Harlow: Prentice Hall.

Issues of tourist motivation have been explored in some classic papers that include:

Cohen, E. (1972) 'Towards a sociology of international tourism', *Social Research*, Vol. 39: 164–82.

Compton, J.L. (1979) 'Motivations for pleasure vacation', *Annals of Tourism Research*, Vol. 6 (4): 408–24.

More recent perspectives are set out in:

Franklin, A. (2004) *Tourism: An Introduction*, London: Sage.

Bowen, D. and Clarke, J. (2009) *Contemporary Tourist Behaviour: Yourself and Others as Tourists*, Wallingford, UK: CAB International.

Classic papers on tourist experience include:

Cohen, E. (1979) 'A phenomenology of tourist experiences', *Sociology*, Vol. 13: 179–201.

MacCannell, D. (1973) 'Staged authenticity: arrangements of social space in tourist settings', *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 79 (3): 589–603.

The growing significance of mobilities in contemporary life are explored in:

Urry, J. (2000) *Sociology Beyond Societies: Mobilities for the 21st Century*, London: Routledge.

Cresswell, T. and Merriman, P. (eds.) (2011) *Geographies of Mobilities: Practices, Spaces, Subjects*, Farnham: Ashgate.

For an excellent review of the changing approaches in geography to the study of tourism, see:

Butler, R. (2004) 'Geographical research on tourism, recreation and leisure: origins, eras and directions', *Tourism Geographies*, Vol. 6 (2): 143–62.

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Part II

The emergence of global tourism

In this first substantive part of the book we address a question that is essential to any geographical understanding of tourism, namely, ‘how do geographical tourism patterns develop?’ This is a question that has been a central concern in tourism geography from its inception, and while part of this attention has focused on descriptive approaches to the spatial patterns of tourist activity, a far more important line of investigation has centred upon the development of *explanations* of those geographical patterns. This is the approach that has been adopted in the following two chapters, which outline the geographic evolution of modern domestic and international tourism and the factors that have shaped those histories. Readers are encouraged to look beyond the basic historic narratives and to appreciate how the processes that underpin them are quintessentially geographic in nature, including: spatial diffusion; environmental perception; the nature of place; time–space compression; mobility and, ultimately, globalisation.

Historic processes that established the early places of tourism created a basic spatial framework of activity that remains both evident and influential. While those patterns have been modified by subsequent developments, such as the geographic relocation of activity to new tourism centres, in many situations there remain clear connections between the past and present tourism geographies. In this sense the story of tourism’s development is a real and fundamental part of understanding the contemporary pattern of tourism in many parts of the world.

The development of coastal resorts and rural tourism in Chapter 2 provides an illustration of how change in the way people view and evaluate their environments produces new geographic patterns of activity. They also illustrate the enduring importance of place. That discussion is followed by a review of the establishment of national parks, which spread quickly across the English-speaking world starting in the late nineteenth century, with tourism being a major justification for their founding. Although tourism development shares some commonalities, there is often significant variation in how it develops across geographic space due to the distinctive local character of different places. These themes also inform our understanding of international tourism in Chapter 3, which also brings into focus the impacts of time–space compression (through transport innovation); the significance of increased human mobility in extending geographic patterns of activity; and the growth of global systems of telecommunication connection and economic activity. While time–space compression and changing levels of mobility are also an important aspect of domestic tourism development, they are more prominent with the geographic scales associated with international travel and tourism.

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2

The birth of modern tourism

KEY CONCEPTS

- **Economic restructuring**
- **Modernity**
- **National parks**
- **Natural protected area**
- **Romanticism/Romantic Movement**
- **Rural tourism**
- **Seaside resort**
- **Spa towns**
- **The Grand Tour**
- **Tourism Area Life Cycle**
- **Urban tourism**
- **Wilderness**



More online for Chapter 2 at <http://tourismgeography.com/2>

One of the fundamental questions that interest tourism geographers is ‘how do places develop as centres of tourism?’ This chapter aims to explore this question by using an historical–geographic perspective on the spatial, social and structural development of tourism. Two contrasting types of tourist place, urban coastal resorts and picturesque countrysides, are examined, using cases from Britain as a primary example, with some additional references to other parts of Europe, North America and Asia. The British experience offers particularly good case studies of the development of tourist places since Britain was one of the first nations to develop modern practices of tourism and clearly exemplifies many of the factors that have shaped the subsequent geography of domestic tourist activity. However, Britain is by no means unique and other industrialised nations such as France, Germany and the USA have a rich tradition in local tourism from which many lessons may be learned. The socio-geographic development of tourism has been influenced by numerous elements but there are four factors that, it is argued here, are especially important in understanding how and why the patterns and character of tourist places have evolved in the way that they have.

First, we should acknowledge the significance of how people’s attitudes and motivations change over time. In today’s world, tourist travel has become a natural part of life for millions of people worldwide who now harbour expectations of becoming tourists at least

once a year for an annual vacation, if not more frequently. This, however, was not always the case. For most of recorded history, travel was difficult, expensive, uncomfortable and often dangerous, so the desire to travel must initially have been prompted by powerful and very basic motives. It is not surprising, therefore, that amongst early 'tourists' we find religious pilgrims motivated by a strong sense of spiritual purpose, or travellers who journeyed in the quest for health (one of the most fundamental human concerns). As travel became less difficult and more affordable, it became easier to admit other motives as a basis to tourism, especially the pursuit of pleasure. However, whenever differences in priorities emerge, changes in the needs, expectations and attitudes of visitors usually alter the geography of tourism and re-work the character of the tourism experience.

Second, the social and economic emancipation of the urban middle classes, and particularly the proletariat, is also important. For ordinary people to bring tourism into their lifestyles, extensive and fundamental change was required in the way in which lives were lived. Central to this transformation is the liberation of blocks of time that are free from work and which are sufficiently extended to permit tourism trips and, equally significantly, the ability to accumulate sufficient disposable income that can be spent on a discretionary purchase, such as a holiday.

Third, mass forms of tourism became possible only with the development of efficient and affordable transportation systems. Railways, in particular, made mass travel a reality for the first time in the second half of the nineteenth century by extending the distance that people could travel for pleasure and prompting the development of new tourist regions. In the same way, developments in civil aviation following the end of the Second World War initiated the contemporary era of international tourism (see Chapter 3).

Finally, modern tourism also requires organisational systems, including enterprises, supporting infrastructure and facilities, and people who are able to run tourism businesses and promote tourism places. With the exception, perhaps, of the more solitary and explorative forms of tourism practised by lone travellers and drifters discussed in Chapter 1, tourism will not develop in the absence of either the basic facilities of support or active promotion designed to raise public awareness. Essential facilities include accommodation, transport, entertainment, retail services and forms of packaged tours in which all these elements may be purchased within a single transaction.

The development of tourist places: a conceptual perspective

The historical development of contemporary tourism places is diverse, complex and fascinating, as seminal work by writers such as Pimlott (1947), Soane (1993), Towner (1996), Turner and Ash (1975), Walton (1983a, 2000) and Walvin (1978) has shown. However, to distil that history into a more concise format, it is helpful to conceive the emergence of tourism places as passing through a successive series of development phases. This approach has been most successfully captured by Butler (1980) in his well-known Tourism Area Life Cycle (TALC) model of the evolution of tourist areas, which applies the product life-cycle model, as developed in marketing theory to chart the normal pattern of uptake of a new product in the market place, to the development of tourist destinations.

The TALC model proposes that development processes are initiated in an *exploratory* stage in which small numbers of tourists, sometimes acting in the mode of Cohen's (1972) 'explorers', pioneer the discovery of the new destination area. Johnston (2001) refers to this as the pre-tourism stage of development (Figure 2.1). If such activity persists, some

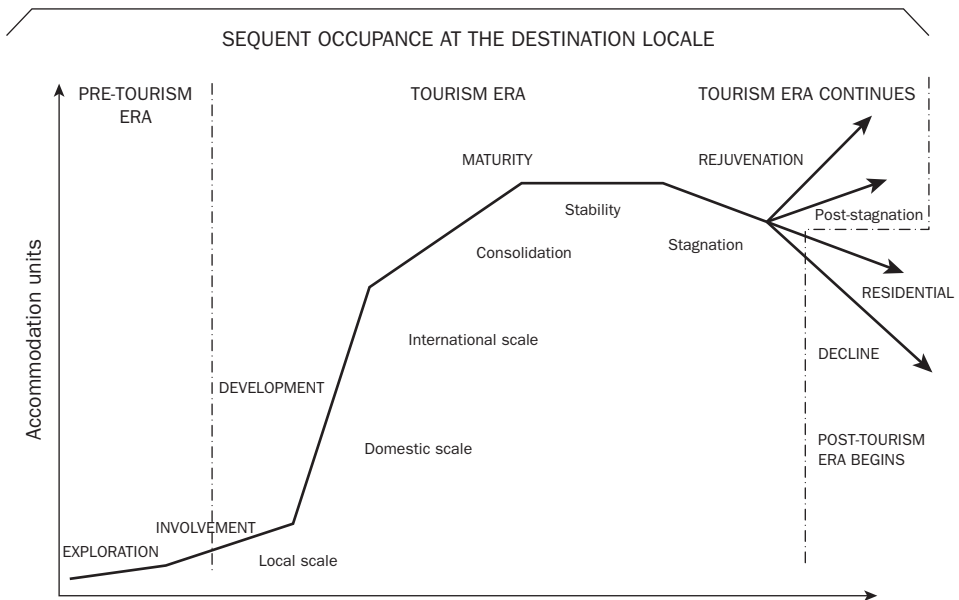


Figure 2.1 Modified version of Butler's Tourism Area Life Cycle (TALC) (Johnston, 2001)

local residents will react to the new economic opportunities by providing basic facilities for tourists (such as accommodation), triggering an *involvement* stage in which characteristics, such as a tourist season, might also be expected to emerge. This starts the destination's tourism era, as its reputation becomes established (whether through word of mouth or through advertising and promotion). It begins to attract investments (and increasing levels of external control and influence), acquires more sophisticated infrastructure and marketable attractions, and develops a rapidly expanding clientele that is drawn from a wider geographic market. This occurs through what Butler terms the *development* stage.

Eventually the rate of increase in visitors will slow (although tourist numbers may continue to increase) as the *consolidation* stage is reached. At this point tourism is established as a significant part of the local economy, contributing to the wider prosperity of the local area. Tourists will likely outnumber local residents during the peak season, which can result in an increase in conflict between hosts and their guests. Investment and promotional activity are strongly aligned to maintaining the position of the resort in a competitive market. The penultimate phase is described by Butler as the *stagnation* stage in which the capacity levels of the area have been attained, the number of arrivals become flat, and demand is no longer growing. Continued prosperity depends upon attracting repeat visitors and containing the potentially negative impacts of a widening range of potential problems, such as physical deterioration of older infrastructure, over-development and congestion, leading to a decline in the destination's image.

In the final phase of the TALC model (now widely referred to as the *post-stagnation* phase, although Butler does not actually use that term), several alternative trajectories based upon rejuvenation or decline are proposed. The natural tendency may be towards some form of decline, as virtually all tourist destinations will lose their attraction unless there is intervention (e.g., through planned investment) to stop that process. Johnston

(2001) refers to this as a slide into a post-tourism era, for which he provided evidence from some areas in Hawaii. However, if a destination is restructured and reinvented to appeal to new markets (see Agarwal, 2002), then it may experience a new cycle of growth and development.

Butler's model has subsequently been subjected to a number of detailed criticisms and refinements, especially in relation to the post-stagnation phase (see, amongst many, Agarwal, 1994, 1997; Cooper and Jackson, 1989; Haywood, 1986; Priestley and Mundet, 1998; Cohen-Hattab and Shoval, 2010; Hamzah and Hampton, 2013). The common criticisms draw attention to several perceived deficiencies:

- As a universal evolutionary model it fails to capture the diversity and uniqueness of places and the capacity for local economies to resist broader national or international processes. In particular, it does not reflect with any clarity the articulation of the internal–external relationships that affect resort development in differing ways, dependent upon a range of contextual attributes.
- It downplays the role of human agency in mediating processes of development and change in ways that mean that outcomes are not always inevitable and predictable.
- It implies a seamless and continuous transition from one phase to the next, whereas in practice phases are likely to be nonlinear, with overlaps and periodic reversals.
- Phases are difficult to identify without the experience of hindsight since the longer-term trends only become established and recognisable with the passage of time. (In this regard it is particularly difficult to separate the stagnation from the post-stagnation phases, since features of decline, and local response to that decline, will be evident in both stages.)
- It fails to separate causes and consequences, especially at the decline stage. Is decline caused by changing patterns of production and consumption, or is change in production and consumption of resorts a consequence of decline that is prompted by other processes, such as poor political decisions?
- It presents development as a uni-directional process with, according to some critics (e.g., Priestley and Mundet, 1998), an excessively pessimistic and seemingly inevitable progression towards decline.

However, despite these reservations, the model survives as a useful conceptual framework in which to explore the dynamics of how tourist places develop over time. As such, the following sections use the TALC model to shape the discussion of the development of seaside resorts and of tourism to the picturesque countryside.

Exploration and involvement: the formation of resorts and the emergence of rural tourism

Although modern mass tourism today is found widely in cities, countrysides and coastal areas, historically its development was most evident in the formation of resorts and there remains a strong, visible legacy of resort-based tourism within its contemporary geographical patterns. In Britain, the first resorts were the inland health spas. These were towns and villages with mineral water springs that were believed to have curative qualities and which therefore attracted people who were seeking remedies for health conditions. Mineral water therapies were not an innovation, dating back to the Roman Baths found throughout Europe, and the intermittent and usually localised popularity of

spas was a feature of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century life in both Britain and Europe. However, in the mid-eighteenth century, watering places such as Buxton, Scarborough, Tunbridge Wells and Bath in Britain all enjoyed a significant increase in fortune. Mineral cures became widely popular among the wealthy. In Europe, spa towns such as Baden (in Germany) and Vichy (in France) flourished. Initially, these spas were predominantly used by the sick, but because they were often promoted as exclusive places for the elite, and many of them also benefited from royal patronage, they soon became places of fashion that attracted leisure-seekers who had no need for a cure, but who were drawn by the resort social life. To entertain visitors, additional facilities were provided for concerts and theatre, dances, walks and promenades. The best spas emerged as a microcosm of fashionable metropolitan life.

The geographic extension in this early form of tourism from inland spas to coastal resorts came about through an almost incidental shift in medical thinking that suggested that sea bathing and, in some cases, the drinking of sea water was a more effective treatment than many of the cures offered at inland spas. Sea bathing was not, however, a new practice and both Corbin (1995) and Towner (1996) draw attention to much older cultures of sea bathing that were widely established across Europe and in parts of Britain and which were quite independent of the elite cultures that were soon to emerge in fledgling resorts. Towner (1996: 171) writes that ‘along the coasts of the Baltic, North Sea and Mediterranean there was a tradition in sea bathing that lay beyond the codified practices of the leisured classes’ and that ‘on the shores of the Mediterranean it was the peasant classes who bathed for pleasure well before it was adopted by the ruling classes’.

In the British context, Walton (1983a: 11) makes a similar observation, noting that prior to the local expansion of resorts after 1800, a popular sea-bathing culture existed on the Lancashire coast, not emulating the rich but having a ‘prior and independent existence’. Comparable patterns have also been identified at Santander and San Sebastian on the northern coast of Spain (Walton, 1997a). Critically, though, such practices were seldom seen as engaging with a medicinal purpose and therefore attracted neither the advocacy of the professions nor the patronage of the wealthy that was crucial to the subsequent organised development and image-making of coastal resorts.

The new fashion for sea bathing (and, in due course, the seaside holiday) soon became what Walton (1997a: 37) describes as a ‘prominent cultural export’ that diffused from England into France, Germany and the Low Countries, and then later to Spain and Italy. Corbin (1995) shows how a formal sea bathing season had been established in Dieppe, Boulogne and Ostende by 1785; the first German resort at Doberan was developed from 1794 (which is broadly contemporary with the development of Scheveningen as the leading Dutch resort); while the origins as a resort of San Sebastian in northern Spain can be traced to visits by the Spanish royal family around 1828 (Walton and Smith, 1996). This pattern of diffusion was not, however, simply confined to Europe. The colonial influence of Britain in North America (where a network of inland spas was already established) led to the early development of coastal resorts on the eastern seaboard of the USA. Nahant (north of Boston), Long Branch (south of New York) and Cape May (south of Philadelphia) were all established as fashionable sea bathing resorts before 1800 (Towner, 1996).

These early coastal resorts reflected most, if not all, of the criteria set down in Butler’s model. They were small in scale and because they were exclusive, they depended upon a comparatively small group of visitors who were ‘early adopters’ of the fashion for sea bathing. The provision of basic infrastructure, such as lodging houses, was largely local

in organisation and limited in scale, not least because the ‘season’ for seaside visiting – while an established feature – would have represented a comparatively brief sojourn within the extended patterns of visiting to places of fashion that were practised by elite groups at this time.

The extension of elite leisure practices from inland spas to sea bathing resorts was remarkable not only as a geographic process but also because it reflected quite profound changes in public attitudes towards the coastline. From a twenty-first-century perspective, the attraction of the sea seems entirely natural, but historically the sea and its coastlines were viewed quite differently. As Corbin (1995) explains, the coast was often a place of fear and repulsion. It was a zone of tension, associated with pirates and smugglers, shipwrecks and places of invasion, while the sea itself was an unfathomable mystery, a home to monstrous creatures and a chaotic remnant of the Great Flood that was capable of unleashing awesome, destructive powers upon the coastline. As if to reinforce the point, the incidence of seasickness amongst early tourists who did venture onto the oceans must have confirmed for many that this was not a natural and proper place for people. Similar reservations were also evident in the internal arrangement of coastal settlements which were generally shaped by a need for protection from the elements rather than to take advantage of what would be later considered as a pleasing view (Urry, 1990).

Yet by the beginning of the nineteenth century, the sea and the coast had become central to the popular imagination. This attitudinal change may be broadly viewed as emanating from the Enlightenment in Europe and included the new popularity and influence of natural theology (in which the enjoyment of natural spectacles such as the sea was now seen as a celebration of God’s work); interest in ‘new’ sciences such as geology and natural history that focused attention upon coastlines as field laboratories; and the emergence of a public taste for the picturesque in the latter half of the eighteenth century and then the influence of the Romantic Movement of the early nineteenth century (see Corbin, 1995 for an extended discussion of this change in taste).

This realignment in public sensibilities did not only affect coastal areas, it was also fundamental to the early emergence of rural areas as new objects of the tourist gaze. Prior to the middle of the eighteenth century, the countryside – and especially wild regions of moorland and mountain – had, like the coast, been generally disregarded as places to be visited for pleasure. The pervasive preferences in rural landscape were for what Towner (1996: 139) describes as ‘the humanised scene of cultivation . . . as evidence of the successful mastery of nature’, and these sentiments were reflected in early tours of rural areas reported by writers such as Defoe (1724) and, later, Cobbett (1830). In contrast, mountain areas were perceived as untouched by the organising hand of civilised people and these places and their rough inhabitants were widely shunned and actively avoided (Plate 2.1). However, the eighteenth century was a critical period in the advancement of understanding of natural systems and relationships between people and nature, and in affluent society in Europe and North America, the wilder landscapes acquired a new level of attraction for people of taste (Bunce, 1994; Williams, 2003).

The new tastes for wilder landscapes introduced tourism to places that would eventually become highly valued destinations. In Britain, these included the English Lake District, upland Wales and highland Scotland (Andrews, 1989; Urry, 1994c), while in the USA, the Catskill Mountains were quickly adopted as a regular place of visiting for fashionable New York and Boston society (Demars, 1990). However, unlike early resort-based seaside tourism which was essentially place-specific, rural tourism was more typically focused upon touring as a *practice* and because of the difficulties of travel before the advent of the



Plate 2.1 Near Fraser, British Columbia, Canada on the White Pass and Yukon Railway. Wilderness environments that were shunned before the Romantic Movement became revered objects of the tourist gaze (photo by Alan A. Lew)

railway, it was generally conducted in very small, independent groups. The development of rural resorts (such as Windermere in the English Lakes) as places of popular visiting was generally delayed until the second half of the nineteenth century.

Development: the popularisation of the seaside and the country in the nineteenth century

Although by the turn of the nineteenth century both the seaside and the picturesque countryside had become focal points for a nascent popular interest, each remained relatively inaccessible in both a spatial and a social sense. In an era when roads were badly maintained and travel (mainly by stagecoach) was slow and expensive, the numbers who journeyed to the seaside – whether for a cure or simply for pleasure – remained small. Touring within picturesque rural districts was an even more selective preoccupation. Yet within a very few years of the turn of the nineteenth century, several key developments began a process of transformation in the nature of seaside tourism and would eventually impact upon rural tourism too.

The first of these changes came in transportation. In Britain, the Industrial Revolution brought the invention of the steamship in the early years of the nineteenth century, which initially prompted the growth of new resorts on the Thames estuary (such as Margate). These developments also encouraged small resorts on the estuaries of the Forth and, especially, the Clyde in Scotland. By the end of the nineteenth century, these Scottish resorts had developed into a complex network of leisure places and associated steamer services (Durie, 1994). In America, the early development of Coney Island was also

dependent on steamer services from New York. But more important changes generally followed the development of passenger railways after 1830.

The railways transformed the nature of tourism by shortening journey times while increasing dramatically the numbers that might be moved on any one journey. Some writers have argued that the primary effects of the railway were to trigger growth by bringing existing resorts within range of the growing urban populations and (eventually) to develop new markets for popular forms of tourism through a reduction in the cost of travel (Urry, 1990; Towner, 1996). For example, in the USA, Atlantic City developed very rapidly as a popular destination, once the railroad link to Philadelphia had been completed in 1860 (Towner, 1996). However, in some situations the development of national railway networks also helped to open up new areas to both resort development and rural tourism. In France, for example, Brittany had been ‘discovered’ by Romantic artists, writers and travellers by 1820, but it was not until after 1850 when the railways began to connect the region to major urban areas such as Paris, that a resort system developed around the Breton coast (Towner, 1996). The spread of the French railway network also triggered the extension of resorts into western Normandy. Similarly, the creation of new rail links between Madrid and the northern Spanish towns of San Sebastian and Santander aided the geographical expansion of tourism along that coastline (Walton, 1997a).

Allied with changes in mobility came equally significant changes in social access to travel and tourism. Although popular travel for working-class families remained inhibited by a number of obvious constraints (especially lack of time and shortage of money), the expansion of the international economy from the middle of the nineteenth century spawned a new and prosperous professional middle class who were not so constrained and clearly possessed the inclination to imitate the habits of the aristocracy in resorting to the coast for day trips and holidays (Soane, 1993). The effect of this influx of new tourists on the



Plate 2.2 Part of the picturesque landscapes of Brittany that were discovered by tourists in the second half of the nineteenth century: the river-front at Auray (photo by Stephen Williams)

resorts was often to displace (both spatially and temporally) the elite groups that had pioneered the resort development to places that were further removed from the urban conurbations that were the primary source of new tourists. In some situations, therefore, distance became a key factor in maintaining the social tone of fashionable resorts.

By the last quarter of the nineteenth century, the holiday habits of the middle classes had generally begun to filter down to working people. In Britain, reductions in the length of the working week and the first statutory holidays that followed Lubbock's Bank Holidays Act of 1871 had made more time available for seaside excursions, while by the 1880s and 1890s gradual improvements in levels of pay, when combined with the Victorian virtue of thrift – which had often been essential to basic survival in the early phases of urban industrialisation – were paying dividends in terms of the abilities of many working families to save money for excursions and holidays. Walton (1981) observes how rising living standards in the last quarter of the nineteenth century released a flood of new seaside visitors drawn from skilled working families. In industrial communities, especially in the north of England for example, saving through co-operative or friendly societies was actively encouraged and the benefits became manifest in a number of ways, including the taking of holidays. The development of working-class holidays in this area also drew impetus from the older tradition of wakes weeks. Wakes had originated in religious festivals in the eighteenth century but, by the 1870s, had evolved into large-scale industrial holidays in which significant portions of the working populations in towns such as Oldham (Poole, 1983) would decamp *en masse* for short holidays to the seaside or on excursions to the coast or the countryside (Freethy and Freethy, 1997; Hudson, 1992).

A third key set of changes were essentially structural in character and reflect three related processes:

- the physical developments of facilities in resorts;
- the role of local municipal control in resort development;
- the early organisation of a tourism industry.

As the demand for seaside holidays grew in mid-Victorian Britain, resorts witnessed significant developments of hotels and boarding houses, places of entertainment (which signalled most clearly that the motives for visiting the seaside were now as much pleasurable as they were health-related), as well as civic facilities and service industries that supported or developed around tourism. This is the era in which iconic landmarks of the seaside, such as the pier and the promenade, became established features of resort landscapes, supplemented – in the more fashionable resorts – by pavilions, public gardens, theatres and concert halls and in the more popular seaside towns by funfairs, music halls, amusements and cheap outlets for food and drink. In Britain during the middle years of the nineteenth century, seaside resorts recorded the fastest growth rates amongst all categories of urban centres, including London and the major industrial cities of the north. This was when many seaside resorts in the UK (as well as in the US), reached their highest level of maturity in Butlers TALC model (see Figure 2.1).

MORE ONLINE: Case Study 2.1 Early development of the beach resort of Brighton, UK

Recent growth in rural tourism

Ironically, perhaps, although tourists have begun to desert traditional seaside destinations in favour of new leisure places, one of the functions that helps to sustain coastal resorts

in many tourism regions is their evolving role as bases from which a wider hinterland of rural and other urban spaces may be explored. Rural tourism, in particular, has not experienced the stagnation and decline that has affected many traditional seaside resorts and the period since 1920 (and especially after 1970 and the onset of mass ownership of private cars) has seen significant extension in public enjoyment of the countryside.

As we have already seen, such enjoyment is not a recent development and it was noted earlier how some of the first excursions of Thomas Cook took trippers to country areas rather than the seaside. In Britain, as soon as the railways penetrated areas of attractive countryside, such as the Lake District or Snowdonia and areas of mid-Wales, the Victorian excursionist rapidly followed. Even before the First World War, bicycles (which appeared in number from the 1890s) opened up extensive areas of both coast and countryside in Britain, France and the USA to affordable forms of exploration (Tobin, 1974; Lowerson, 1995; Williams, 2003). After the First World War, bus travel began to make an impact too. In the inter-war years, coach (or charabanc) trips, as a distinctly working-class form of holiday, enjoyed widespread popularity as large numbers of people made excursions to coast and countryside, often in organised groups from churches, factories or neighbourhoods. Rambling, camping and youth hostelling developed too, as rural tourism began to emerge strongly in an era in which outdoor pursuits acquired new levels of interest and support (Walker, 1985).

The subsequent development of rural tourism from 1945 has built upon this inherited set of practices but has been further shaped by five key themes:

- Growth in the levels and frequency of participation – in Britain, for example, some 9 million short-break holidays are taken in the countryside each year (Beioley, 1999) and the number of day (or part-day) visits to rural sites exceeds 1 billion, although many of these are of a recreational rather than a touristic character (SCPR, 1997).
- Diversification of activities and the spaces that form the basis for rural tourism – theme parks, heritage sites, integrated holiday villages and a widening range of outdoor pursuits and new sports have added significantly to the attraction of rural space.
- Increased commercialisation and commodification of experience which has helped to make many rural sites into marketable attractions.
- Progressive integration of tourism into the wider framework of rural production and consumption, especially in agriculture and forestry – in the USA, for example, the national forest system absorbs more than 340 million visitor days annually (US Dept of Commerce, 2002).
- Progressive extension in the designation of rural land into zones of conservation that are often aligned with meeting a range of tourist demands – visits to the US national parks and other national level designations, such as national monuments, parkways, recreational areas and seashores, exceeded 285 million in 2000 (US Dept of Commerce, 2002).

These changes have been stimulated by a number of factors. Enhanced levels of personal mobility through car ownership enable people to visit sites that formerly were less accessible when travel depended upon the fixed networks of rail and bus services. Rural tourism also feeds off the accentuated sense of difference between town and countryside in ways that are comparable with some of the contrasts that shaped previous relationships between coastal resorts and the industrial cities. Commodification of rural experience (in ventures such as integrated holiday villages, working farms or craft centres) has also

been influential in making rural sites accessible to urban visitors who may possess an instilled interest in the countryside that is often acquired through media sources such as television programmes, but who lack the expertise to explore the countryside on their own terms. Such sites commonly draw on a range of popular images of rural life that, it has been argued, both promote and depend upon a rising level of nostalgia for traditional ways of living. This has been detected by a number of authors as a response to many of the stresses attached to life under (late) modernity (Urry, 1990; Hopkins, 1999). (Similar explanations have been rehearsed in the wider discussion of heritage attractions and will be explored more fully in Chapter 10.) The net effect of these changes, however, has been to establish rural tourism as a very prominent component in domestic patterns of leisure across the developed world.

The redevelopment of urban areas as tourist places

Traditional resorts have also lost parts of their market to competition from major urban areas. Historically, tourism was generally about escape from the confines of towns and cities but in one of the many reversals in convention that accompanied the onset of a post-industrial pattern of life in the late twentieth century, cities themselves have now become major tourist attractions. Of course, international cities (e.g., London, Paris, Rome and Venice) have enjoyed a flourishing tourist industry for many decades, as have major provincial cities such as Edinburgh and York in the UK, particularly where there is a historical basis to their appeal. What is new is the manner in which cities where there was no strong tradition of tourism (such as Leeds or Liverpool in the UK; Baltimore in the USA; or Victoria in Canada) have, through shrewd promotion, active development of attractions and associated re-imagining of place, been able to develop tourist industries of their own.

As will be revealed in much greater detail in Chapter 9, the impetus behind these transformations is closely shaped by several powerful processes of change in the contemporary urban environment. These include:

- the impacts of globalisation which have altered fundamentally the relationships between cities and heightened the levels of competition between urban places;
- economic restructuring that has seen a progressive reduction in the role of production and an associated rise in the significance of consumption in urban economies;
- active remaking of cities and their identities (through urban regeneration and place promotion).

Tourism has emerged as a central component in each of these processes, helping to develop and project positive, attractive images of regenerated urban places and contributing in both direct and indirect ways to the development of consumption-based urban economies. Cities have become marketable 'products' (Law, 2002) in which place promotion and the active production of new and exciting sites of consumption centred around themed shopping malls, regenerated waterfronts, state-of-the-art museums, galleries or concert halls and fashionable zones of retailing, cafe-life and entertainment, become essential elements in enhancing the appeal of urban places to both their citizens and outsiders.

In the process, these urban destinations have emerged as formidable competitors for many of the older, traditional urban seaside resorts, establishing strong counter-attractions and deflecting significant levels of demand (especially in the short-break market). As we

Table 2.1 Annual visitor levels at selected urban tourist attractions in the UK, 2012

<i>Attraction/location</i>	<i>2012 visitor numbers</i>
British Museum, London	5,575,946
Tate Modern, London	5,318,688
National Gallery, London	5,163,902
Natural History Museum, London	5,021,762
Victoria and Albert Museum, London	3,231,700
Science Museum South Kensington	2,989,000
Tower of London, London	2,444,296
National Portrait Gallery, London	2,096,858
National Museum of Scotland, Edinburgh	1,893,521
St Paul's Cathedral, London	1,789,974
Westminster Abbey, London	1,776,369
British Library, London	1,413,967
Edinburgh Castle, Edinburgh	1,230,177
National Maritime Museum, London	1,128,944
Kelvingrove Art Gallery and Museum, Glasgow	1,037,594
Houses of Parliament, London	1,024,890
Museum of Liverpool, Liverpool	1,011,056
Riverside Museum, Glasgow	1,008,092
Canterbury Cathedral, Canterbury	969,088
Scottish National Gallery, Edinburgh	961,311
Merseyside Maritime Museum, Liverpool	845,709
Royal Botanic Garden, Edinburgh	721,827
National Railway Museum, York	716,000

Source: Association of Leading Visitor Attractions (ALVA, 2013)

will see in Chapter 9, precise enumeration of levels of urban tourism is not easy, but, as an example, Table 2.1 lists recent visitor levels at a range of urban attractions in British cities and indicates something of the scale of activity in this emerging tourism sector.

International tourism: the Grand Tour

Thus far we have seen how the development of domestic tourism often followed a clearly defined sequence in which several processes were prominent:

- A spatial diffusion through time of tourist places, from an initial position in which tourism was centred in a limited number of small resorts to an eventual pattern of large-scale development of coastlines and rural hinterlands in which many tourist places may be located.
- A change in motives for travel to resorts from a quest for health (in the European case, at least) to the pursuit of pleasure.
- A process of democratisation of tourism whereby what originates as the exclusive practice of a social elite diffuses down the social ladder to become an important area for mass forms of popular participation.

The development of international tourism also reflects these key processes as what were once exclusive and selective forms of travel have become widely accessible, widely practised and popularised.

Many writers place the origins of modern international tourism in the *Grand Tour* of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries (e.g., Pimlott, 1947) which established what Towner (1996: 97) describes as an international ‘travel culture’ in major tourist-generating regions in Europe. The primary objective of the Grand Tour was to provide young men of wealth and high social status with the basis for a classical education, by sending them on an extended visit to cultural centres in Europe – in France, Germany, Austria and, especially, Italy. The Renaissance in Europe endowed several nations with a pre-eminence in matters of arts, science and culture, but Italy combined a classical heritage with contemporary ideas and inventions. Its position as an intellectual centre in Europe ensured that for elite young men, an education could not be considered complete without an extended visit to Venice, Padua, Florence and Rome. Along with other capitals of culture such as Paris and Vienna, these provided the geographical structure for the Grand Tour.

The golden age of the Grand Tour is generally held to be the period between about 1760 and 1790, but references to similar journeys occur much earlier. The Elizabethan courtier Sir Philip Sydney embarked on a tour in 1572, the architect Inigo Jones went to Europe in 1613, the philosopher Thomas Hobbes in 1634 and the poet John Milton in 1638. These tours were probably comparatively short, but by the middle of the eighteenth century a Grand Tour experience would commonly take several years. Although the primary objective remained the completion of a formal education, there were evidently important elements of sightseeing too. Those undertaking the tour would have visited sites of antiquity, art collections, great houses, theatres and concert halls. It also became fashionable to combine travel with the purchase and collection of artefacts: paintings, sculpture, books and manuscripts. Here there are tempting parallels between these early patterns of visiting with their ‘souvenir’ collecting and later styles of modern tourism in which the garnering of memorabilia is a conspicuous part of tourist behaviour.

However, what had started as the preserve of a social elite did not remain so for too long, and by the end of the Napoleonic Wars in Europe in 1815 there was already clear evidence of the emergence of new classes of international travellers, drawn not from the aristocracy but from the bourgeoisie. Because of their more limited budgets, the journey patterns of these new tourists were inevitably shorter and their activities more intensified. Sightseeing became more important than the cultivation of social contacts or the experience of culture.

The emergence of new attitudes and ideas at this time also focused the attention of the tourists onto new resources and new tourist places. For example, regions such as the Alps would previously have been characterised as wild and dreadful places, populated by uncivilised peoples and forming major obstacles to travellers *en route* to the important attractions of Italy. However, as noted previously, the Romantic Movement of the early nineteenth century and the popularising of the picturesque transformed public attitudes towards mountain landscapes and quickly promoted new international tourist destinations in Switzerland and the Alpine zones of France, Italy and Austria. The popularity (and accessibility) of these locations was enhanced still further once organised tours to these regions became established by entrepreneurs such as Thomas Cook after about 1855.

As large parts of mainland Europe soon became populated by a more common class of tourist, new areas for exclusive and elite tourism inevitably emerged. Amongst these, the most significant was the French Riviera between Nice and Monte Carlo. Lacking the

centres of culture that preoccupied the Grand Tourist, the French Mediterranean coast had escaped the attention of the first wave of European tourists, but its attractive coastline and equable climate prompted a process of development that, by the end of the nineteenth century, had established the area as the new pleasure reserve of the European aristocracy. People from the colder climes of northern Europe, in particular, used the French Riviera as a winter retreat, and its visitors numbered most of the crowned heads of Europe and the entourage that always followed people of status.

However, the process of social change that is such an apparent aspect of tourism development ensured that mass tourists would eventually follow the elite. The First World War destroyed the old social orders that had sustained areas such as the French Riviera as exclusive places and from the 1920s onwards there was a visible process of social and functional transformation of the French Riviera to a pattern of coastal tourism that was eventually to become widely established along much of the northern shores of the Mediterranean, drawing both domestic and international visitors.

Initially, the colonisation of the Riviera by influential groups of writers, artists and the new breed of American film stars gave the area an allure that was hard to resist. Then, new forms of beach leisure (such as sunbathing – previously a highly unfashionable practice) helped to promote a summer season in an area that had by custom been deemed climatically too oppressive for summer-time visits, while new styles of leisure clothing (especially swimwear) reflected a liberalising of attitudes that would soon be adopted by ordinary people. By 1939, the establishment of paid annual holidays in France had brought an influx of lower-class French holidaymakers to the Mediterranean and the exclusivity of the Riviera had been replaced, in a very short time, by the basic forms of tourism focused on sun, sea and sand (Turner and Ash, 1975; Soane, 1993; Inglis, 2000).

Protecting parks and wilderness

Whereas much of the history of tourism in Europe has focused on the development of resorts, spas and rural and coastal tourism, in North America modern tourism development is typically traced to the establishment of parks to protect natural wonders and wilderness (Towner and Wall 1991). As with other forms of tourism, pre-modern antecedent can be found for natural area protection. Natural resource protection areas, in the form of sacred groves managed by local communities or under royal ownership, were established in India as early as the fourth century CE in response to Hindu and Buddhist religious tenets (Nene, 2012). Protected sacred groves are also part of the early history of cultures in the South Pacific and southern Africa. The Norman kings of England (after 1066) established royal forests, which were managed for desired hunting game (mostly deer and boar) (Grant, 1991). Similar royal hunting grounds were found in continental Europe during the early Renaissance.

Following the start of the Industrial Revolution and the increasing interest in nature as a leisure and recreation attraction, due to its antithesis to the industrial city (see Chapter 10), many of these old world protected areas were gradually transformed from private to public spaces. In 1810, the Romantic Movement poet William Wordsworth (1770–1850) wrote in a guidebook that the Lake District in northwest England should be ‘a sort of national property’ (Whyte, 2002: 1). This is often cited as the first instance in which a national park system was ever suggested.

Wordsworth’s writings inspired North American Romanticists and environmentalists, including Ralph Waldo Emerson, Henry David Thoreau, John Muri and Aldo Leopold. One of the clearest calls for a national park came in 1832 when the Romantic artist and

poet, George Catlin, wrote of the American Great Plains, where wide open spaces and Indian cultures were being threatened by Euro-American settlement:

What a beautiful and thrilling specimen for America to preserve and hold up to the view of her refined citizens and the world, in future ages! A Nations Park, containing man and beast, in all the wild and freshness of their nature's beauty!

(1841: 261–2)

However, the Scottish-born John Muir (1838–1914) may have been the most influential North American environmentalist. As the founder of the Sierra Club, he is often credited with being the father of America's national park system (Worster, 2008). His eloquent descriptions and advocacy for the preservation of California's Yosemite Valley contributed to its becoming the first large area of Federal land to be set aside as a park, though not national park. In 1864, the US Congress gave Yosemite to the state of California for 'public use, resort and recreation'. This was possible in the US because as each state joined the union (with the exception of Texas), it gave all lands that were not privately owned to the Federal government, who was then responsible for distributing it back to the people. Much of this land was returned through auctions and the Homestead Act, but some of it was retained by the Federal government, including what are today national forests, Bureau of Land Management lands (mostly grasslands), and national parks.

The first true national park in the world was Yellowstone National Park, which was established in 1872 and 'reserved and withdrawn from settlement, occupancy, or sale . . . and set apart as a public park or pleasuring ground for the benefit and enjoyment of the people' (quoted in Nash, 1970: 733). A major difference between this new American concept of a 'park' and the more traditional concept was its application to a wilderness, rather than a managed garden, which was more common in both Europe and East Asia. However, even with the creation of Yellowstone, it took a couple more decades before the concept fully took root in the US, as seen in Table 2.2. Most of the US national parks were created in lands that had high scenic qualities, but were less desirable for settlement due to their desolate or extreme environmental conditions.

The influence of Wordsworth on the American Romantics and environmentalists was also seen in other parts of the English-speaking world in the 1800s. In Australia, the colony of New South Wales established the Royal National Park south of Sidney in 1879, making it the world's second such park. In 1885, Canada provided protection of the hot springs in the Bow Valley of the Rocky Mountains, which was renamed Banff National Park in 1887. In New Zealand, Tongariro National Park was created in 1894 in an agreement between the government and the Maori people for whom the volcanic peaks are an important spiritual site. And in 1895, South Africa established the Greater St. Lucia Wetland Park, the first protected wetland in Africa, and the Hluhluwe-Umfolozi Game Reserve, Africa's first big game wildlife preserve.

As indicated in the founding statements for both Yosemite and Yellowstone, cited above, recreation was one of the primary purposes for which these lands were set aside as parks. One of the challenges of the US National Park Service to this day is determining how to balance their roles as a tourist attraction with their environmental and historical conservation roles. This is a challenge for protected natural areas worldwide, as management objectives vary considerably from one park to the next depending on the sensitivity of the resources being protected, the demands from the traveling public to experience those resources, and the livelihood needs of local communities.

Table 2.2 US national parks, established between 1872 and 1940

Yellowstone	Wyoming, Montana, Idaho	1872
Sequoia	California	1890
Yosemite	California	1890
Mount Rainier	Washington	1899
Crater Lake	Oregon	1902
Wind Cave	South Dakota	1903
Mesa Verde	Colorado	1906
Glacier	Montana	1910
Rocky Mountain	Colorado	1915
Haleakalā	Hawaii	1916
Hawaii Volcanoes	Hawaii	1916
Lassen Volcanic	California	1916
Denali	Alaska	1917
Acadia	Maine	1919
Grand Canyon	Arizona	1919
Zion	Utah	1919
Hot Springs	Arkansas	1921
Shenandoah	Virginia	1926
Bryce Canyon	Utah	1928
Grand Teton	Wyoming	1929
Carlsbad Caverns	New Mexico	1930
Isle Royale	Michigan	1931
Everglades	Florida	1934
Great Smoky Mountains	North Carolina, Tennessee	1934
Olympic	Washington	1938
Kings Canyon	California	1940

Source: US National Park Service (NPS, 2005)

Today, almost every country has lands that are set aside for protection by their governments. Natural areas tend to predominate, though there are many cultural sites as well. The International Union for the Conservation of Nature (IUCN) has identified six types of protected areas, based on their primary management objectives (Dudley, 2008):

- (i) *Strict protection areas*. There are two types of these. The first are strict nature reserves (Ia) that are managed mainly for scientific research purposes, which often involves the preservation of genetic diversity (biodiversity). The second type are wilderness areas (Ib) that are managed to maintain their wilderness qualities, which implies being largely untouched by humans and may include preserving ecosystem services, such as clean water and traditional food supplies. Tourism and recreation, and most other human activities, are usually prohibited from these sites, which tend to be small in area.
- (ii) *Ecosystem conservation and protection areas*. These are the large national parks of the world, which tend to be representative of distinct ecosystems. Exceptions to this definition certainly exist, with some parks being very small in area and based more on cultural than natural systems. They usually have the dual management objectives of ecosystem protection and public access and recreation. Environmental

concerns, such as biodiversity, wilderness preservation, scientific research and the conservation of ecosystem services tend to be more important than economic activities. Tourism, recreation and public education activities will often be relegated to ‘sacrifice zones’ where environmental protection measures are less stringent.

- (iii) *Conserved natural features*. These are often referred to as ‘natural monuments’ (‘national monuments’ in the US). They are similar to national parks, except they encompass a specific natural feature, rather than a larger ecosystem. This may be a specific rock formation, archeological dig, or a distinct biology. The management objectives of natural monuments are very similar to those of national parks, except that larger ecosystem services, including wilderness protection, may be less, while tourism and education may be significantly more important relative to other management objectives. (Cultural heritage monuments also exist, but are generally not part of the IUCN’s classification system.)
- (iv) *Management intervention conservation areas*. These are also known as habitat or species management areas. The primary management goal of a habitat management area is to conserve the biodiversity and ecosystem services of a natural area, such as a wetland, grassland or forest. Public education is often a significant part of this, especially to the degree that public support can contribute to the conservation efforts. Commercial tourism, however, is usually not a part of this, except perhaps in some forms of ecotourism (see Chapter 10).
- (v) *Landscape and seascape conservation and recreation areas*. These natural areas are the most likely to include a significant human cultural element, though one that is deeply coupled to the natural scenery. Traditional fishing village along a scenic coastline is an example. Scenic river valleys may also have this designation. The management goals of these protected landscapes are to conserve the natural environment, along with its traditional livelihoods and biological diversity. This is usually accomplished by controlling and limiting land development, including architectural design controls. Tourism and recreation are usually major activities in these regions, and a justification for the conservation.
- (vi) *Sustainable resource use natural areas*. This last type of protected area has a focus on a particular type of ecosystem resource for human consumption and use. The management of national forest lands in the US are an example of this, with the US Forest Service overseeing their sustainable cutting and regrowth for economic purposes. Thus, management objectives include maximising ecosystem services by balancing the economic exploitation of the resources with their conservation. Tourism, recreation and religious activities are also considered forms of ecosystem services, and the decline in lumber activities in much of the western US, often due to over-harvesting of timber, has resulted in many former lumber towns being converted to tourism destinations (Lew, 1989).

The early national parks, established at the end of the nineteenth century and early twentieth century, were mostly large natural areas that were created by government action and were open to the public. Their creation emerged from the Romantic Movement, which assigned the finer qualities of Euro-American culture to the natural world. As such, leisure, recreation and tourism were a cornerstone in the justification for setting aside significant tracks of land from the potential for economic development. Nature, it was argued, provided an opportunity for escape and mental refreshment from the often oppressive urban environments of that time period.

These arguments, however, were offset from the very beginning with more utilitarian approaches to the management of natural resources. Known as the ‘wise use’ approach, proponents supported private property rights and less government involvement in natural resource management, arguing that economically driven management systems are more efficient for long-term resource conservation (McCarthy, 2002b). The strength of this argument has resulted in *sustainable resource use natural areas* comprising the vast majority of lands that are under some degree of nature protection in the world today. On the other hand, some argue that the misuse of natural resources by wise-use proponents has resulted in their commodification, degradation and overexploitation (Grumbine, 1994).

Debates between strict protection and wise-use approaches to natural area conservation have not abated in the century since the first national parks and national conservation areas were first being established (Beder, 2006). And while there are many scientifically sound justifications that each can raise to support their side, tourism and recreation continues to be a core element in the debate. Rising education and income levels, more affordable travel options, and increasing knowledge about the world is driving increasing numbers of travellers to the world’s better known natural sites. At the same time, younger and more intrepid travellers are increasingly seeking out new natural wonders that have not yet been exposed to a global market.

For many developing world economies, their scenic natural areas have become major tourist attractions and integral parts of their international tourism branding. While technically defined as national parks with management objectives based on ecosystem conservation and protection, some appear to be managed more for their economic resource uses. National governments in developing countries often view environmental degradation and the loss of ecosystem services as unavoidable by-products of economic growth through globalisation. Their underlying assumption is that economic development, industrialisation and urbanisation will lead to the eventual recovery of the natural system as the economy matures (Mather, 1992). Although this kind of modernisation theory is now largely discredited (Rudel et al., 2010), neoliberal laissez-faire policies continue to prevail, thus allowing global international interests to drive development policies in natural areas of emerging economies, typically at the expense of environmental quality (Sunderlin et al., 2008). The results are heightened levels of multiple conflicting interests and unpredictable outcomes as communities and the natural areas they reside in are chaotically pushed and pulled by internal and external forces.

Tourism may offer a solution, or at least a motivation, to resolve these problems. The designation of a natural area with the highly coveted status of being a UNESCO World Natural Heritage Site, for example, can have significant impacts both in terms of increasing international tourist arrivals, but also in supporting international management practices (Harrison and Hitchcock, 2005). It is through this form of globalisation, pushed by an increasingly concerned and responsible tourist market, that proper protection for the world’s most cherished natural areas will be conserved in a sustainable manner for future generations.

MORE ONLINE: Case Study 2.2 Community-based conservation in KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa

Summary

This chapter has presented a highly condensed account of an extensive and often complex process. However, in summary, the development of geographies of domestic tourism may

be seen as having been shaped by a range of key processes. These include: patterns of patronage by elite groups; changes in public attitudes and associated tastes that favoured the development of new destination areas. Changing levels of physical access through innovations in transport and widening social access through the progressive emancipation of middle- and working-class groups were also influential, as was the application of both private and municipal enterprise to the physical development of destinations and their tourism infrastructure. The spatial diffusion of tourism from initial sites of development to a widening range of destination areas, many of which ultimately become competitors to original destinations, prompted a re-alignment in the form, character and function of these older tourism destinations.

The chapter then turned to a history of the establishment of national parks and protected nature areas. Emerging from the Romantic Movement and measured against the industrial cities of Europe and North America, tourism and recreation have been a major part of the justification for the establishment of ecosystem-wide parks from their earliest discussions in the nineteenth century. There are some significant differences among natural protected areas based on the management objectives for which they were set aside. Those objectives generally centre on the debate between wise-use and strict protection, with many places seeking a best balance between these dualisms. In developing economies these approaches are compromised by the need for economic growth, though tourism may in the end provide motivations for more sustainable practices.

Discussion questions

- 1 With reference to a country of your choice, examine the effects of changes in transport technology on the geography of domestic tourism over a time period of your choice.
- 2 To what extent is the evolution of successive geographic forms of domestic tourism a response to changes in social attitudes and expectations?
- 3 How well does the Butler model of resort development describe the evolution of British seaside resorts since 1750?
- 4 Taking as an example a seaside or rural/mountain resort with which you are familiar, what evidence do you find of actions or policies taken to meet competition from new tourism in other places?
- 5 How and why has the history of tourism in nature been different in Europe and North America?
- 6 What role does tourism play in the debate between wise-use and more strict protection approaches to the conservation of natural areas?

Further reading

An outstanding account of the development of tourism from the earliest phases of tourism is provided by:

Shackley, M. (2012) *Atlas of Travel and Tourism Development*, Oxford: Butterworth-Heinemann.

Regional histories of Europe and North America are provided by:

Towner, J. (1996) *An Historical Geography of Recreation and Tourism in the Western World, 1540–1940*, Chichester: John Wiley.

Rugh, S.S. (2008) *Are We There Yet? The Golden Age of American Family Vacations*, Lawrence: University of Kansas Press.

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Changing attitudes to the coastline and the sea are perceptively analysed by:

Corbin, A. (1995) *The Lure of the Sea: The Discovery of the Seaside 1750–1840*, London: Penguin.

A comparable discussion of the emergence of rural tourism is provided by:

Andrews, M. (1989) *The Search for the Picturesque: Landscape Aesthetics and Tourism in Britain, 1760–1800*, Aldershot: Scolar Press.

Comprehensive analyses of processes of resort development are provided in:

Soane, J.V.N. (1983) *Fashionable Resort Regions: Their Evolution and Transformation*, Wallingford: CAB International.

Walton, J.K. (2000) *The British Seaside: Holidays and Resorts in the Twentieth Century*, Manchester: Manchester University Press.

For an interesting collection of essays on the cycle of resort development in Britain, see:

Shaw, G. and Williams, A.M. (eds) (1997) *The Rise and Fall of British Coastal Resorts*, London: Pinter.

For global views of processes of coastal resort development, see:

Agarwal, S. and Shaw, G. (eds) (2007) *Managing Coastal Tourism Resorts: A Global Perspective*, Clevedon: Channel View Publications.

Hamzah, A. and Hampton, M.P. (2013) 'Resilience and non-linear change in island tourism', *Tourism Geographies: An International Journal of Tourism Space, Place and Environment*, Vol. 15 (1): 43–67.

A concise discussion of the manner in which popular demand for excursions and holidays developed in the industrial communities of nineteenth-century Britain is provided in:

Urry, J. (2002) *The Tourist Gaze: Leisure and Travel in Contemporary Societies*, London: Sage, Chapter 2.

The Butler model of destination development is discussed in many tourism texts but the most recent and most comprehensive critical review is provided in:

Butler, R.W. (ed.) (2006) *The Tourism Area Life Cycle* (2 volumes), Clevedon: Channel View Publications.

A well done summary and applied guide to the protection of natural areas can be found in:

Dudley, N. (ed.) (2008) *Guidelines for Applying Protected Area Management Categories*, Gland, Switzerland: IUCN.

3

International patterns of travel and tourism

KEY CONCEPTS

- **Computer reservation systems (CRS)**
- **Fordism**
- **Global distribution systems (GDS)**
- **Globalisation**
- **Mass tourism**
- **Mobility**
- **Tourism space**
- **Tourism surplus/deficit**
- **Travel risk/security**
- **Travel/tourism industry**



More online for Chapter 3 at <http://tourismgeography.com/3>

In Chapter 2 we examined the historical sequence of tourism development behind some familiar patterns of domestic and international tourism. These were based initially on coastal resorts, but then evolved to include a diverse range of rural, urban and coastal environments that comprise the popular tourism spaces in most of the developed nations today. However, one of the distinguishing features of tourism is its fluidity across space and through time, so it is no surprise to find that patterns that appeared to be well-established and secure in the 1970s are being eroded by significant shifts in the location and character of tourist space. This is evident in both the emergence of new destinations and in the restructuring of established ones. This process reflects the compression of time and space, whereby formerly distant places become more accessible, that is a fundamental component of the process of globalisation.

This chapter examines the development of modern international tourism as a process that is part of the wider contexts of human mobility and globalisation. These themes are examined at both the sub-continental scale (such as tourism within Europe or Southeast Asia) and at the intercontinental or global scale. Although international tourism is not a new phenomenon, the rapidity with which it has grown in the post-1945 era and the growing scale and degree of international travel demand the attention of geographers concerned with the study of tourism.

Globalisation and mobility

The theme of globalisation was briefly introduced in Chapter 1 but in prefacing the discussion of the development of international tourism, it is helpful to consider the concept in a little more detail. In essence, globalisation involves heightened levels of connectivity and engagement between different parts of the world, with people, capital, goods, services and information circulating at increasingly global scales. The emergence of these transnational systems of demographic, economic and cultural exchange helps to create and sustain the global networks of production that are now hugely influential in structuring economic space. The global movement of people, money and cultural norms also exerts significant effects on human patterns of demand and consumption, producing greater levels of harmonisation and uniformity, some say homogenisation, across cultural space.

The evolution of global systems has been shaped partly by the acceleration of traditional forms of travel and communication, such as rail or air travel, but even more by the development of new modes of connectivity, including telecommunications and the Internet. These have connected societies, institutions and countries in new ways and have even more rapidly compressed the time and space barriers that have separated people and places in the past. Enhanced levels of international trade and investment have brought most countries into the global trading systems, and, at the same time, new institutional arrangements aimed at facilitating such activity or at addressing what are now defined as 'global' issues (such as climate change) have helped to erode some of the traditional strengths of nation states and lowered barriers to movement of people and goods. As people become more mobile, so do the cultures that they espouse, leading – according to some readings of globalisation – to heightened levels of homogeneity in areas such as culture and identity (Lechner and Boli, 2000).

The increasing mobility of people, goods and ideas is central to the concept of globalisation. Processes of internationalisation have been evident since the spread of the mercantile, colonial economies of sixteenth-century Europe. The distinction between earlier forms of internationalisation and contemporary globalisation, according to Held (2000) (cited in Shaw and Williams, 2004), is essentially qualitative and is primarily reflected in the increasing intensity of interconnections, allied with a dramatic increase in the geographic and social 'reach' in the global networks of exchange (Urry's 'scapes' and 'flows'). Importantly, however, this process is uneven in its development across space and time, leading to both new and continuing patterns of inequality in the levels of connection to global systems.

Globalisation can be variously seen as a demographic, economic, social, cultural or political process (Hall, 2005). Through all of these perspectives, it is producing fundamental structural changes in the way that people and places relate to each other. However, although as Harvey (2000) has argued, globalisation has become a key concept in organising the way that we understand how the world works, it is also a term that is characterised by imprecision (Shirato and Webb, 2003). Outwardly it is a concept that implies a unifying process within contemporary life, but in practice the effects of globalisation at a local level are anything but unified or consistent. One of the paradoxes of globalisation is that the advance of global systems has been paralleled by rising levels of local resistance to many of their homogenising effects. This is evident in several contexts, including the reassertion of local senses of place and identity, as well as the assertion of individuality through patterns of consumption (Hall, 2005). Both of these have implications for tourism development, including place branding and niche tourist experiences.

Furthermore, globalisation is both a process and a condition (Hall, 2005), such that international tourism is simultaneously an indicator of being 'global' (in terms of scale, extent and structure) but is also part and parcel of 'globalising' (in that through the process of its development, tourism helps to draw new places deeper into the global networks of exchange). The global *condition* of tourism is evident in, for instance, the significance of multinational firms in key tourism sectors such as transportation and hospitality that have developed and now maintain global strategies that position companies such as American Express and Holiday Inn as world leaders in their sectors. Tourism as a globalising *process* is evident in:

- the pattern of tourism development that is often a primary mechanism for channeling investment capital to new destinations in developing countries and which, through the creation of employment, contributes to international movement of both permanent and, especially, seasonal labour;
- the extended geographical 'reach' of the modern tourist – as seen, for example, in the development and marketing of long-haul destinations in distant places or the promotion of new market areas in proximity to existing tourism regions (such as Eastern Europe);
- the role of tourism as a primary area of cultural exchange – contact between tourists and the people who live in the locations that are toured is often held to contribute to the dissemination of global cultural values and behaviours.

As a concept, therefore, globalisation is multi-dimensional, sometimes elusive and occasionally contradictory, but is also of undeniable importance in understanding how world systems – such as international travel – are structured and operate.

Subsequent sections of this book will pursue many of the impacts of globalised tourism in greater detail but in this chapter the focus will fall especially upon understanding some of the basic structural and organisational frameworks that have enabled global patterns of tourism to develop.

Post-1945 development of international tourism

The most pronounced developments in the geography of international tourism have, however, been largely confined to the period since the end of the Second World War. During this time there has been unparalleled growth in the number of foreign tourists, a persistent spread in the spatial extent of activity and the associated emergence of new tourist destinations.

The growth of international tourism

According to the World Tourism Organization (UNWTO, 1995), in 1950 international tourism (as measured in tourists arriving at international borders and staying for at least one night) involved just 25 million people worldwide – a figure that was no greater than the number of domestic holidays taken in a single country, Great Britain, in the same year. In the year 2012, that number had grown exponentially to over 1 billion international tourist arrivals (UNWTO, 2013a) (Figure 3.1).

Since the end of the Second World War, the expansion of international tourism has been almost continuous, reflecting not just the growing popularity and accessibility of

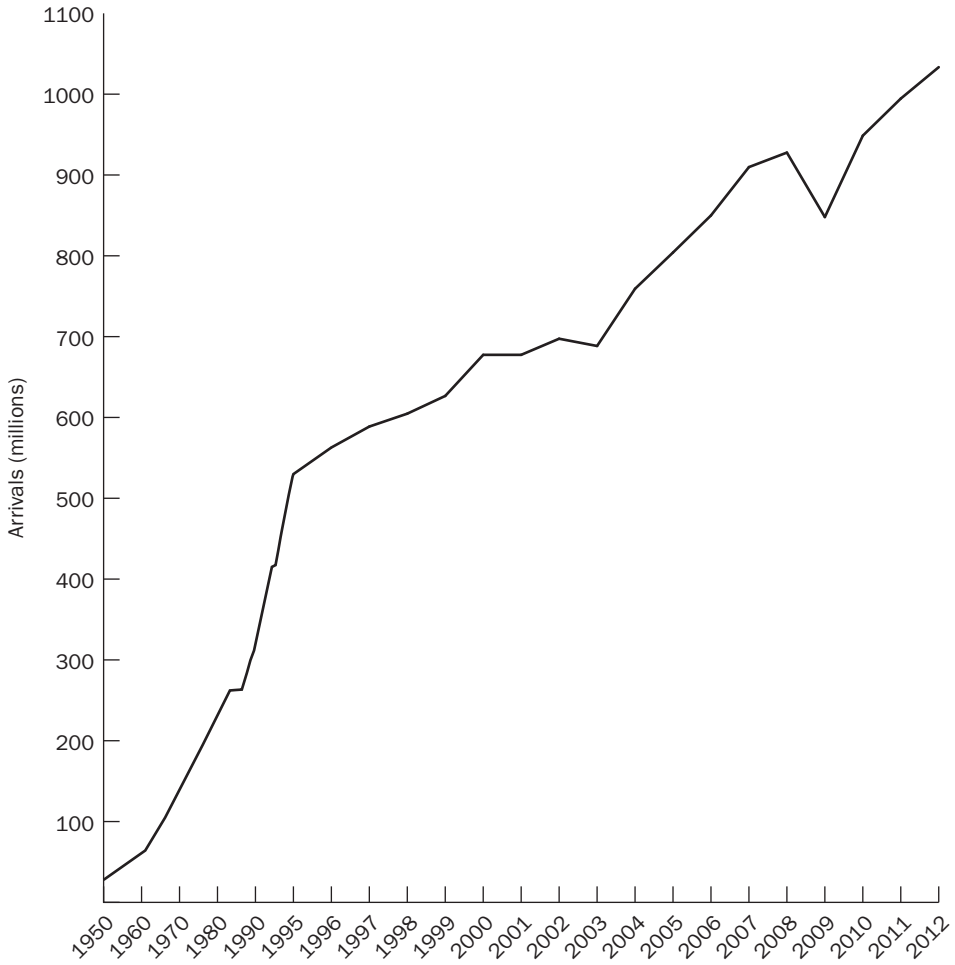


Figure 3.1 Increase in international tourist arrivals, 1950–2012

foreign travel, but more importantly, the increasing centrality of tourism as a component of a modern lifestyle. At a global scale, international tourism has been largely immune to the effects of events that might reasonably be expected to slow its growth. Major political, economic, environmental and health disruptions have temporarily slowed the growth in regional travel, though globally tourists tend to just shift to a different region. Examples of major global events that have slowed, but not stopped, tourism include the oil shortages of the mid-1970s, economic recessions in Asia in the late 1990s and in the 1980s and again since 2008 in Europe and North America, the periodic wars and political upheavals in the Middle East since the early 1990s, pandemic diseases (SARS and bird flu) in East and Southeast Asia in the late 1990s and early 2000s, and the succession of natural disasters and terrorist events in the early 2000s. Travel flows reveal temporary shifts in direction, as international travellers avoid problematic regions, but the overall impact of these various crises on global levels of tourism has been amazingly negligible (UNWTO, 2005c).

Annual rates of increase do occasionally show signs of deflection in response to world conditions, especially economic conditions (thus there occurred a temporary stabilisation

of demand in the early 1980s before economic recovery encouraged a further round of growth). Tourist demand is more likely to shift to domestic, or even local ‘staycation’, destinations when finances become a concern. However, overall, the expansion of international tourism seems irresistible and quite able to withstand pressures of inflation, currency fluctuations, political instability or the incidence of unemployment in most of the countries that generate the principal flows of international tourists.

International tourist arrival data also show that the increase in international travel (when measured in absolute rather than relative terms) is accelerating over time. Thus in the ten years between 1965 and 1974, the market grew by 92.8 million arrivals; and between 1975 and 1984 it grew by a further 94.7 million. However, between 1985 and 1994, arrivals expanded by an estimated 200.9 million; and between 1995 and 2004 by a further 225 million (UNWTO, 1995; 2005a). With annual growth rates in world tourism since 1990 running at an average of 3.8 per cent, international tourist arrivals are expected to reach at least 1.8 billion by 2030 (UNWTO, 2013b).

The spatial spread of international tourism

Historically, international tourism has been dominated by Europe, both as a receiving and as a generating region. This pre-eminence reflects a number of factors including:

- an established early tradition in domestic tourism that converts quite readily into international travel;
- a mature and developed pattern of tourism infrastructure, including transportation links, extensive provision of tourist accommodation and organisational frameworks such as travel companies;
- a wealth of tourist attractions including diverse coastal environments, major mountain zones, as well as world-ranked sites of historic or cultural heritage and urban tourism;
- a large industrial population that is both relatively affluent and mobile and thus an active market for international travel;
- a range of climatic zones that favour both summer and winter tourism;
- many different countries that have peacefully co-existed in a concentrated area since the end of the Second World War.

Although Europeans do possess a higher propensity to travel, it is the geopolitical structure of the region that most inflates the level of international travel statistics that are found there (Jansen-Verbeke, 1995). The juxtaposition of relatively small nations creates a large number of international borders that are often routinely crossed by tourists undertaking quite short journeys. In contrast, most of the travellers in the US and China must travel much further than those of Europe to cross an international border.

The degree to which Europe dominates the international tourism statistics has declined in relative terms in recent years, especially as travel in Asia has grown. However, European destinations still figure prominently. Table 3.1 lists the top ten destination countries according to international visitor arrivals and tourist receipts, along with the major generators of international travel (as indicated by expenditure levels). In terms of percentage shares of the world market, in 2013 European countries attracted almost 52 per cent of visitor arrivals and 43 per cent of international tourism receipts, while 47 per cent of the receipts from tourism at the world level are generated by the ten leading West European countries (UNWTO, 2013a).

Table 3.1 International tourism: major receiving and generating countries, 2012

Country (by rank)	Arrivals (millions)	Country (by rank)	Receipts (US\$ billion)	Country (by rank)	Expenditure (US\$ billion)
France	83.0	USA	126.2	China	102.0
USA	67.0	Spain	55.9	Germany	83.8
China	57.7	France	53.7	USA	83.5
Spain	57.7	China	50.0	UK	52.3
Italy	46.1	Macao	43.7	Russian Fed.	42.8
Turkey	34.7	Italy	41.2	France	37.2
Germany	30.4	Germany	38.1	Canada	35.1
UK	29.3	UK	36.4	Japan	27.9
Russian Fed.	25.7	Hong Kong	32.1	Australia	27.6
Malaysia	25.0	Australia	31.5	Italy	26.4

Source: UNWTO (2013a)

Within Europe there are marked spatial variations in the levels of international tourism and, in some situations, a striking imbalance between inbound and outbound tourist flows. Figure 3.2 provides a simple representation of the spatial patterning of international tourism in the European states in 2004, based on a ranking according to the number of arrivals (UNWTO, 2005b). Four categories are differentiated:

- Primary destination areas that are, in general, large states (or states with large populations) and possess well-developed summer and winter tourist seasons with a diverse range of attractions. There is a strong presence of Mediterranean tourism in this category.
- Second order destinations that also comprise important Mediterranean destinations and a number of central European states from both sides of the former divide between west and eastern Europe.
- Third order destinations that are dominated by the Scandinavian countries which perhaps suffer from high costs of living and a short summer season.
- Fourth order destinations that are characteristically small and often peripheral to the European core.

However, when the data are reworked to show the balance between inbound and outbound tourism, a rather different pattern emerges. Countries can be distinguished between those that are in ‘surplus’ or ‘deficit’ on their balance of tourist arrivals and departures, or in terms of incomes and expenditures. In other words, tourism incomes and expenditures show whether or not a country earns more from foreign tourism than their own citizens expend on visits abroad. The US benefits from a surplus, for example, of \$42.7 billion, while China suffers from a deficit of \$70 billion (Table 3.1). Australia, on the other hand, is almost balanced in the amount its citizens spend overseas and the amount foreign visitors spend in Australia.

Within Europe, most southern European countries have tourism account surpluses, while those in the north have deficits. This pattern reflects what has long been recognised as the predominant tourist flow in Europe. Tourists tend to mostly move from wealthier and more industrial northern countries to warmer southern countries that fringe the Mediterranean (Burton, 1994). This helps to establish a Mediterranean ‘core’ destination

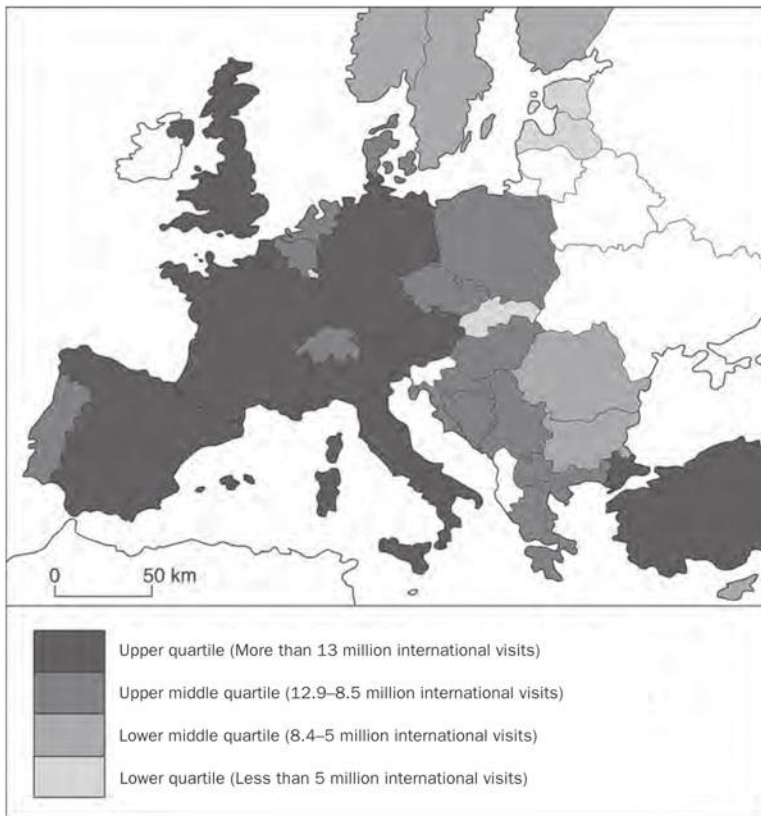


Figure 3.2 Geographic variation in international tourist arrivals in Europe, 2004

area centred in France, Spain and Italy which dominates the European holiday tourism market and which draws disproportionately upon tourists from Germany, the United Kingdom and the Scandinavian countries as sources for visitors. Superimposed upon this primary north–south movement are secondary flows to the mountain regions of Europe (both for winter and for summer holidays) and year-round flows to the major European cities for cultural, historic and business tourism (Williams, 2003). The former trend helps to position countries such as Austria in the top fifteen world destinations, while tourism to Britain is strongly dependent upon the latter.

Part of the explanation for differences in the levels of tourism in Europe lies in the way in which it has spread over time. As we have seen, the French Mediterranean coast has a history of tourism which extends back over a hundred years, and tourism appears to have diffused from this region. Thus in the early 1960s, large-scale development spread westwards into Spain and eastwards to the Italian Adriatic coasts. By the early 1970s, tourism to the Greek islands was becoming well established, while the former Yugoslavian coast on the Adriatic Sea was an emerging holiday region. In the 1980s, package-based coastal tourism reached Turkey.

More recently, tourism has also begun to develop strongly in several of the former Communist states of eastern Europe. The collapse of Communism across eastern Europe in the late 1990s led to a relaxation of controls on travel, enabling freer movement by citizens of the former Soviet bloc countries, as well as turning countries such as Poland, Hungary and the Czech Republic into major European destinations. Johnson (1995), for

example, showed how proximity to western Europe assisted the development of tourism to Poland and the Czech Republic, which became popular, affordable destinations for visitors from Germany, the Netherlands and Britain. On a smaller scale, tourism to the Black Sea coast of Romania has attracted growing numbers of visitors from the Russian Federation.

Although states such as Poland, Russia and Ukraine now figure in the top twenty world destinations, their position as centres of tourism is not entirely clear. Several studies have shown that the introduction of free market economies across eastern Europe has triggered inflation, shortages of essential goods or services and unemployment. Thus, as Williams (2003) noted, much of the ‘tourism’ between states in eastern Europe is presently undertaken as day visits for purposes such as buying and selling goods, or seeking work, rather than purely for leisure travel. This does not, however, detract from the longer-term prospects for a region that is rich in historical, cultural and landscape resources.

MORE ONLINE: Case Study 3.1 International tourist arrivals and balance of trade in Europe, 2004

New tourist areas

The spatial spread of tourism and the emergence of new tourist areas that may be seen within the European region are also clearly evidenced at the global scale. The nature and extent of these spatial shifts are reflected in Table 3.2 and show clearly how the horizons of international tourism have extended since 1960. Key trends to note are:

- the progressive decline in the share of the world market of ‘established’ and developed tourism regions in Europe, the Americas and Oceania (the latter primarily referring to Australia and New Zealand);
- recent stronger growth in areas that have historically received small numbers of international tourists, including Sub-Saharan Africa, South Asia, Central America, South America and the Middle East (despite the latter’s recent downturn due to civil unrest following the so-called ‘Arab Spring’);
- the overall strong performance of tourism in East Asia, which reflects the emergence of China as a top ten destination and the rising levels of intra-regional tourism between economical prosperous states such as Malaysia, Thailand, Singapore, Indonesia, Japan, Australia and China, as well as continuing growth in long-haul tourism from Europe and North America.

The scale of the expansion of tourism to these distant locations is emphasised when these percentage shares of a rapidly developing global market are translated into actual visitor figures. Expressed in this form, tourist arrivals in East Asia and the Pacific have increased from around 690,000 in 1960 to 233.6 million visitors in 2013 (UNWTO, 2013a), providing a compelling illustration of the extent to which modern tourism has been able to take advantage of the wider process of globalisation.

Factors shaping the development of international tourism

How have these substantial transformations in the scale and spatial extent of international tourism come about? The development of international tourism has been shaped by a wide range of factors, but the main elements are summarised here under six key headings.

Table 3.2 Change in regional distribution of international tourism arrivals, 1960–2012

Region	1960		1980		1990		2000		2012	
	No. (million)	% share	No. (million)	% share	No. (million)	% share	No. (million)	% share	No. (million)	% share
Africa	1.8	1.1	7.0	2.5	15.2	3.4	28.2	4.1	52.4	5.1
America	16.5	24.1	59.2	21.3	92.8	21.0	128.2	18.8	163.1	15.8
Europe	50.0	72.5	183.5	66.0	264.8	60.0	384.1	56.4	534.2	51.6
Middle East	0.6	1.0	5.8	2.1	10.0	2.3	25.2	3.7	52.0	5.0
South Asia	0.2	0.3	2.2	0.8	3.2	0.7	6.1	0.9	14.1	1.4
East Asia & Pacific	0.6	1.0	20.3	7.3	54.5	12.4	108.8	16.0	219.5	21.2
TOTALS	69.7	100.0	278.0	100.0	440.5	100.0	680.6	100.0	1035.3	100.0

Source: UNWTO (2005a, 2013a)

Note: Percentage shares for each year may not total 100% due to rounding

The role of capital in the production of tourist space

Underpinning much of the physical development of international tourism and the evolving spatial patterns of demand and, especially, supply, is the role of capital in the production of tourist space. As is explained in much greater detail in Chapter 4, tourism is dependent upon the provision of a range of goods and services – in destination areas and along the pathways that link generating and receiving locations – that define the tourism ‘product’ and enable the activity to take place. Hence decisions taken by suppliers of those goods and services are strongly influential on patterns of development and the resulting geographies of tourism. Moreover, as Shaw and Williams (2004) emphasise, under most situations the dominant mode of tourist production is a capitalist one. This has a number of implications but in understanding how spatial patterns of tourism evolve we need to recognise, first, how the investment decisions and the related quest for profit by independent firms and businesses determines the form and location of tourism development and, second, how the nature and extent of regulation exercised by governments over their territories and the firms that are operating within them may modify or in other ways influence those decisions.

The tourist industry tends to reveal a polarised structure with a relatively small number of international-scale companies (especially in sectors such as transportation, accommodation and inclusive tours) operating alongside a much larger number of independent small and medium-scale enterprises. However, within the processes of globalisation that were outlined earlier, the trend through time has been for the large, multinational firms to assume a greater significance and the investment budgets and purchasing power of these companies is often critical in shaping change in the patterns of international tourism.

Their influence is felt in at least three ways. First, because tourism firms operate in a highly competitive market, there is a natural tendency to develop destinations and markets that enable the companies in question to maintain (and ideally strengthen) their market position. This may encourage companies to look at destinations that are perceived as being:

- attractive – typically by offering something different;
- capable of delivering high volume business at comparatively low cost;
- relatively unfettered by regulatory constraints.

Consequently, part of the spatial expansion of international tourism can be seen as a response to these types of requirement, so that – for example – the development of Mediterranean package tourism in the 1960s was shaped by the same commercial imperatives that encouraged the spread of long-haul tourism to destinations such as Thailand in the 1990s. Second, the commercial power of the major multinational firms enables them to adopt, when necessary, a pioneering role in developing new destinations, whether through the formation of strategic alliances with other related firms; through mergers and acquisitions; or simply as the sole investor. Foreign investment in emerging destinations, especially in the developing world, is often critical to the establishment of new spaces of tourism. The development of self-contained luxury resorts in parts of the Caribbean, particularly through investment by American-based multinationals, is one illustration of the process.

Third, the marketing and promotional decisions of major tourism firms – especially tour companies – are highly influential on consumer decisions. Competitive pricing

aligned with alluring images of destinations constitute powerful marketing tools that subsequently exert strong influences on the actual patterns of tourist travel.

Development of the travel industry

Linked with the role of capital in producing tourist space is the wider development of the modern travel industry. One of the main prerequisites for the growth of international tourism has been the establishment of a mature travel industry, especially since about 1960. Initially the industry focused upon the promotion and provision of the basic components of accommodation, transport and local entertainment. Subsequently it has also developed new structural forms of international travel based on packaged tours and has acquired a degree of professionalism in its service that, as Williams (2003: 71) notes, ‘has brought a level of flexibility, sophistication and simplification to the provision and promotion of international tourism that has largely eliminated many of the risks and difficulties – both real and perceived – that were once attached to foreign travel’.

The development of package (or inclusive) holidays has been particularly influential. The essential feature of the package tour is that it ‘commodifies’ foreign travel by creating inclusive holidays in which travel, accommodation and the primary services at resorts are all purchased in advance through a single transaction in which the customer buys the holiday as if it were a single product or commodity. Costs are driven down by offering standardised packages and further economies of scale are achieved in the bulk purchase by tour companies of essential components such as airline seats and hotel rooms. Although, as we have seen, packaging of tours was a nineteenth-century innovation, the modern package tour based around air travel is very much a post-1945 innovation – commonly attributed to a Russian emigrant named Vladimir Raitz, who was the founder of one of the first specialist package tour companies – Horizon Holidays. But under the Fordist conditions of mass production and consumption that prevailed throughout the 1950s and 1960s, the new provision of standardised, low-cost foreign holidays was an assured way of developing new markets (Williams, 1996).

The growth in the popularity of packaged foreign travel was further assisted by several associated developments, in particular:

- the widespread provision of high street travel agencies at which foreign travel and holidays may be arranged and purchased has helped to make the organisation of foreign travel convenient and accessible;
- the routine provision in destination areas of local tour and holiday guides who liaise between visitor and host and in so doing often remove or minimise problems that foreign tourists might have with language, custom or just simply orientation;
- active promotion of destinations through free brochures and advice services, especially through travel agencies, magazines and newspapers.

These services form part of the rising levels of professionalism in the organisation and delivery of foreign travel to potential tourists. Professionalism is partly about ensuring reliability and efficiency in the delivery of travel to tourists, but, less obviously, it is also about fostering public confidence in the industry. Urry (1994a: 143) explains that this is a matter of significance since the willingness of people to travel requires that they have ‘faith in institutions and processes of which they possess only limited knowledge’. By enabling people to travel with confidence, the modern industry contributes to the demystification of international tourism. More practically, perhaps, the professionalism of

the industry is also linked to increasing sophistication in marketing strategies for tourism that have exerted positive effects by reducing the relative costs of international travel and widening the range of products and services that are available. Williams (2003) draws attention to several key developments, including:

- increased use of market segmentation, in which travel services are tailored to the specific needs of particular categories of tourists – for example, family holidays or educational tours;
- wider use of strategic alliances in which independent companies pool resources or align their operating procedures by agreement, in order to develop new markets or services – the introduction of Europe-wide rail travel tickets is an example;
- development of competitive pricing strategies such as early booking discounts or APEX fares.

(For further discussion of these developments, see Horner and Swarbrook, 1996; Knowles et al., 2001; Shaw and Williams, 2004.)

The impact of technology

Technology exerts a number of direct impacts upon the development of foreign tourism but the most significant technological factors relate to the progressive globalisation of transport and telecommunications. In the area of transport, foreign travel has been shaped especially by the development of commercial air services and also by the acceleration of international rail services and the extension of motorway links within major international destination areas such as Europe. In telecommunications, the primary effects have been felt through the development of global, computer-based information technology systems.

At the global level, air travel is particularly important and the compression of space and time that the airplane has produced has had far-reaching consequences for patterns of tourism, ensuring that no part of the globe is now more than 24 hours' flying time from any other part. The advent of jet airliners such as the Boeing 707, and particularly the subsequent generations of wide-bodied jets with their increased passenger capacities and extended ranges (such as the Boeing 747 and now the Airbus A380), reduced both journey times and real costs of air travel and has provided essential under-pinning to the development of large-scale, foreign travel. It seems inconceivable that tourism to distant destinations would have grown to the extent that it has if passengers were still being offered the fares, travel times and comfort of the airways of the 1950s. Unsurprisingly, almost all long-haul intercontinental travel is dependent today upon air travel.

However, the influence of air travel on international tourism patterns is far from consistent as in some major destination areas, air travel holds only a secondary share of travel markets. Page (1999) shows that in Europe, for example, although there are strong links between air travel and some sectors of tourism – in particular package tourism from northern European states to low-cost Mediterranean destinations – air travel between European destinations accounts for only 30 per cent of international tourist arrivals. This market share will certainly increase as the rising levels of low-cost, no-frills air services provided by airline companies such as Easy Jet create new opportunities for affordable travel (Child, 2000; Donne, 2000; Mintel, 2003a), but it remains the case that intra-European travel patterns are dominated by the car. However, once Europeans travel outside the continent, over 85 per cent of journeys are made by plane.

Part of the reason for the secondary significance of air travel in the European area is the convenience of other forms of travel for shorter international journeys. Travel by road in Europe has been aided by developments to international motorways and improvements to the Alpine passes into countries such as Italy. Similarly, high-speed rail services in France (TGV), Spain (AVE) and Germany (ICE), and between Britain and mainland Europe (Eurostar), have added an extra element of competition, especially in sectors such as short-break/city tourism between centres such as London, Paris, Brussels and Amsterdam.

While airplanes and high-speed road and rail links accelerate the pace and extend the distances over which people can travel, innovations in global information systems have revolutionised the communication of information. Information is fundamental to the business of international tourism and it is clear that the impact of new forms of information technology has not only been a primary factor in facilitating growth in international tourism, but has also revolutionised how the industry operates and how providers relate to consumers. Buhalis (1998) has proposed a three-stage summary of the development of information technology applications in tourism:

- computer reservation systems (1970s);
- global distribution systems (1980s);
- the Internet (1990s onwards).

Computer reservation systems (CRS) were first applied by airlines as a means of centralising control over the sale of airline seats but the benefits of direct access to information on the availability of services and the ability to confirm bookings instantly by use of credit cards was quickly recognised by other tourism sectors such as hotel groups, car rental firms and even some areas of entertainment (Go, 1992; Knowles and Garland, 1994). Global distribution systems (GDS) are a development of CRS but with enhanced capacities to handle simultaneously a much wider range of information from which travel agents can tailor packages to meet the specific needs of tourists. GDS systems typically offer information, booking and ticketing services on airline and rail travel, ferry services, car hire, hotel reservations and other forms of accommodation, as well a wide range of entertainments. Four systems – Galileo, Amadeus, Sabre and Worldspan – dominate the market.

However, the most significant development in information technology has been the advent of the Internet. This innovation offers tourists (whether in domestic or international markets) a number of clear advantages and, in the process, is reworking the relationship between tourists and the industry in some quite fundamental ways. Most importantly, the Internet empowers individuals to seek information and to make bookings online in ways that effectively remove the role of the travel agent as an intermediary. Because the Internet is a multi-media facility it is capable of presenting destination and travel information in attractive and influential ways, including social media sharing, which often negates the need for conventional travel brochures. In addition, online booking generally provides the service (whether it is an airline seat or a hotel room) at preferential rates, thereby driving down the costs that the tourist has to bear. (We will revisit the emerging research areas related to the digital revolution and travel and tourism in Chapter 13.)

Economic development and political convergence

The sustained growth of international forms of tourism has also been highly dependent upon rising levels of economic prosperity and geopolitical stability in both generating and



Plate 3.1 Japan's Shinkansen bullet trains are a fast and efficient way to cover distances too short to be convenient for airplanes and too long for comfortable car travel (photo by Alan A. Lew)

receiving areas. Tourism has always been subject to the constraints of cost and until quite recently the expense of foreign travel was a most effective barrier to popular forms of participation. But across large areas of the developed world, general levels of prosperity have risen throughout the post-1945 period and as levels of disposable income have increased, so foreign travel has become more affordable.

The impacts of prosperity are reinforced when placed in the wider context of the economic realignment of nation states. In particular, the creation of trading blocs, such as the European Union in which protective barriers to trade and commerce are generally absent, has enabled the growth of travel companies with international portfolios of products and services (Davidson, 1992). However, because areas such as the EU comprise a free-trade zone with significant levels of deregulation (such as air travel), levels of competition remain high with beneficial impacts upon the pricing of tourism products. The establishment across most of the EU zone of the Euro as a single currency has brought similar benefits on prices by removing the costs of currency exchange transactions and removing the uncertainties that were previously associated with fluctuations in monetary exchange rates. Globally, the development of international credit card services (such as MasterCard, Visa and American Express) brings a similar level of benefit to currency transactions and reduces the need for tourists to carry and exchange large amounts of currency.

Political convergence has exerted a positive influence too. One of the reasons why international tourism in Europe has developed so strongly since 1945 has been the almost total absence of major political and military conflict in the region since the end of the Second World War. The one significant divide that did arise from that war – the division

between a largely Communist Eastern Europe and a capitalist West – actually produced a clear demarcation in the geography of tourism, with rapid development in the West and relatively little international travel in the East. As soon as Communist control of East European states began to crumble, tourism both to and from these areas followed. Within the European Union the progressive removal of controls on movements between member states – especially following the Schengen Treaty of 1995 – now permits largely unregulated travel by tourists between member states, while outside the EU a dwindling number of states now require a visa as a prerequisite for entry by tourists.

Lifestyle changes

The developments discussed in the previous four sections have all been essential to the expansion of international travel, but perhaps the most critical factor has been those changes in lifestyle that have led to foreign travel becoming an embedded feature of contemporary life in the developed and, increasingly, the developing world. These lifestyle changes are reflected in several areas:

- in the rising incidence of multiple holidays;
- in the fashion for foreign travel and an awareness of its attractions;
- in the competence (or experience) of tourists as foreign travellers.

The rising incidence of patterns of multiple holiday-taking is a product of the general enhancement in levels of affluence, mobility, awareness and the public appetite for tourism and is central to the embedding of tourism in lifestyle. Frequent engagement in travel helps to make it a routine behaviour and reinforces the notion of tourism as constitutive of daily experience rather than a separate entity (see Chapter 1).

International tourism has developed because it has become fashionable. The connections between tourism and fashion, as we have seen, have often been close, but in contemporary societies that have become characteristically cosmopolitan and mobile (Urry, 2000), there seems little doubt that a foreign holiday has become a mark of status. The fashion for international travel reflects a greater level of public awareness that is actively formed and reformed by promotion of travel in the media, through newspapers and magazines, on radio and television, as well as through the travel industry itself. Promotion has made people more aware of distant places and, through the construction and dissemination of exotic images of foreign lands, directly shapes new levels of public awareness of the pleasures and experiences that such places may provide. Hence, part of the problem that many domestic resorts now confront is the perception that foreign places will offer an experience that in many ways will be superior – whether through the enjoyment of a better climate, different landscapes or different places of entertainment, culture, historic or political significance.

International tourism has expanded, too, because tourists, in general, are more competent at the business of international travel. People who travel abroad regularly as part of a mobile lifestyle soon acquire confidence through experience, but even the more occasional traveller can often travel in confidence because of developments within the industry that actively enable the mobile lifestyle. Some have already been mentioned, but additionally we may note the positive impacts of:

- post-1945 improvement in educational levels and better training of personnel within the hospitality industries that mean that language is less of a barrier;

- travel procedures (customs, airport check-ins, etc.) that are – within many destination areas – becoming minimised, standardised and familiar;
- global telecommunications systems that make it simpler to keep in touch with home while travelling abroad;
- standardised forms of accommodation and other services – in international hotels, restaurant chains and car hire offices – that reduce the sense of dislocation that foreign travel might otherwise generate.

The confidence that such familiarity creates is one of the factors promoting the increased tendency to personalised forms of independent foreign tourism. The growth of independent travel reflects rising levels of public resistance to packaged styles of tourism and the increasing diversity of tourist demand. Poon (1989) has argued that the wider exercise of consumer choice characterises leisure lifestyles in post-industrial societies and is reflected in a willingness of tourists to contemplate visiting distant and more exotic locations or to pursue specialised forms of active tourism that reflect particular lifestyle choices and preferences. As Williams (2003: 85) observes, the ‘flexible, often eclectic nature of contemporary tourism and its wider integration into personal lifestyles, has become one of its defining features’.

Travel security

Most of the factors discussed above exert a broadly positive effect on patterns of international tourism, but to conclude this section some consideration of the essentially negative impact of issues of travel security on international tourism patterns is worthwhile. The security and safety of tourists has become a more prominent concern in the wake of an increase in the general incidence of political instabilities, local war and particularly terrorism, from the 1970s onwards and culminating in the attack on the World Trade Centre on September 11, 2001.

As Sonmez and Graefe (1998) observe, it is intuitively logical for tourists to compare potential destinations according to perceived benefits and costs, but embedded within the notion of cost is the element of risk that tourists take in travelling to a foreign destination where they may come to some harm that they would not encounter in their day-to-day lives. Typical risks will include natural disasters, disease and illnesses, food safety and crime (all of which have been hazards associated with travel for centuries), as well as the impacts of political turmoil and, especially, terrorism (which are comparatively recent, but, in the case of terrorism, is now a very real and influential concern). The impact of terrorism on tourism may be seen in both a direct and an indirect sense. Direct impacts occur where tourists themselves become the subject of terrorist actions. Tourism may attract terrorist attention because of its symbolic position (as an expression of capitalism); because of its economic value to many nation states or regions; or through cultural or ideological opposition to the activity. Indirect impacts occur where tourists become the incidental victims of activity targeted at others.

Risks to personal safety – whether real or perceived – exert significant impacts on international tourism patterns, particularly through the avoidance by tourists of destinations that are perceived as risky and through their substitution with ‘safe’ alternatives. In the 1990s, for example, terrorism and related political instability was held to account for adverse impacts on the number of foreign visitors to a range of destination areas including China, Egypt, Israel, Northern Ireland, Spain, Turkey and Zimbabwe

(Arana and Leon, 2008; Sonmez, 1998). A study by Sonmez and Graefe (1998) of travel patterns by a sample of US international tourists found that:

- 88 per cent avoided politically unstable countries;
- 57 per cent stated that the possibility of terrorism constrained their travel choices;
- 77 per cent would only travel to countries they believed were safe.

Following the attack on the World Trade Centre, the US State Department issued travel advice to US citizens not to travel to twenty-eight countries in the Middle East and Africa, but travel by Americans to other destinations – especially in Europe – was also reduced significantly (Goodrich, 2002). The same author also noted as secondary impacts:

- increased levels of security at major transport hubs, especially airports, causing delays in processing arrivals and departures;
- short- to medium-term reductions in the numbers of people flying leading to loss of revenue and cut-backs in employment;
- loss of tourist trade in the hotel and catering sectors, with a reduction of over 50 per cent in hotel reservations in the USA over the six months following the terrorist attack;
- increased costs of actions such as higher security being passed on to tourists through higher prices.

All of these impacts exerted a marked downward pressure on tourist demand for travel to and from the USA immediately following September 11, but similar responses, albeit often on a lesser scale, typify how international tourism adjusts to issues of travel security.

However, because problems such as political instabilities or the threat of terrorism are seldom a permanent feature of the conditions in particular countries, so there is an ‘ebb and flow’ in the impact of security issues on tourism. Typically the short-term impacts of, say, a terrorist incident will be significant but unless there is a reoccurrence the perception of risk will diminish and the negative impacts on aspects such as destination image will recede quite quickly. Hence, for example, foreign visiting to China all but vanished after the incidents in Tiananmen Square in 1989, but, as the case study in the following section reveals, the contemporary picture of tourism to China is now one of sustained expansion. In a similar fashion, the resolution of conflicts that may have underlain political turmoil or terrorism will often produce significant growth in tourism by releasing latent demands that were previously deflected elsewhere. For example, a study by O’Neill and Fitz (1996) of tourism to Northern Ireland reported significant increases in the levels of tourist demand following the ceasefire by paramilitary organisations whose actions had made the province an unattractive destination since the onset of sectarian violence in the late 1960s. (We will explore the value of risk taking in tourist experiences from a somewhat different perspective in Chapter 10.)

Variations in patterns of development

It is important to appreciate that the factors that have shaped the growth of international tourism vary through time and across space, producing very uneven patterns of growth and development. To illustrate this point case studies of an established major tourism destination (Spain) and an emerging one (China) are presented.

Spain

Spain is an outstanding example of the impact of post-1945 growth in affordable international tourism and, with an estimated 57.7 million tourist arrivals in 2013 (UNWTO, 2013a), illustrates a mature destination that will contain many locations and attractions that have already reached the final phases of Butler's model. Spain therefore exemplifies many of the problems that resort areas encounter as they reach their capacities and encounter the resulting tendency for tourism places to drift down-market, setting in motion a process of spatial displacement of some groups of tourists to new destinations.

Although from the mid-nineteenth century there was a tradition of small-scale local tourism by wealthy Spaniards both to the Atlantic coast of northern Spain and to Mediterranean coastal resorts such as Malaga, Alicante and Palma de Mallorca, the modern Spanish tourist industry is a visible product of the age of the airplane and the international package tour. Spain has benefited from being an early entrant into the field of mass international travel and the period since 1960 has seen rapid and sustained expansion in the numbers of visitors. From a base of less than 1 million visitors in 1950, international tourist arrivals in Spain reached 30 million by 1975 and almost 54 million by 2005 (Albert-Pinole, 1993; UNWTO, 2006). In 2004 the industry earned US\$45.2 billion in foreign currency (UNWTO, 2005a) and generated 6 per cent of Spanish gross domestic product (GDP) (Garin Munoz, 2007).

The key factors contributing to the rise of mass forms of tourism to Spain have included:

- the attractive climate;
- the extensive coastline, which includes not just the mainland but also the key island groups of the Canaries and the Balearics;
- the accessibility of Spain to major generating countries in northern Europe, especially by air, but – through recent improvements in motorway and rail links – by land-based modes too;
- the competitive pricing of Spanish tourism products, particularly accommodation, which enabled the extensive development of cheap package holidays to Spanish resorts;
- the distinctive Spanish culture.

However, although Spain is a major international destination that ranks third behind France and the US in tourist arrivals (Table 3.1), the recent development of tourism has highlighted several problems. At a macro level some stagnation in the growth of international arrivals has been noted, particularly as new destination areas such as Greece, Turkey and now Florida provide alternative locations for the package tourists that sustained much of the expansion of Spanish tourism between, perhaps, 1970 and 1995. The Spanish tourist industry continues to expand but recent reports from the Spanish national statistical office (Instituto Nacional de Estadística) suggest that growth in key indicators – such as hotel occupancy – is a reflection of rising levels of travel amongst Spaniards rather than amongst international visitors (INE, 2006a).

Second, Spanish tourism illustrates both sectoral and spatial imbalances. In 2004, just over 66 per cent of foreign visitors to Spain came from just three countries (the United Kingdom, Germany and France) and they revealed a clear preference for a particular style of low-cost holiday centred on sun, sea and sand. Consequently, there are pronounced spatial imbalances in Spanish tourism with significant concentrations of international visitors in the Mediterranean coastal regions and the two off-shore archipelago (the Balearics and the Canaries). With the exception of Madrid, significant levels of under-development

exist in the Spanish interior and northern regions. Rural tourism by foreign visitors is particularly poorly developed, especially in comparison with Spain's northern neighbour, France (Mintel, 2003b). Data from INE (2006b) on the availability of serviced accommodation show that 78 per cent of hotel rooms are located in just six of the Spanish regions – Andalusia, Balearics, Canaries, Catalonia, Madrid and Valencia (Figure 3.2). The tendency for other major forms of accommodation provision (apartments, villa developments, second homes and time-share properties) to focus in the same regions simply exacerbates the spatial unevenness in tourism development.

The third problem is that the rapid pace of development and its spatial concentration have commonly promoted a disorderly pattern of growth. There is some evidence to show that this has begun to undermine the attractiveness of the location, leading to movement down-market. This is especially true of coastal resorts that were prominent in the initial phases of expansion between 1960 and 1975, when low-cost package tourism was shaping tourism development. For example, Pollard and Rodriguez (1993) show how a failure to plan the popular resort of Torremolinos has been one of the elements in its gradual loss of image. Torremolinos, prior to about 1960, was a small fishing village and a resort for a select group of local tourists together with a handful of foreign writers and artists. However, the popularisation of the town as a package tour destination led to rapid and uncontrolled developments which created a formless and untidy built-up area, visually polluted by characterless buildings, lacking public open spaces, limited by poor car parking and with an ill-defined and rather inaccessible sea frontage.

Unfortunately, Torremolinos is not an isolated case and a general incidence in popular Spanish resorts of over-development, commercialisation, crowding of bars, beaches and streets, pollution of sea and beaches as key infrastructure such as sewage treatment has failed to keep pace with expansion, and localised incidence of drunkenness and petty crime have all begun to alter popular perceptions of Spain as a destination. As noted in Chapter 2, Agarwal and Brunt (2006) identify how growing numbers of older Spanish resorts have had to confront problems such as a downturn in visitor numbers, over-dependence upon particular market sectors and deterioration in both built and natural environments. A report by EIU (1997) observes that far too many old town centres have been surrounded and drowned by relentlessly ugly new buildings and disfigured by gaudy shop fronts and signboards.

Such problems have become a major source of concern within the Spanish tourism industry and it is evident that future development will, of necessity, need to find ways to reinvest in the traditional resort areas while simultaneously exploring ways of diversifying the tourism market and promoting tourism in areas other than the Mediterranean coast (e.g., through city and rural tourism). The gradual development of a more structured and effective system of planning in Spain will assist this process. In the post-Franco era, Spanish planning has moved from a centralised to a decentralised approach (based on the autonomous regions) and with a stronger focus on the linkages between tourism development and the wider context of land planning. However, the impact of these changes varies significantly between regions and in the view of some critics, still lacks the level of coordination that is required for effective regulation of tourism development (Baidal, 2004).

China

If Spain exemplifies many of the problems of a maturing destination for international travel, China provides a contrasting perspective on an emerging tourism region. Not only

does the growth of Chinese tourism illustrate the globalisation of international travel, but it also reflects the rapid emergence of international tourism within the UNWTO East Asia and Pacific region in which China is located and in which it is already a dominant player. As Zhang and Lew (2003) describe, China possesses a wealth of resources around which to develop tourism (which include some unique attractions such as the Great Wall and the Terracotta Army) and the industry has benefited directly from both the sustained economic growth that China has experienced over the last two decades and the active support of government. Tied with Spain as the third most visited destination in 2012 (Table 3.1), it is forecast to become the first-ranked destination by 2020 and a top four country in generating outbound tourism (UNWTO, 2001).

It is impossible to comprehend the development of tourism in China without reference to the political context. Although there is a lengthy tradition of travel to China (Wang, 2003), a protracted series of military conflicts in the 1930s and 1940s, followed by the Communist revolution of 1949 (which established the People's Republic of China), ensured that China remained untouched by processes of development in international travel that affected Europe and North America at this time. Under the leadership of Mao Zedong (and particularly during the so-called 'Cultural Revolution' between 1966 and 1976), tourism came to be viewed as the antithesis of the socialist revolution that Mao wished to pursue. Domestic forms of tourism became virtually non-existent (Zhang, 1997) and where international tourism did occur it was considered solely as a political instrument enabling very small numbers of special foreign visitors to witness the achievements of Communist China (Zhang et al., 1999; Zhang, 2003). China, effectively, became a closed country.

Unusually, the development of modern tourism in China can be traced to a specific date – 1978. This pivotal year marked a significant departure from the tenets of Maoism under the new leadership of Deng Xiaoping (Xiao, 2006). In practice, the legacy of the Cultural Revolution had proved to be endemic backward economic conditions and a chronic shortage of investment capital. Through what has since been termed the 'open door' policy, Deng moved to address the impoverished condition of China through reconnection with the international community. This he aimed to achieve by a progressive shift in policy towards a new blend of socialism with capitalism and a gradual removal of the economic, social and political barriers behind which China had been concealed under Mao. The status of tourism, through its capacity to attract foreign exchange and investment, has thus been transformed from an activity that was widely denigrated as representing the worst excesses of decadent, Western, capitalist society (under Mao) to a central component in economic and social planning in modern China.

Under these changed political conditions, the scale of the industry and the rapidity with which it has developed has been spectacular. According to the China National Tourist Office, some 132 million visitors arrived in China in 2012. These data are somewhat misleading as they contain day trippers (or excursionists) who do not spend one or more nights in China and very large numbers of what the Chinese authorities describe as 'compatriots'. These are Chinese residents from the provinces of Hong Kong, Macao and Taiwan who are taking advantage of the new political relationships between these territories (Guo et al., 2006) to enter China routinely, often on a day basis, to visit relatives, to shop or to work. The UNWTO (2013a) counts 57.7 million international visitors to China, which excluded day trippers and only includes those who spend at least one night in the country. However, if compatriot Chinese are removed from that number, the total number of 'truly foreign' visitors in 2012 was recorded as 21.9 million.

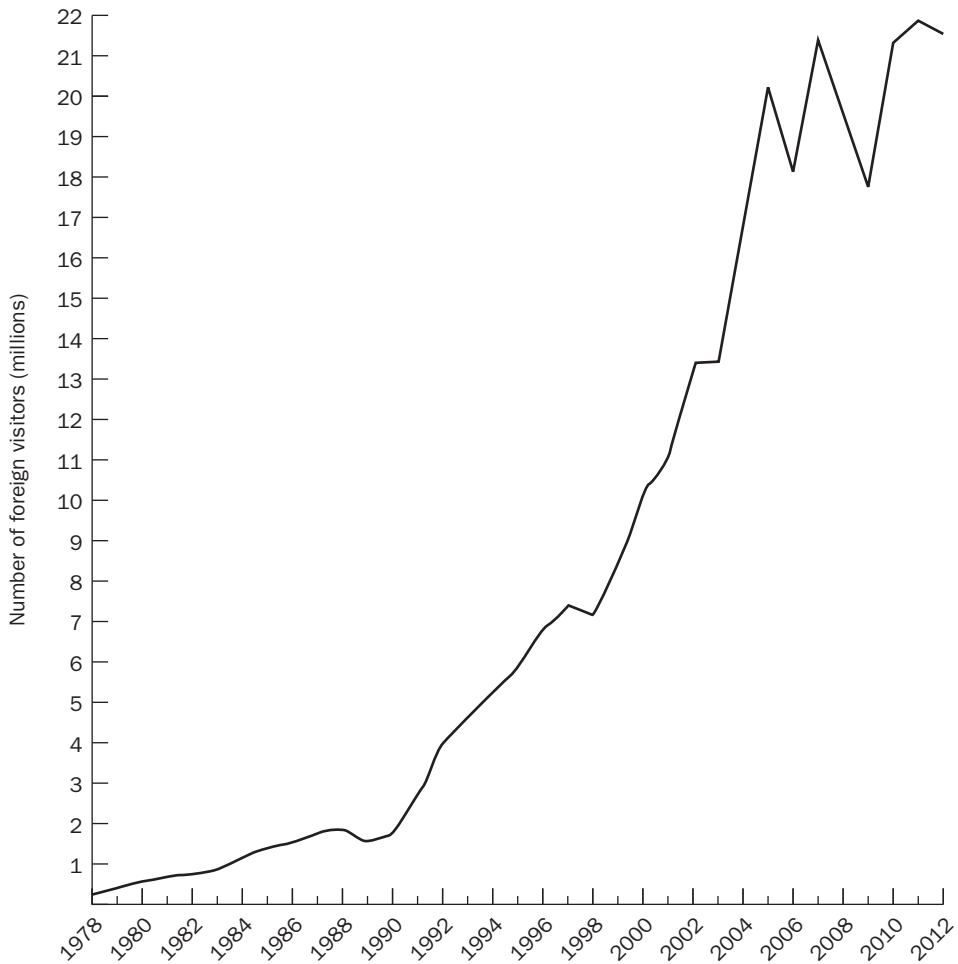


Figure 3.3 Increase in overnight foreign visitors to China, 1979–2012 (excluding day trippers and compatriots from Hong Kong, Macau and Taiwan (TravelChinaGuide.com – www.travelchinaguide.com/tourism/2012statistics/inbound.htm)

As Figure 3.3 shows, the levels of visitors in this last category grew at an accelerating rate since the ‘opening of the doors’ in 1978, though it has significantly leveled off since the mid-2000s. China’s more recent growth in tourist arrivals (bringing it to 57.7 million) has been in compatriots. This is somewhat similar to the very high international visitor numbers in Europe, where the great diversity of smaller countries, combined with the Schengen Agreement which has done away with border checks, makes international travel simple and easy. Each global region, and indeed most countries, have distinct geographic nuances that influence the international tourist arrival statistics that get them ranked higher (or lower) in UNWTO rankings.

Although some of the foreign visitor market is accounted for by long-haul tourism from Europe and North America, the majority of foreign visitors presently originate within the UNWTO East Asia and Pacific region. Figure 3.4 maps the pattern of inbound tourism from major source areas and reveals the particular importance of Asian countries (led by Japan and South Korea) which accounted for 12.5 of the 20.3 million foreign visitors

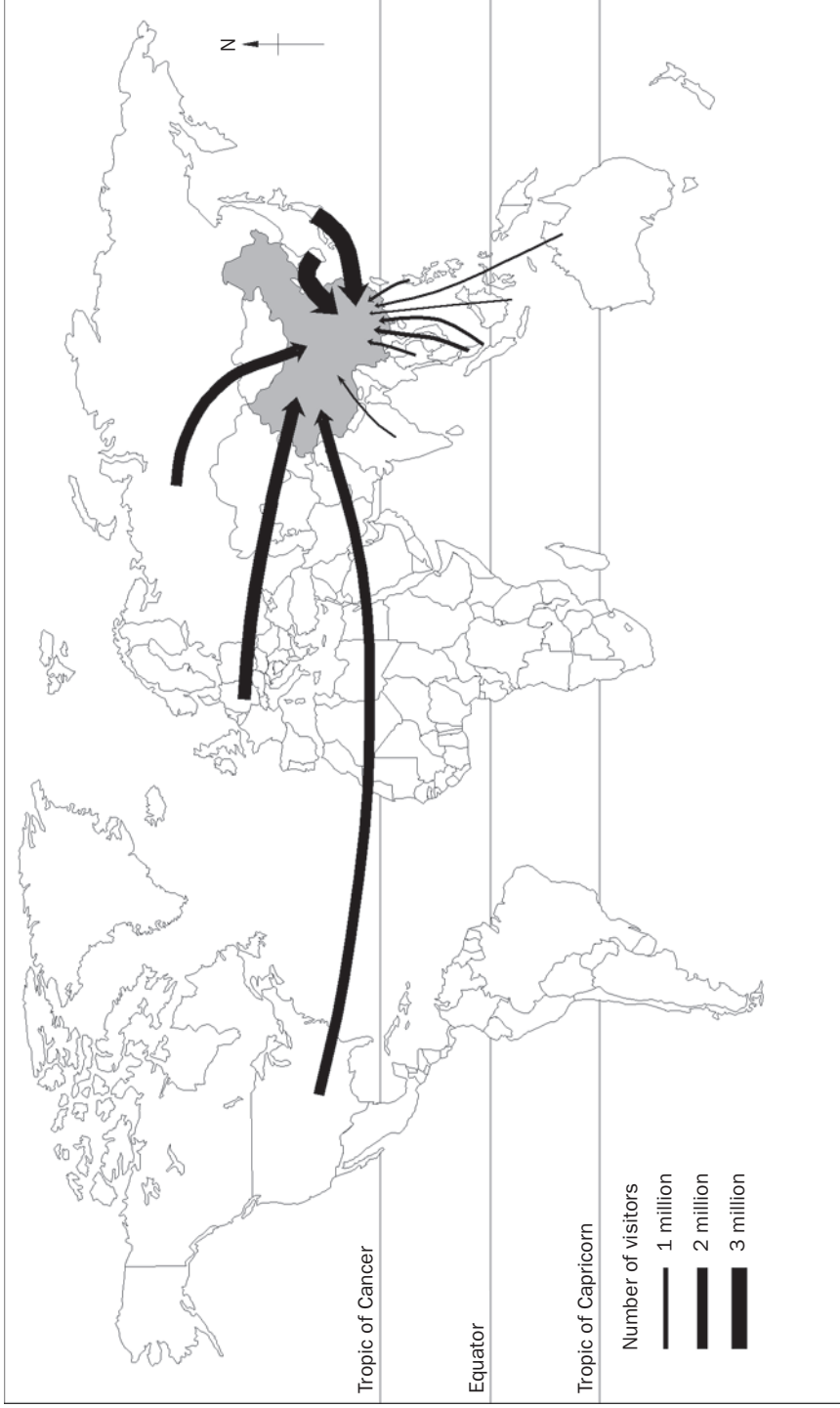


Figure 3.4 Major flows of inbound tourism to China, 2005

received in 2005. European nations (led by the UK, Germany and France) contributed a further 2.6 million visitors, while North America and Russia each added a further 2.2 million. Interestingly, in recent years the growth rates within the Asian and Pacific market have generally exceeded those in North America and Europe, so although absolute numbers are rising, the share of the Chinese market that is accounted for by long-haul visitors from countries such as the USA and the UK is actually falling. For example, 17.4 per cent of foreign visitors to China in 1990 came from the USA, but by 1997 that figure had fallen to 11.7 per cent.

However, the speed with which tourism in China has developed (bearing in mind that the Chinese domestic tourism market – which is already the largest in the world – adds an estimated 870 million travellers to the levels of foreign visiting [Messerli and Bakker, 2004]), has created a number of significant problems. These have included:

- The speed of development has often outstripped the capacity to manage change. This has been evident in key areas such as tourism planning where significant gaps between the expectations of the planners and the actual performance at implementation have been observed (Kun et al., 2006).
- Infrastructural weaknesses in key sectors such as accommodation and transport. In 1978 there were only 203 hotels in the entire country and while a rapid programme of hotel construction had raised that number to over 7,000 by 1999 (Zhang, 2003), the supply of accommodation is still not well-matched to tourist needs (Messerli and Bakker, 2004). Similarly, despite major physical expansion, China's internal transport system has continually faced problems of inefficient use of its trains and planes, poor management, lack of maintenance, inadequate facilities and safety problems (Mak, 2003).
- Organisational problems that have centred on shortages of skilled labour at both managerial and service grades and problems in supporting services such as travel agencies. Travel agencies in China are largely state-owned, but the service is highly fragmented and the operating environment in which they work has been described as 'chaotic' (Qian, 2003).
- Problems of image (Shao, 2003). China has often suffered from an image as a poor, isolated country with a suppressed people governed by a regime with a dubious record in human rights – a view that was reinforced with disastrous short-term consequences on foreign tourism by the Tiananmen Square incidents in 1989.
- Marked spatial imbalances in the distribution of tourism with over-concentrations of activity in urban environments and the eastern provinces and a relative lack of tourism development in rural areas and across large swathes of western China (Jackson, 2006). This is partly a consequence of the natural limitations of time, money and accessibility that confront travellers who propose to explore a country as vast as China (Shao, 2003), but is also a reflection of the way in which the Chinese authorities have been slow to allow new destinations to be opened to foreign tourists (although most areas are now accessible to foreigners).

However, notwithstanding the economic transformation that has affected China since 1978, it remains a developing country and it is unrealistic to expect a seamless integration of a new activity such as tourism into a new economic order. But as might be expected,

given the alacrity with which the Chinese tackle major projects, there has been no lack of response to the problems that have been identified. This has included:

- Modernisation of the air transport system through major investment in new and upgraded infrastructure, modernisation of aircraft fleets and development of new routes both within and outside China. In 1978 there were only seventy domestic and international routes that were flown regularly by Chinese airlines, by 1999 over 1,100 routes were in use (Mak, 2003).
- Implementation of programmes of education and training for employees in the hospitality and travel industry.
- Progressive opening of Chinese markets to foreign investment, including joint ventures and, since the admission of China to the World Trade Organization in 2001, wholly foreign-owned companies in sectors such as hotels.
- Active promotion of new tourist sites and areas. This includes major programmes of restoration of historic and cultural sites from China's imperial past (such as Beijing's Forbidden City) that were widely vandalised during the excesses of the Cultural Revolution but which now – paradoxically – are seen as essential to defining China's national identity (Sofield and Fung, 1998).
- Gradual reduction in the levels of regulation exercised centrally and wider devolution of responsibility.

According to recent estimates (Messerli and Bakker, 2004), some 5.64 million people now work directly in China's tourism industry and foreign tourism (including compatriots) earned a total of US\$29 billion in 2005 (CNTO, 2006). The potential for tourism to play a transformative role in China is, therefore, not in doubt, provided the Chinese can find sustainable solutions to the challenges that they currently face. China's ability to absorb and respond to global competition will be one of the keys to the future success of its tourism industry, but it is evident that success will also be dependent upon structural and organisational reforms, together with the development of tourism products that match the expectations of modern, international travellers (Yu et al., 2003).

Conclusion to case studies

The experience of international tourism development in Spain and China illustrates most of the key themes that have shaped the discussion in this chapter. Each shows just how rapidly international tourism has tended to develop – in the case of China especially so – and each case illustrates the importance of an organised travel industry to that process. Both examples, but especially China, show how economic growth and geopolitical stability are essential prerequisites to tourism development, and also how government has an ongoing role in regulating what is a diffuse industry in which unchecked and spontaneous forms of development occur all too easily and where the positive benefits that tourism can bring are often outweighed by negative impacts. As a socialist state, China exemplifies perhaps an extreme level of governmental control over the development of international tourism, but we have also seen that in a modern, capitalist democracy such as Spain, regulation of development through an ordered planning process is important and when such regulation is applied poorly, as in the first phase of Mediterranean resort development, significant problems may be created. It is to the broader themes of development and associated impacts that we now turn in Part III of this book.

Summary

The theme of this chapter is the spatial expansion in tourism as evidenced in the development of modern international travel. Although rooted in a history of travel that extends over several centuries, international tourism is shown to be primarily a product of post-1945 patterns of leisure where growth has been aided by a range of factors. These include:

- economic globalisation and the development of a structured travel industry;
- the impact of technological innovation in transportation and telecommunications;
- economic and political stability in much of the world;
- the popularity, fashionability and ease of foreign travel for a growing number of the world's population.

While Europe and North America still dominate international tourism markets, the recent development of new tourist areas in East Asia and the Pacific suggests that new global and regional tourism geographies are continuing to evolve.

Discussion questions

- 1 To what extent are spatial patterns in international tourism a reflection of changing tastes and fashions?
- 2 How has the growth of international tourism been affected by technological developments in transportation and information transfer?
- 3 In what ways does the development of tourism in China since 1978 demonstrate the impact of processes of globalisation?
- 4 What are the essential points of similarity and contrast in the development of tourism in Spain and China since 1980?
- 5 Considering the pattern of slower tourism growth in mature destinations as opposed to emerging ones, what will the geographic pattern of world tourism be like in 2030 when there are 2 billion or more international travellers worldwide?

Further reading

Despite its age, one of the best accounts of the development of international travel remains:

Turner, L. and Ash, J. (1975) *The Golden Hordes: International Tourism and the Pleasure Periphery*, London: Constable.

An excellent recent discussion of development up to 1940 is provided by:

Towner, J. (1996) *An Historical Geography of Recreation and Tourism in the Western World, 1540–1940*, Chichester: John Wiley.

For a more recent overview of the processes of development in international tourism, see: Williams, S. (2003) *Tourism and Recreation*, Harlow: Prentice Hall.

Analyses of some of the primary factors affecting structural change in international tourism are given in:

Duval, D.T. (2013) 'Critical issues in air transport and tourism', *Tourism Geographies: An International Journal of Tourism Space, Place and Environment*, Vol. 15 (3): 494–510.

76 • The emergence of global tourism

Lew, A.A. (2008) 'Long tail tourism: new geographies for marketing niche tourism products', *Journal of Travel and Tourism Marketing*, Vol. 25 (3/4): 409–419.

Shaw, G. and Williams, A.M. (2004) *Tourism and Tourism Spaces*, London: Sage.

Useful analyses of development of international tourism within major world regions are provided by:

Harrison, D. (ed.) (2001) *Tourism and the Less Developed World: Issues and Case Studies*, Wallingford: CAB International.

Lew, A.A., Yu, L., Ap, J. and Zhang, G. (eds) (2003) *Tourism in China*, Haworth: New York.

Williams, A.M. and Shaw, G. (eds) (1998) *Tourism and Economic Development: European Experiences*, Chichester: John Wiley.



Part III

Tourism's economic, environmental and social relations

In Part II of the book we examined some broad chronologies in the spatial development of tourism, as an essential background in understanding tourism geography. Part III moves the discussion forward to consider how tourists and tourism relate to the places that are toured and, particularly, how those places and their populations relate to tourism. As with resort development and spatial changes in the patterns of international tourism, this is an area of interest that has also been at the heart of geographical understandings of tourism. This is because patterns of tourism are often dependent on the local contexts in which tourism occurs, and as such, are highly variable across geographic space. Geography, again, is of central importance to any appreciation of the relations between tourism and place.

Much of the geographic work in this area has approached the themes that shape this part of the book (physical and economic development; environmental change; and the influence of tourism on socio-cultural practices) from a perspective of tourism *impacts* on destination areas. This tendency has been resisted in these chapters because it tends to treat tourism as a simplistic, binary force that exerts either positive or negative unidirectional effects. Instead, the adopted approach strives to develop a relational understanding of tourism that acknowledges that what might be labelled as a *impacts* is seldom capable of simple categorisation, nor is it consistent with regard to cause and effect and from place to place.

Each chapter aims to develop explanations, rather than basic geographic descriptions, as the primary focus. This is approached in two distinct ways. First, wherever appropriate, the opportunity has been taken to ground the examination of tourism relations into key themes and concepts within the wider realm of contemporary critical human geography research. These include globalisation, the changing relationships between production and consumption, sustainability, and concepts of power relations. They are used to provide some essential contexts through which readers can connect tourism geography to the wider field of geographic enquiry.

Second, these chapters also exhibit a tendency that has long been evident in human geography to develop explanations by borrowing from related disciplines. Hence the discussions that follow draw widely from disciplines such as anthropology, cultural studies, economics, politics, planning and sociology in an effort to fully understand the subject matter. No apology is offered for adopting this approach, not least because this book addresses its task from the position that a full understanding of tourism geography can never be distilled from perspectives that are purely geographical in origin. By adopting a multi-disciplinary perspective, the subsequent understanding of tourism geography is actually strengthened.

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4

Costs and benefits: the local economic landscape of tourism

KEY CONCEPTS

- **Balance of trade/payments**
- **Economic development**
- **Economic multipliers**
- **Economic regeneration**
- **Fordism**
- **Niche markets**
- **Physical development**
- **Regulation theory**
- **Resorts**
- **Tourism development**
- **Tourism employment/labour**
- **Tourism zones**
- **Tourist enclave**
- **Transnational corporations**



More online for Chapter 4 at <http://tourismgeography.com/4>

Among the many impacts that tourism may exert upon host areas, the development of a local tourism landscape is perhaps the most conspicuous. These effects may be evident in the physical development of tourism infrastructure (accommodation, retailing, entertainment, attractions, transportation services, etc.); in the associated creation of employment within the tourism industry; and, less visibly, through a range of potential impacts upon GDP, balances of trade and the capacities of national or regional economies to attract inward investment. For developing economies, in particular, the apparent capacity for tourism to create considerable wealth from the exploitation of resources that are perceived to be naturally and freely available is a major motivation for investors. But the risks associated with over-development and dependence upon an activity that can be unstable are negative dimensions that should not be overlooked. There are benefits, but there are also costs attached to the physical and economic development of tourism.

For the student of tourism geography, however, ‘development’ itself can be a problematic concept. This is due primarily to the diversity of ways in which the term has been applied, describing both a process of change (e.g., driven by government policies that influence investments) and a state or a stage of development (e.g., a more developed or less developed destination) (Pearce, 1989). Thus, for example, Butler’s model of the

resort cycle that was discussed in Chapter 2 (Butler, 1980) essentially defines successive stages of development, but does not articulate the details of the development policies and processes. Further, not only is there a basic distinction between state and process, but the nature of the process has been subject to a variety of interpretations, including, among others:

- development as a process of *economic growth* – as defined in increased commodity output, creation of wealth and a raising of levels of employment;
- development as a process of *socio-economic transformation* – in which economic growth triggers wider processes of change that alter relationships between places (particularly between more developed and less developed economies) and within and between socio-economic groups – thereby creating fundamental shifts in patterns of production and consumption; and
- development as a process of *spatial reorganisation of people and areas of production*. This may be viewed as a visible product of socio-economic transformations and is a common adjunct of tourism development, with its propensity to focus attention upon resources and resource areas that may have been bypassed by other forms of economic development (Mabogunje, 1980).

Within geography, development studies have traditionally tended to explore the particular problems of less developed regions and their relationships with the developed world (see, e.g., Potter et al., 1999; Hodder, 2000; Harrison, 2014). Part of this tradition has also transferred to the geographic study of tourism (e.g., Britton, 1989; Harrison, 1992, 2001a; Oppermann and Chon, 1997; Scheyvens, 2002), but it is important to note that tourism development processes are also highly significant for places that would already be described as ‘developed’. Thus, while some parts of this chapter will examine tourism in the context of less developed nations, it is important that the discussion addresses the economic development and impacts within the settings of developed nations, as well.

The chapter explores two distinct, but related, themes:

- the factors that shape and regulate the physical development of tourism and the contrasting spatial forms that may result;
- the basic relationships between tourism and economic development.

It is important that these themes are placed into a wider context that recognises both the distinctive dimensions of tourism that influence the ways in which it develops, and the more fundamental shifts in the development process that are associated with the progress of globalisation and the changing relationships around the so-called ‘post-Fordist’ pattern of production and consumption.

Tourism development: characteristics and context

There are three characteristics of tourism production that may be considered central to understanding geographical relationships between tourism and physical or economic development. First – and perhaps most critically – the production and consumption of tourism is place-specific. Unlike most manufactured goods, which are generally shipped to consumers from their places of production, in tourism the consumption of the product takes place at the same place where it is produced. The tourist has to travel to these

locations (e.g., resorts) to consume the product (e.g., a beach, a performance, or a historic site). Because tourism is both produced and consumed in the same place; tourists are a part of the production process. Their presence in the destination area shapes the experience of the product by others both sharing the same space (and being embedded in the landscape) and through their preferences for certain products over others, which shapes production decisions. Moreover, in tourism sectors that are strongly seasonal in character, there are temporal as well as spatial dimensions to the pattern of consumption and these limitations of space and time combine to create what Shaw and Williams (2004) describe as a defining ‘spatial and temporal fixity’ to many forms of tourism.

Second, in the production of tourism, labour holds a key position. The organisation of labour is central to the competitiveness of any firm, but this is especially true in tourism. As a service industry with several sectors that are especially labour-intensive (e.g., hotels and catering), labour accounts for a relatively high proportion of total costs. Less obviously, but no less important, the process of hiring and discarding labour is a primary mechanism by which tourist businesses manage the seasonal demand conditions that they face. This leads directly to the high incidence of seasonal and part-time work that the tourist businesses often exhibit, along with migrant labour pools, which are common in the case of tourism. In this way, the industry directly shapes the geographical patterns of labour mobility.

Third, although – as in all sectors of the contemporary global economy – the development of transnational and global corporations is exerting a progressively more influential effect upon the economic organisation of tourism, the industry typically remains fragmented and is dominated by small- and medium-scale enterprises. Tourism is not an undifferentiated product and the large number of niche markets and associated services encourages entry by small firms. This means that the successful development of tourism is often conditional upon the capacity of small- and medium-sized firms to align or coordinate their activities to deliver the bundle of goods, services and experiences that the tourist requires (Shaw and Williams, 2004). However, the highly competitive nature of the trading environment in tourism means that the failure rate of small-scale tourist enterprise is often high, which may create local-level instabilities.

As noted in Chapter 3, the firms that provide the goods and services that make up the tourism ‘product’ operate within an essentially capitalist framework in which tourism commodities (and it is also a characteristic of tourism that it is becoming progressively commodified) are produced and sold through a competitive market. However, because individual firms in a capitalist system have no capacity to influence the wider framework of the economy, there is an evident need for regulatory frameworks (such as monetary systems or legal controls over working terms and conditions) to provide overall control and direction. This is a central tenet of *regulation theory* which argues that there is normally a dominant set of principles that shapes the regulation of capitalist systems and which seek to provide, through what are termed ‘regimes of accumulation’, the systematic organisation of production, distribution, social exchange and consumption (see, Ateljevic, 2000; Dunford, 1990; Milne and Ateljevic, 2001; Shaw and Williams, 2004; Tickell and Peck, 1992).

For much of the twentieth century the dominant ‘regime of accumulation’ (which is the way that an economy is organised to connect producers and consumers) under which tourism developed was a Fordist/Keynesian model of mass production and mass consumption. This delivered some characteristic forms of tourism development based around standardised packages that were determined more by the producer than the consumer and which offered a narrow range of products and services to a mass consumer audience

(Ioannides and Debbage, 1997). However, during the last quarter of the century, the Fordist/Keynesian model has been gradually yielding its position as the dominant regime, to the more flexible and dynamic pattern of production and consumption that is commonly labelled as *post-Fordist* (Milne and Ateljevic, 2001). In the field of tourism this shift has been associated with much greater differentiation of products and the creation of new attractions, along with greater sensitivity to different market segmentations (types of tourists). This has also resulted in the development of new destination areas and some movement away from standardised packages as a common product (Ioannides and Debbage, 1997), although mass tourism also remains as popular as ever (Shaw and Williams, 2004). The shift to post-Fordist patterns of production and consumption does not represent a linear transition from one regime of accumulation to another since, in practice, most of the production systems in which tourism is being formed still maintain the co-existence of both Fordist and post-Fordist patterns simultaneously. In many settings, tourism remains a high-volume mass product, the important transformation is greater levels of flexibility that shape its production and which are seen as essential to maintaining profitability in a market where tastes and preferences now appear to demand more fluidity and choice than in the past (Poon, 1989).

At the core of regulation theory lies the presumption that nation states (usually in the form of their national governments) play a fundamental role in shaping regulatory frameworks and how they impact upon tourism development. Governments may exert a number of effects, including:

- the mediation of relations between the national and the global economy;
- the exercise of controls over the movement of labour and capital;
- the creation of legal frameworks that regulate production;
- the application of regional development policy;
- the management of state security (Shaw and Williams, 2004).

The increasing integration of tourism into processes of globalisation through, for example, rising multinational ownership of tourism businesses and the internationalisation of tourism investment capital, is weakening the role of government in regulating tourism regimes of accumulation. This is partly because globalisation challenges the territoriality around which nation states are built (Shaw and Williams, 2004), but also because the development of global frameworks for financial exchange and control, and their associated institutions (such as the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank), is altering the context of government regulation.

Hence, for example, within the European Union the ability of member states to regulate development independently has been diminished through the adoption across most of the EU of the Euro as a common currency, the establishment of an elected European parliament, and the greater centrality of EU directives in shaping a range of policy areas. These have all been instrumental in modifying the regulatory capacity of individual member states. Similar international trade agreements, such as the North America Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), the ASEAN Free Trade Area (AFTA) and the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), among many others, increasingly affect development and fiscal policies for most countries of the world in one way or another.

Although regulatory frameworks are becoming increasingly global in scale, the actual development of tourism remains focused at a regional and local level. There is, therefore, a 'global-local nexus' (Milne and Ateljevic, 2001) at which the global forces that influence tourism development intersect with the localised agendas of the regions and

communities that actually deliver the product. This relationship is inevitably both complex and contingent upon the particular conditions under which tourism is being developed. Some of this complexity will become evident if we consider how the development patterns of the physical tourism landscape are shaped.

The physical development of the tourism landscape

Geographically informed discussions of tourism development (together with a range of spatial models) have been established within the tourism literature for some time (see, e.g., Britton, 1989; Miossec, 1977; Pearce, 1987, 1989). These studies generally reveal that the development of tourism in any given location depends upon the existence of a set of prerequisites for growth and that the resulting spatial forms of development and their geographical characteristics will reflect the interplay between several factors that may be conceived as shaping the directions that development may take.

The essential prerequisites are:

- *the presence of resources and attractions*, which will include the natural attributes of climate, landform, scenery and wildlife; the socio-cultural heritage of the destination area (such as places of interest, historic sites, local cuisine or arts and crafts); as well as experiential attractions such as entertainment, theme parks or leisure complexes that may form part of a built environment;
- *infrastructure*, primarily in the form of accommodation, transportation services and public utilities such as water supplies, sanitation and electricity;
- *sources of capital investment*, and related labour and appropriate structures for marketing and promoting the destination.

The primary factors (or groups of factors) that are seen as shaping the physical development of tourism are identified in Figure 4.1 which attempts an outline summary of what is actually a most complex pattern of interrelations. Five primary influencing factors are proposed:

1. physical constraints;
2. the nature of tourist resources and attractions;
3. the state of the tourism market;
4. planning and investment conditions; and
5. levels of integration.

The differing ways in which these factors exert their influence, both in isolation and in combination, will commonly result in one of four general forms of tourism development: enclaves, resorts, zones and regions. In spatial terms, these different forms are associated with varying levels of concentration or dispersal and may also be located into one of several geographic 'contexts' that are here expressed as simple continua: urban/rural; coastal/inland; and lowland/mountain. In relation to the earlier discussion of the concept of 'development', it is evident that these factors reveal the incidence of development as both state and process. Hence, the influence of physical constraints, the nature of resources and attractions, and the state of the tourism market tend to reflect *states* of development; while the influence of planning, investment and integration are much more reflective of the development *process*.

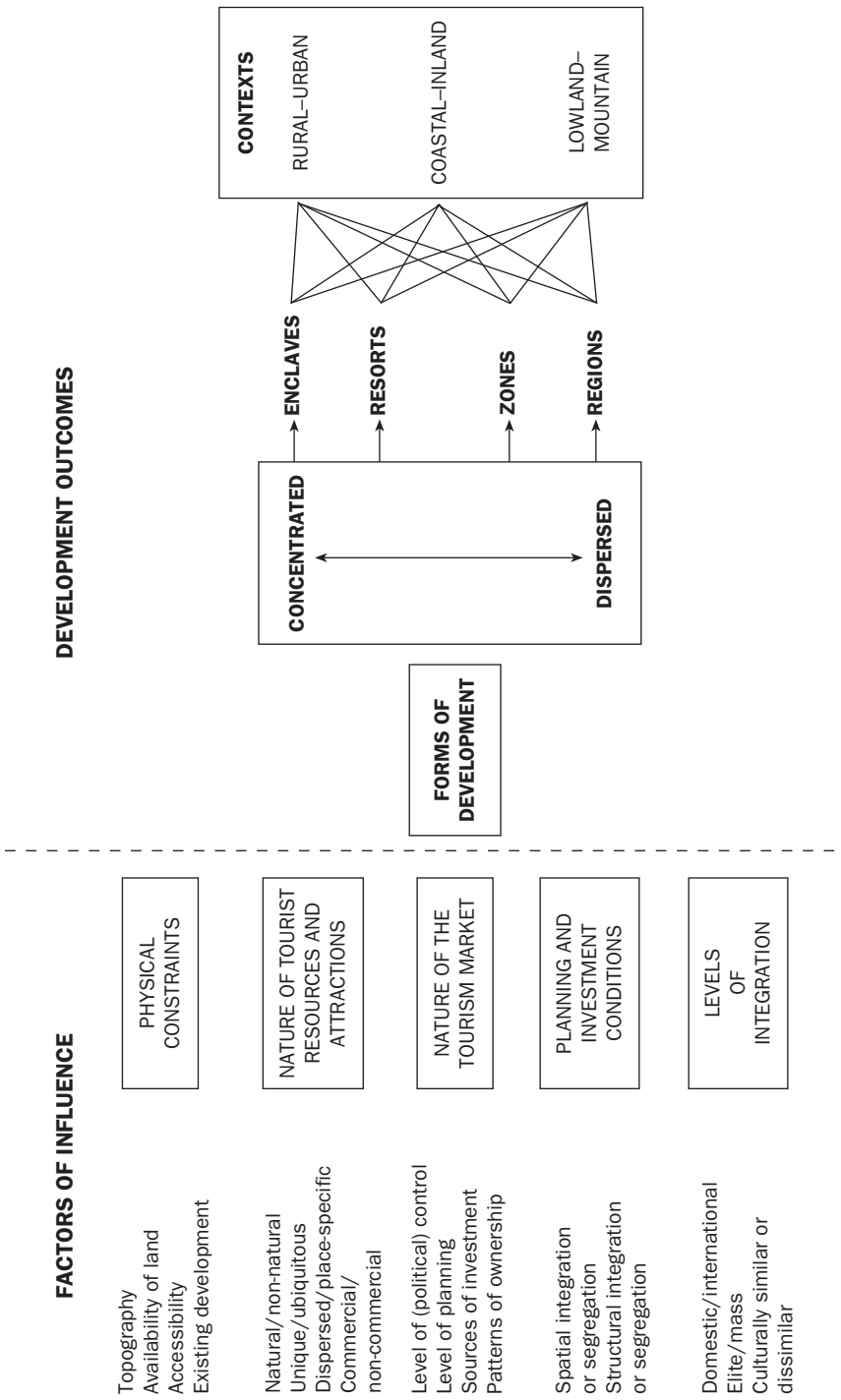


Figure 4.1 Factors affecting patterns of tourism development

1. Physical constraints will often have a direct bearing upon forms of tourism development and consequent geographical patterns. Topography, for example, can influence the availability of suitable sites for construction, levels of access and the ease with which key utilities (e.g., water, power and sewage disposal) may be installed or extended from existing settlements and their infrastructure. ‘Difficult’ environments might include rugged coastlines or mountain zones (such as the Alpine zones in Switzerland – see Plate 4.1), both of which tend to fragment and disperse development in a way that is generally untrue of flat, open coastlines that offer ease of access and construction.
2. Development patterns will reflect the state and disposition of the resources and attractions around which tourism is based and affect, especially, the extent to which tourism becomes dispersed or concentrated. In particular, unique or place-specific attractions, whether natural or non-natural, tend to focus development around the site(s) in question, whereas more ubiquitous or spatially extensive resources (e.g., an accessible coastline or good-quality rural landscapes) may have a dispersing effect. Thus, rural tourism – in which sightseeing is an important pastime – is often characterised by a diffuse pattern of development across a multiplicity of relatively small-scale sites,



Plate 4.1

Tourism development in a difficult environment: the mountain resort of Zermatt, Switzerland (photo by Stephen Williams)

with activity frequently being absorbed within existing facilities through farm tourism or second homes (where these are conversions of existing properties).

3. Patterns of development will be influenced by the state of development within the tourism market. This will vary according to whether development is targeted at a domestic or an international clientele, but more significant distinctions will normally exist between mass and so-called 'alternative' forms of tourism, because of the contrasting volumes of activity that these sectors deliver.
4. Although, historically, many forms of tourism development were spontaneous and only loosely controlled, the value of tourism as a tool for regional and national development has tended to mean that the modern tourism industry is far more closely regulated. Local planning and investment conditions will therefore provide a fourth primary influence upon forms of development, and, as Figure 4.1 suggests, important factors include political attitudes towards tourism and the levels of political control (including the extent to which effective land planning procedures are in place); the extent to which investment is local or external to the region; and the levels of corporate interest in tourism and the associated patterns of ownership. In a rapidly globalising area such as tourism, the incidence of external investment and foreign ownership of facilities can be especially influential on resulting patterns of development. Local and regional communities that are anxious to attract inward investment will often accept development conditions that are imposed by outside investors as a price to be paid to ensure that investment is secured.
5. Planning and investment conditions are closely allied with the final key factor, the level and nature of integration. Discussions of 'integration' of tourism development tend to use the term in two senses. At one level, concerns have focused upon the extent to which tourism development is integrated in a spatial sense with existing, non-tourist forms of development – in other words, is tourism inter-mixed with other functions and land uses, or is it spatially segregated? Alternatively, integration may refer to whether or not a development is integrated in a structural sense. A structurally integrated development will bring together all the key elements – accommodation, transportation, retailing, entertainment and utilities – within a single, comprehensive development. This form contrasts with what are sometimes termed 'catalytic' patterns of development (Pearce, 1989) in which a small number of lead projects that are often externally financed and controlled, stimulate subsequent rounds of indigenous development as local entrepreneurs are drawn into an expanding tourism industry.

Contrasting forms of tourism development

We can exemplify how these different elements interact to produce varying forms of tourism development by examining three of the most common development outcomes in the tourism landscape: tourist enclaves, tourist resorts and tourism zones.

Tourist enclaves

Tourist enclaves represent the most highly concentrated form of tourism development and are typically a reflection of:

- constraints posed by limitations in geography or infrastructure within a locality;
- investments by relatively few entrepreneurs and where funding is likely to be external in origin;

- a market that is focused on a particular segment (usually elite groups, though backpacker enclaves also exist) and where the tourist activity is concentrated upon a particular resource (commonly, although not exclusively, in beach resorts).

Enclave developments, in their purest form, are entirely enclosed and self-contained areas, physically, socially and in their economic relationships (Pearce, 1989). They display several features (Jenkins, 1982):

- physical separation (and isolation) from existing communities and developments which are generally not intended to receive direct benefit from the development, though positive indirect outcomes are often promised;
- minimisation of economic and other structural linkages between the enclave and the resident community, usually due to significant social and cultural distance between the two populations;
- dependence on foreign tourists, which is reflected in pricing structures that reinforce the exclusivity of the enclave;
- pronounced lifestyle contrasts between the enclave and its surroundings.

Enclave developments are often a reflection of immaturity (or a pioneering stage) within a local tourism industry that has yet to evolve to the point where it can support a wider base of international and domestic provisions. They were more common in the early years of tourism development in Europe and North America, but are today more commonly associated with less developed economies. The image of exclusivity, however, remains an important marketing trope for many tourism destinations and products in both the developed and developing world, despite the increasing democratisation of travel (Gordon, 1998).

For tourism in emerging nations, enclave developments offer several distinct advantages. First, the concentration of investment into a small number of geographically contained projects represents a pragmatic response to the problems of how to begin to provide the high-quality facilities that modern international travellers expect, while also formulating and reinforcing a distinct and marketable product. Second, the tendency for enclaves to be partially or often entirely financed and owned by offshore companies is seen as a means of attracting international investment to a developing economy and creating service employment for local people. Third, and less obvious, is the fact that enclaves may be favoured by local governments that are anxious to contain or limit potentially adverse social, cultural or political effects emanating from contact between visitors and host populations.

However, set against these potential benefits are several serious weaknesses with the enclave form of development. Its potential negative impacts include: increasing a destination's economic dependence on foreign corporate institutions and investors; high levels of 'leakage' from the economy, including a sizable percentage of profit going to foreign owners or investors; very limited integration with, and use of, local suppliers of goods and services (relying more on products imported from elsewhere); and, sometimes, highly seasonal employment.

MORE ONLINE: Case Study 4.1 Enclave development in Botswana's Okavango Delta

Resorts

The most familiar form of tourism development is the resort. The term *resort* can refer to both a specific property that offers a combination of accommodations and leisure and

recreation services, and a destination that collectively offers these. What generally distinguishes them from simple hotels and other accommodations is a significant emphasis on leisure time and services, though in some parts of the world almost all accommodations refer to themselves as 'resorts'. Both as specific properties and more complex destinations, resorts occur in a number of contexts. Seaside resorts are perhaps the most commonplace throughout the world, but resorts may also develop around natural springs (e.g., health spas in Bath, UK and Bepu, Japan), in mountain regions (e.g., La Grande Plagne, France and Queenstown, New Zealand) and even in the middle of the desert (e.g., Dubai, UAE and Las Vegas, Nevada, USA). The discussion below is generally based on the definition of a resort as a recreation destination.

Resort developments are perhaps the most strongly influenced by the nature of the resource(s) that forms the basis of their attraction and often, therefore, a concentrated form of development will occur centred on the key resource(s). Resorts are also shaped by issues including: their accessibility; the availability of developable land; planning and control policies; sources of investment capital; and varying levels of integration with other, non-tourism sectors.

Prideaux (2000, 2004) has also emphasised the need to understand how resorts develop as economic entities that are regulated by market forces of demand, supply, and the resulting prices of services that a resort offers. In Prideaux's *resort development spectrum model*, they are envisaged as potentially progressing through successive stages of development as a response to evolving levels of demand and associated patterns of supply. However, that progression may, at any stage, be influenced by: changes in prices that are associated with imbalances between demand and supply; the development of competing destinations; or through investment or planning decisions taken within the resident community and by its representatives. Hence, some resorts develop to the point at which they acquire international stature, while others remain as purely local attractions.

As it is the most established form of development, we will concentrate upon the seaside resort. The historic evolution of European seaside resorts has already been traced in Chapter 2, and the processes described there have produced a form of resort development that may be considered 'traditional' and which is widely encountered in countries in the developed world. Such resorts reveal the attraction of the sea as a resource, while their complex land patterns point to processes of incremental growth, much of which is spontaneous and unplanned, and often in the form of small-scale, local investment.

The importance of the sea coast in seaside resorts has been responsible for a common pattern of linear development along the sea front (Plate 4.2), with a pronounced gradient of decline in land values and associated changes in land uses with increasing distance from the sea. A secondary gradient of change is also evident as one moves in all directions from prime location(s) at the core of the resort community and towards its periphery. The natural tendency for certain resort functions (accommodation, tourist retailing and entertainment) to group together for commercial reasons produces quite well-defined spatial zones within the traditional resort, although these are also integrated and interspersed with other non-resort activities (such as local industries and residential housing).

Zoning may also lead to the formation of a distinctive *recreational business district* (RBD) that may be partially or wholly separate from the normal *central business district* (CBD) that we may expect to find at the centre in any urban place. Furthermore, within the city's tourist zones, competition for prime sites will tend to separate larger enterprises from smaller ones, while the particular needs of some sectors will produce particular locational tendencies within those sectors. For example, in the case of homes that offer bed and breakfast services, which is common in Europe, the attraction of visible positions



Plate 4.2 A traditional pattern of linear development of hotels and attractions along the sea front in Eastbourne, UK (photo by Stephen Williams)

along main routes creates an observable and distinct geographic pattern. For different reasons, low-cost functions that require large areas of land (e.g., caravan/recreational vehicle parks) gravitate to the edge of a resort where cheaper land is more likely to be available. Figure 4.2 provides a diagrammatic summary of these ideas in the form of a simple descriptive model.

As tourism has developed, other forms of beach resorts have emerged that do not match the ‘traditional’ model since development conditions may be different and the extended chronology of change that has shaped the traditional resort is absent. Table 4.1 outlines the sometimes convoluted stages of coastal resort development, from its nascent beginnings to its mass destination complexity. The distinctive features of this more complex model that are worth emphasising include:

- the role of second-home development in the early phases of resort development;
- the initial tendency towards linear development along the sea frontage which is reinforced by the first phases of hotel development;
- the processes of displacement of residential properties from the frontage as the tourism industry becomes established;
- the emergence of secondary developments of hotels at inland locations, once the front has become fully developed;
- the eventual separation of a CBD from an RBD in the mature stages of the resort’s formation.

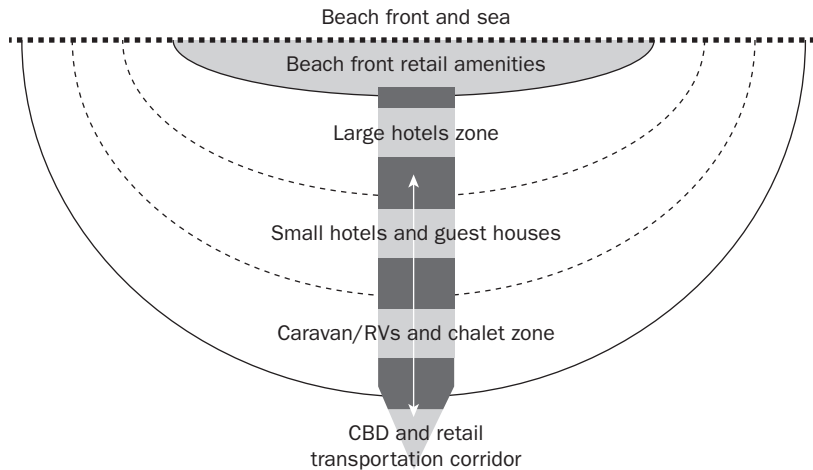


Figure 4.2 Model of land use in a conventional seaside resort community (adapted from Smith, 1991)

Table 4.1 Stages of beach resort formation

Stage 1 - PRE-TOURISM DATUM

No tourism; Local settlements in some cases, but not tourism related

Stage 2 - SECOND HOMES

First tourism development; Low-budget tourists; Second homes emerge along beach; Roads become defined; Strip development along beach or water front

Stage 3 - FIRST HOTELS

Visitor access improved; First hotel opens; Ad hoc (unplanned) development process; Higher-budget visitors arrive; Tourism jobs emerge

Stage 4 - RESORT ESTABLISHED

More hotels developed; Strip development intensifies; Some local resident houses are displaced for tourists; Local residential population expands; Tourism jobs mostly in hotels

Stage 5 - BUSINESS AREA ESTABLISHED

More diverse accommodations emerge; Visitor types broaden; Non-hotel business grows; Tourism dominates the local economy; Immigrant workforce expands significantly; Disruption of local traditional culture; Beach congestion and pollution increases; Local ambience (sense of place) deteriorates

Stage 6 - INLAND HOTELS

Hotels develop away from beach; Rapid local residential growth; Business district consolidates; Flood and erosion damage potential increases due to less natural vegetation; Tourism culture dominates; Traditional cultural patterns are obliterated; Entrepreneurs drive local development; Government introduces a master plan to manage development

Stage 7 - TRANSFORMATION

Place becomes an urbanised resort; Efforts to rehabilitate traditional/natural ambience; Accommodation structural change; Visitors and expenditures change; Resort governance generally fails

Stage 8 - CITY RESORT

Fully urbanised; Alternative circulation/transportation system developed to reduce congestion; Distinct recreational and commercial business districts emerge; Resort area spreads laterally; Serious pollution problems emerge; Political power to higher government

Source: Based on Smith (1991)

Although developed around observation of resort formation in Malaysia, Thailand and Australia, this model can be applied in other areas of recent resort development.

Tourism zones

In mature tourism destinations, the scale and extent of development will often proceed to the point at which extended zones of tourism emerge. These typically will be formed by combinations of resorts, enclaves and other types of development that form areas of in-filling around primary centres (e.g., villa complexes, holiday villages, caravan/recreational vehicle sites, attractions and golf courses) to create an expansive landscape that is infused with tourism. In contrast to the other forms discussed above, however, the emphasis in zonal development is upon dispersal rather than concentration, although there may still be concentrations of activity within the zone, usually around urban resorts wherever these are present.

The precise form that such zones may take is variable, reflecting key factors of topography, access, availability of land for development, and planning and investment conditions. However, one of the most characteristic patterns of zonal development is a linear growth along accessible and attractive coastlines. In some instances the topography encourages such growth by creating only narrow coastal strips that are suitable for development, but the attraction of the seashore also tends to encourage linear forms, irrespective of physical constraints. This tendency may then be further reinforced by, for example, construction of coastal roads that link the different elements together. Examples of scenic coastal highways that are major tourist destinations can be found in most developed countries where private automobile travel is popular.

Scenic roadways and byways are also found away from the coasts, usually in natural agricultural or mountain settings. Tourist travel through these tourist zones is also often linear in nature, moving from one secondary destination to the next in an effort to consume the regional experience. Gunn (1994) referred to these zones as ‘touring’ destinations, as opposed to all-inclusive resort destinations that meet most of the leisure and recreation needs of tourists in one place. Whether a zonal destination or a resort destination, in conditions where local planning control is poorly applied, the negative impacts will often be pronounced.

MORE ONLINE:

Case Study 4.2 Resort development of Pattaya, Thailand

Case Study 4.3 Zonal development on the coast of northeast Wales

Tourism and economic development

The physical development of tourism is, of course, linked with a range of environmental and social impacts (see Chapters 5 and 6), but the closest ties are arguably economic in character. Tourism may:

- aid economic development through the generation of foreign exchange earnings;
- exert beneficial effects upon balance of payments accounts;
- create substantial volumes of employment;
- assist in the redistribution of wealth from richer to poorer regions;
- promote and finance infrastructural improvements;
- diversify economies and create new patterns of economic linkage.

Less positively, however, tourism's economic effect may also:

- increase dependence upon foreign investors and companies;
- introduce instabilities and weakness in labour markets;
- divert investment from other development areas.

The relative balance of positive and negative impacts that tourism may exert is strongly dependent on the context of each destination, and a general note of caution needs to be sounded on tendencies to relate all economic effects as being broadly positive or negative in outcome. Identical processes may produce contrasting outcomes in different geographical and cultural settings. It is also true that economic impacts are complex and notoriously difficult to isolate and measure, and that they change over time. In general, however, there are good justifications to anticipate significant spatial variations in effect according to:

- the geographic scale of development, that is, international, national, regional or local;
- the initial volume of tourist expenditures, which will be primarily shaped by the number of visitors and their market segments – for example, effects differ between low-cost and luxury travel, or mass tourists and independent travellers;
- the size and maturity of the economy, which will affect particularly the ability to supply tourist requirements from within the economy rather than relying upon imports or foreign sources of investment;
- the levels of 'leakage' from the economy. Leakage represents the proportion of revenue which is lost through, for example, the need to import goods and services to sustain the tourism enterprise, or through the payment of profits and dividends to offshore owners or investors. In general, the larger and more developed an economy, the lower the levels of leakage and vice versa.

In addition, there are some general instabilities that affect the performance of tourist economies. Most areas of tourism are subject to the effects of seasonality in demand and while some destination areas have developed both summer and winter markets (e.g., Alpine Europe) in many tourism regions, climatic constraints produce a pronounced annual seasonal effect. Figure 4.3 illustrates the seasonality of tourism for a number of European destinations and, from an economic perspective, points to the problems of having facilities under-utilised or even closed (and therefore entirely unproductive) for parts of the season. Cutting across such seasonal patterning are more unpredictable fluctuations in demand within the industry which may be seen as a response to a number of potentially disruptive influences, including:

- economic recession in generating countries;
- changes in the price of holidays consequent upon fluctuations in international monetary exchange rates or price wars within the travel industry;
- changes in costs of transportation, reflecting particularly changes in oil prices and associated costs of aviation fuel;
- short- or medium-term economic and political instability in destination areas;
- warfare and civil unrest;
- negative images stemming from a range of potential problems at destinations, including levels of crime, incidence of illness and epidemics, or even simple decline in fashionability.

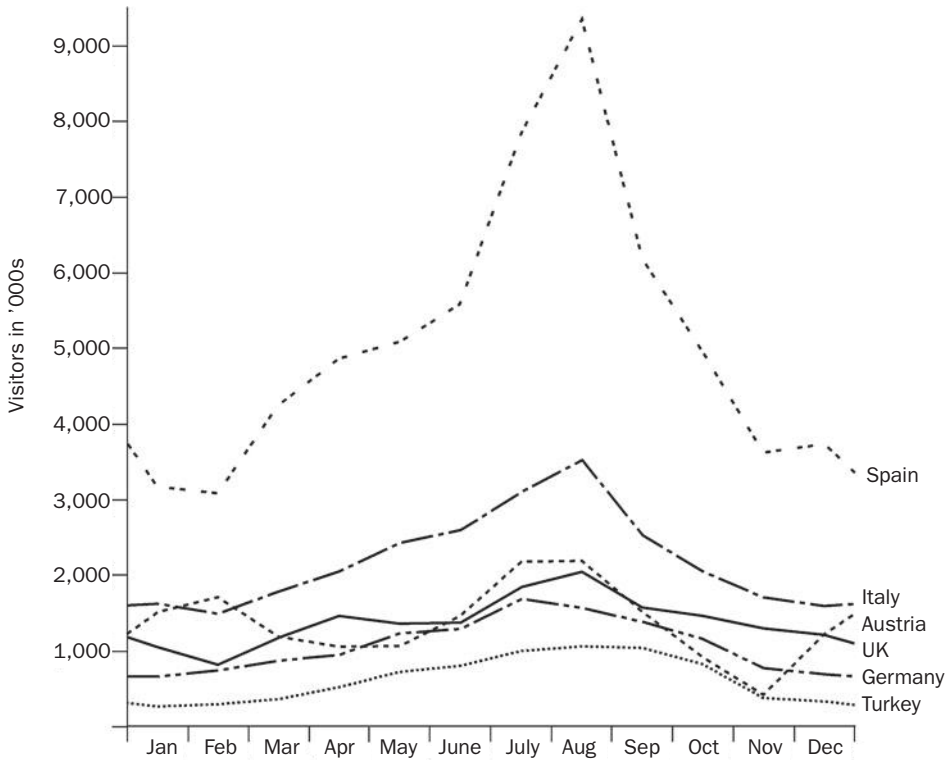


Figure 4.3 Seasonal patterns of international tourist arrivals in selected countries

With these points in mind, the following section considers some of the primary ways in which tourism affects economic development focusing especially on impacts on balances of trade and investment; economic growth, employment and regeneration.

Tourism impacts on balances of trade and inward investment

The first effect that we may note is the capacity for international forms of tourism to earn foreign currency and to influence a country's balance of payments account, which is the difference between the value of exports sold by a country and cost of imports purchased by residents in a country. With total world tourism 'trade' valued at US\$1.3 trillion in 2012, including international transport and tourism receipts (UNWTO, 2013a), the potential for tourism to influence the accumulation of wealth in particular regions is clearly considerable.

Tourism is a sector with high levels of what economic geographers refer to as 'invisible' trade elements, meaning that such trade is not necessarily in tangible (and hence easily measurable) flows of goods. It is, for example, an export industry in that it brings in money from outside of the country or community, even though the primary product never actually leaves the country. We may gain an idea of the spatial patterning in national income and the gains and losses of foreign currency through tourism by comparing what a nation earns through foreign visitors' expenditure with what its own nationals expend when they themselves become tourists to another country. (This is sometimes referred to as the 'travel account'.) Table 4.2 sets out the balance of tourist trade in the top twenty

Table 4.2 International balance of tourism trade, 2004

Country	Receipts (US\$ million)	Gross surplus (US\$ million)	Gross deficit (US\$ million)
USA	74,481	17,037	
Spain	45,248	36,187	
France	40,842	17,411	
Italy	35,656	15,026	
Germany	27,657		37,032
UK	27,299		20,630
China	25,739	10,552	
Turkey	15,888	13,775	
Austria	15,351	3,590	
Australia	12,952	5,661	
Greece	12,872	10,456	
Canada	12,843		579
Japan	11,202		17,617
Mexico	10,753	4,500	
Switzerland	10,413	2,942	
Netherlands	10,260		4,339
Thailand	10,034	6,539	
Belgium	9,185		2,991
Malaysia	8,198	5,352	
Portugal	7,788	5,378	

Source: UNWTO (2005a)

international destinations (as measured by gross tourism receipts) and, by comparing receipts with expenditures, reveals whether countries are in a basic surplus or deficit on their travel account.

Two points are worth noting. First, nations that are conspicuous generators of tourists, especially Germany, Japan, the Netherlands and the UK, tend to be in 'deficit' in their travel account. Second, there is a marked geographic pattern amongst the European nations, with a clear flow of foreign currency from the northern urban-industrial economies to the Alpine or southern European economies. This illustrates an advantage that is often claimed to be associated with tourism development, namely that it can be a medium for redistribution of economic wealth from richer areas, such as northern Europe, to poorer areas, such as southern Europe.

However, Table 4.2 tells only a partial story since the raw data take no account of the 'invisible' earnings associated with tourism or of its secondary effects. Invisible earnings are generated through activities such as ownership and control of tour companies, airlines, transport operators, international hotel chains and, less obviously, profits from insurance and banking services that support the international tourism industry. Hence, countries such as Germany and the UK are able to transform the contribution of tourism to their balance of payments (often from apparent deficit into surplus) through higher levels of activity in the invisible sectors of the tourism economy by their dominance in the control of transnational corporations. Similarly, discussions of the contribution of tourism to balance of payment accounts generally fail to take into account secondary effects. These relate to the complex patterns of redistribution of initial expenditures by tourists that

occur, for example, through their purchasing of goods and services for consumption or through the payment of wages and salaries to employees in the tourist industry. In situations where goods, services or labour are purchased from outside the national economy, such transactions have their own impacts on balance of payment accounts (Wall and Mathieson, 2006).

In many contexts, tourism is also valued through its apparent capacity to attract inward investment to finance capital projects. Although tourism is mostly characterised by numerous small-scale local firms, the trend is towards greater levels of globalisation in the organisation of world tourism and the emergence of large-scale international and multinational operators, each capable of moving significant volumes of investment to new tourism destinations. These firms are distinctive not just because of the manner in which they have extended their horizontal linkages (where firms merge with, take over, or form alliances with other firms operating in the same sector), but especially through the development of vertical linkages in which, for example, an airline purchases or develops its own travel booking company and takes on ownership of hotels. (The Grand Metropolitan group, for example, has interests in international hotels, holiday campgrounds, travel agencies, package tours and restaurants.)

For developing nations, in particular, the role of foreign investment in initiating a tourism industry through hotel and resort construction can be an essential first step out of which an indigenous industry may eventually develop. Without foreign investment, local start-up capital may be insufficient to create and manage facilities that meet international standards. Although profits from foreign-owned firms will tend to leak out of the local economy, local taxation on visitors and their services may provide sufficient initial funds to assist in the formation of new locally owned firms and the development of key infrastructure (roads, water and energy sources) around which further expansion of tourism may then be based.

Set against the advantages of fostering an indigenous tourism economy, however, are the risks associated with increased economic dependence on foreign companies and investors. Ideally, foreign investment provides a catalyst to growth that will foster the formation of local enterprises, yet in many emerging nations foreign ownership continues to dominate tourism industries for many years, prompting the ongoing and extensive leakage of profits with minimal local economic gain. Problems of dependency are generally greatest in small nations and, especially, small island states (Harrison, 2001b) and there have been a wide range of studies of such destination areas in the Caribbean and the South Pacific that demonstrate these points (Archer, 1989, 1995; Britton, 1982; Freitag, 1994; Lockhart, 1993; Weaver, 1998; Wilkinson, 1987). For example, a case study of the Cook Islands, conducted in the late 1980s, found that tourism businesses belonging to local people received only 17 per cent of tourist expenditure, while in Vanuatu over 90 per cent of tourist expenditures were garnered by foreign-owned companies (Milne, 1992). Under these conditions, the beneficial impact of tourism is significantly less than might be imagined from a cursory examination of the flows of tourists.

Tourism and economic growth

Closely associated with the attraction of inward investment is the role that tourism may play in encouraging new economic linkages and increasing the gross domestic product (GDP) of an economy. Tourism's contribution to GDP, which roughly reflects the average income of a country, will vary substantially according to the level of economic diversity and the extent of economic linkages among sectors within an economy. In developed

countries, tourism's contribution to the GDP is usually quite small due to the high levels of diversity and integration. In contrast, in emerging nations that lack economic diversity or which, perhaps through remoteness, have limited trading patterns, the contribution of tourism to the GDP can be substantial. Data provided by Wall and Mathieson (2006) show, for example, that in the highly developed economies of Canada and the USA, the estimated contribution of tourism to the GDP is 2.4 per cent and 2.2 per cent respectively, whereas in the much smaller economies of the Seychelles and the Maldives, the tourism contribution in 2004 was 28.6 per cent for the former and 41.8 per cent for the latter.

The mechanisms by which tourism development may foster the formation of new companies, and the development of new linkages, are complex. However, in simplified form, they may be envisaged as shown in Figure 4.4. This is a direct adaptation of a model originally developed by Lundgren (1973) to show key stages in the development of entrepreneurial activity in an emerging tourism economy. It is utilised here to show how patterns of economic linkage may evolve in a newly emerging destination area. The model reflects a developing country scenario in which, at an initial stage, local tourism provisions are limited and the industry is highly dependent upon overseas suppliers. After some time, the number of tourism businesses increase and become more spatially spread, profits (or the expectation of profits) filter more widely into the local economy, and existing or newly formed local firms start to emerge. Foreign dependence levels gradually diminish as these local linkages emerge. Eventually, a mature stage is reached in which a broadly based local tourism economy has been formed with well-developed patterns of local supply and a much reduced dependence on foreign imports.

One of the primary ways in which the potential contribution of tourism development to the wider formation of economic growth, inter-firm linkages and the generation of income is assessed is through what is termed the 'multiplier effect'. Multiplier analysis was first applied to tourism by Archer (1973, 1977, 1982), but has since been widely developed as a means to measure the economic impact of tourism within national, regional and even local tourism economies (see, e.g., Archer, 1995; Huse et al., 1998; Khan et al., 1990).

Multipliers attempt to measure the impact of tourist expenditures as they re-circulate within a local economy. Tourist spending is initially introduced as direct payment for a good and a service, such as accommodations, food, local transport, or a souvenir purchase. In turn, the providers of these services re-spend portions of the tourism receipts on their own purchases, for wages to employees, or in taxes to local governments. In this way, these transactions form further flows of money and extend the indirect linkages of tourism beyond the immediate core of tourism businesses. With each expenditure, however, a good portion leaves the local economy to pay for the materials, transportation and profits of external producers or manufacturers. This cyclical process is reflected in the recognition of three levels of effect:

1. *a direct effect*, in which the initial injection of revenue to the local economy by the tourist occurs – for example, through payment of an hotel bill;
2. *an indirect effect*, which is represented by a second round of spending by the recipients of initial expenditures in purchasing the goods and services demanded by the tourist – for example, purchase by the hotelier of local supplies of food and drink for the hotel restaurant;
3. *an induced effect*, which is further spending by the beneficiaries of the direct and indirect effects on goods and services for their own consumption – for example, the purchase of clothing by the hotel waiter (see Wall and Mathieson, 2006).

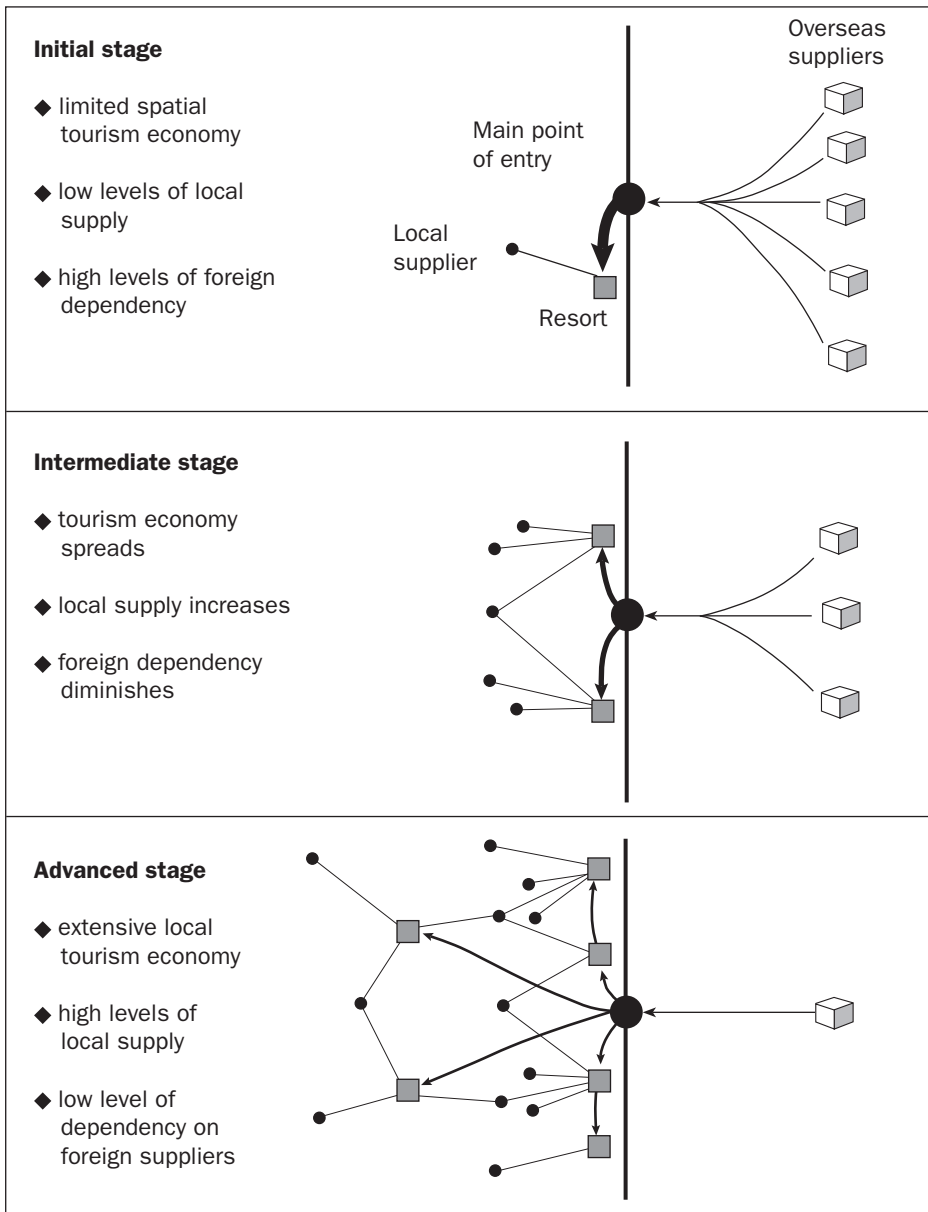


Figure 4.4 Tourism development and the formation of economic linkages

By convention, multipliers are expressed as a ratio in which the expected increase in income associated with a unit of currency is stated. Thus a multiplier of 1.35 would indicate that for every \$1 spent, a further \$0.35 dollars is generated by indirect and induced effects. However, the scale of the multiplier effect will vary, dependent upon the overall level of development within the economy, the type of tourism product and market, and the extent to which the local economy can supply the tourism industry from its own resources, which reflects the extent to which leakage effects may be minimised. In developed

destinations multiplier values are generally high whereas in emerging destinations in developing economies much lower multipliers are generally encountered. Wall and Mathieson (2006) provide contrasting examples which show tourism multipliers of 1.92 and 1.73 for the USA and the UK respectively, whereas in Fiji and the British Virgin Islands the equivalent values are only 0.72 and 0.58 (meaning that for every \$1 that is spent by an international tourist, the total value contribution to the destination country's GDP is only \$0.72 and \$0.58, respectively).

Like all export industries, the potentially significant economic benefits that tourism may bring to a community make it an attractive option for those seeking to promote local economic development. However, the presumed capacity of tourism to be a major generator of regional development, and to redistribute wealth and more generally benefit local economies has been questioned. Tourism has been widely associated with localised inflation of the price of land, labour costs and prices of goods in the shops, while studies of tourism destinations as diverse as the UK and Malaysia suggest that rather than diffusing economic gain into less wealthy, peripheral regions, its development tends to refocus growth into areas of existing development. In the UK, traditional domestic tourism regions, such as Devon and Cornwall, have seen a loss of business as former domestic holidaymakers increasingly go abroad. Ideally, such losses would be counterbalanced by new flows of foreign tourists into these regions, yet the primary focus for foreign visitors to Britain is London, and only tiny numbers venture as far as rural Cornwall. So at a regional level, the gains in foreign tourism in one locality are not compensating for losses in the domestic market elsewhere, thereby exacerbating rather than eroding regional disparities (Williams and Shaw, 1995). Similarly, Oppermann's (1992) study of tourism in Malaysia found that although state planning initiatives had prompted some redistribution of tourism, growth remained strongly focused in just three of the country's fourteen regions (Kuala Lumpur, Penang and Pahang) which together accounted for 67.5 per cent of international tourist visits.

Tourism and employment

Many of the wider economic benefits of tourism stem from the fact that the industry can be a significant source of employment. As a contemporary consumption-based sector, tourism forms a central component that creates both direct employment in businesses like hotels and airlines, and indirect employment in enterprises that benefit from tourism activities, such as general retailing. At the same time, however, tourism employment is far from stable in many destinations. The process of employing and then shedding labour is a primary mechanism by which tourism businesses adapt to the fluctuating nature of demand for tourism products, and is a central component in the internal regulation of the industry (Shaw and Williams, 2004). This is because labour represents a relatively high proportion of the production costs in most sectors of tourism.

In comparison with many other modern industries, tourism retains a relatively high demand for labour, particularly in the area of service work in accommodations, food and beverage establishments, and local transportation. Data on the Canadian tourism industry for the early 2000s, for example, suggested that direct tourism employment accounted for over 540,000 jobs, and that 62 per cent of these jobs were in the three sectors identified previously (Wall and Mathieson, 2006). Beyond hospitality businesses (hotels and food) and local transportation, a much smaller number work in the tourism and travel industry, which included travel agencies, tour guiding, events management, destination marketing organisations, and tourist information services, among other activities. In the case of

Canada, these activities account for just 2 per cent of tourism-related jobs. Across all of these sectors, however, the dominant component in the workforce is comprised of temporary or part-time workers who provide reinforcement for much smaller groups of permanent employees during peak tourist season, and a comparatively small number who are situated in long-term managerial roles.

This arrangement of tourism employment has been conceptualised by Shaw and Williams (2002), drawing on earlier work on core and peripheral labour markets proposed by Atkinson (1984). In their model, tourism labour markets are centred around a relatively small core group of permanent, skilled managers and workers that form a primary labour source that is capable of a wide range of tasks (i.e., they are functionally flexible). Alongside this core are much larger secondary and tertiary groups that are more likely to be composed of relatively low-skilled personnel with more limited capabilities (i.e., functionally inflexible), but probably working part-time and therefore in several different sectors that together are flexible because of their size, number and breadth of composition. Tourism's flexibility in the secondary labour market typically includes the importation of labour from distant sources and even other countries, and hence employment migration is often a distinctive geographic dimension in tourism economies. As tourism has become increasingly globalised in its composition and operation, so too has the geographical range over which migrant tourist labour may travel to secure work become similarly extended.

These structural characteristics are important because they enable major elements in the tourism labour force to be formed relatively quickly, with only modest levels of training and, equally, to be rapidly adjusted (through the hiring or shedding of labour) to reflect fluctuations in market demand. From the perspective of tourism developers and employers, these characteristics represent considerable advantages. Concurrently, the fact that many sectors of tourism offer comparatively easy entry to employment may also be perceived as advantageous for workers.

The issue of the strengths and weaknesses of tourism as an area of employment has been debated in the tourism literature for many years (see, e.g., Mathieson and Wall, 1982; Choy, 1995; Thomas and Townsend, 2001; Riley et al., 2002; Wall and Mathieson, 2006; Hall and Lew, 2009). On the negative side, tourism work has been widely represented as:

- low-paid;
- menial and unskilled;
- part-time and seasonal;
- strongly gendered, with an over-dependence upon female labour.

The seasonality of tourism employment is an inevitable product of the rhythms of tourism activity that change with annual climatic and holiday cycles, while the high incidence of part-time work is, as has been noted above, a primary mechanism allowing tourism businesses to match the resulting fluctuations in tourism demand. Low wages, on the other hand, reflect two key factors. First, because labour comprises a relatively high proportion of total production costs in tourism, there is a tendency to seek ways to produce considerable downward pressure on wages (Shaw and Williams, 2004). Second, there is often a direct link between wage levels and skill, so that basic tasks such as room cleaning will tend to attract low wages.

While such descriptions over-simplify a complex labour market and disregard the presence of a core of employees who fit none of these categories, many tourism jobs do suffer from some (or all) of these structural characteristics. Studies of tourism employment in

Africa, for example, show a recurring pattern with local labour placed into the low-pay, low-skill jobs, while positions with greater responsibility, higher earnings and better prospects for advancement tend to go to foreign workers who possess appropriate skills and training (Dieke, 1994, 2002; Poirier, 1995). These problems are not confined to developing world scenarios, as low pay, temporary employment and more challenging working conditions have also been widely associated with tourism employment in Europe and North America (Baum, 1996; Thomas and Townsend, 2001).

Although issues of low pay, low skill and a high incidence of part-time work are widely encountered in many sectors of tourism employment, there are still evident benefits. This is especially true when development is placed in a local context and viewed from the perspective of the employee. Thus, for example, Choy's (1995) study of tourism employment in Hawaii found very high levels of dependence upon tourism in an area in which alternative work was often hard to locate and, consequently, a high level of job satisfaction amongst people working in the industry. Similarly, a comparative study of Florida and Fiji conducted by Pizam et al. (1994) revealed positive perceptions amongst local communities of the employment that tourism created, particularly where alternative work in sectors such as agriculture actually offered poorer rewards and prospects. Riley et al. (2002) also point out that the perceived deficiencies of low pay may be off-set in the minds of employees by the non-material rewards that might be associated with working in attractive locations or upscale hotels and restaurants. Of course, not all locations are attractive and not all hotels are upscale. But in a globalising tourism industry with high levels of labour mobility, it is important to appreciate that perceptions of the quality of tourism employment need to reflect the conditions in which workers originate, in addition to those in which they work.

In a similar vein there has often been a tendency to problematise the incidence of part-time work and the reliance on female labour. However, this overlooks the fact that for a growing number of people, part-time work is often a preferred mode of employment within lifestyles that are shaped more by practices of leisure and consumption than by the world of work (Haworth, 1986; Reid and Mannell, 1994; Franklin, 2004). The impacts of the gendered nature of tourism employment have also been reappraised in light of a growing body of evidence which reveals that although the employment of women in many low-skill, low-pay sectors of tourism is prevalent, tourism has also created new employment opportunities and new levels of independence from traditional family roles for women through a variety of levels and types of tourism work. This has been noted especially in Mediterranean countries such as Greece and Cyprus, as well as the Caribbean (Tsartas, 1992; Leontidou, 1994; Sinclair and Stabler, 1997).

Tourism as an agent of regeneration

Finally we should note that alongside the macro-level effects on national economies and the potential for tourism to create significant employment opportunities, tourism may play a key role in processes of economic regeneration, renewal and revitalisation in depressed places by diversifying businesses activities (Lew, 1988). These effects have been evident for some time within rural economies. For example, in developed economies in Europe, North America and Australia, less profitable farm, ranch and dairy economies have been able to diversify their income streams through the development of farm holidays, dude ranches, along with a variety of tourism activities, including fishing, riding, hunting and shooting, self-catering facilities, bed and breakfast businesses, RV/caravanning and camping (Busby and Rendle, 2000; McNally, 2001).

Similarly, tourism-based regeneration and diversification have been recognised in new forms of urban tourism. The need for urban regeneration has been widely experienced across the many cities in the developed world that have fallen victim to the loss of manufacturing industries and more general processes of deindustrialisation and the rise in service economies. Regeneration projects that include a strong tourism dimension are seen as bringing a number of tangible and intangible benefits, including:

- job creation;
- new-firm formation and increased investment opportunities;
- enhancement of image and associated opportunities for place promotion;
- creation of new economic spaces within regeneration zones; and
- environmental enhancement.

Although regeneration schemes have sometimes been criticised for problems such as a failure to provide adequate returns on investment or a lack of recognition of the interests of local people, the popularity of tourism-led regeneration with urban developers remains undiminished.

One of the most interesting consequences of tourism-led regeneration has been the way in which the active promotion of urban business tourism (mostly in terms of meetings, incentive travel, conferences and exhibitions, or M.I.C.E.), sport and event-related tourism and the development of new attractions centred around leisure shopping or industrial heritage, has permitted places with no tradition of tourism to develop a new industry that has revitalised flagging local or regional economies (Goss, 1993; Hiller, 2000; Jackson, 1991; Lew and Chang, 1999; Page, 1990; Robinson, 1999). The capacity of tourism to contribute to this form of regeneration was first demonstrated in the USA in some high-profile redevelopments, including San Francisco's Ghirardelli Square in the 1960s and Baltimore's Inner Harbour in the 1970s (Blank, 1996), but has since been widely applied in deindustrialising regions in other parts of the world (Williams, 2003). This theme is pursued in greater detail in Chapter 9.

Summary

This chapter attempts to define the primary factors that shape the contemporary patterns of tourism development and show how they combine to produce spatially contrasting forms and landscapes. The physical and economic development of destinations are the most visible ways in which tourism affects host areas. Tourism developments not only alter the physical environments of destinations, but also exert a range of economic effects. These will vary from place to place, depending upon the context and form of tourism development that is occurring and the nature of the national or local economy in question. These are also influenced by the range of impacts on a country's balance of payments accounts, national and regional economic growth, and employment opportunities.

Tourism is subject to a range of vulnerabilities, including: exchange rate and oil price fluctuations, political and health crises, natural disasters, and changes in fashion. As such, the tourism industry is not always able to provide a firm basis for economic development. For developing economies, tourism may increase levels of foreign dependence and, in many contexts, may produce low quality employment. It is important, therefore, to appreciate that the presumed strengths and weaknesses of tourism's economic effect are

often highly contingent upon local conditions and, especially, the perspective (employer, employee, tourist and host) from which the effects are judged.

Discussion questions

- 1 What are the principal elements that are needed to secure the physical development of a tourism destination?
- 2 How do variations in local conditions produce differing spatial patterns of tourism development?
- 3 Using examples of both established and emerging resorts, examine the validity of the models of resort structures provided in Figure 4.2 and Table 4.1.
- 4 What are the main strengths and weaknesses of tourism as a means of economic development?
- 5 Evaluate the potential and challenges of tourism as a source of local employment.

Further reading

Although not a recent publication, excellent coverage of the processes of physical development of resorts and tourism zones is contained in:

Pearce, D.G. (1989) *Tourism Development*, Harlow: Longman.

Excellent overviews of the range of economic effects associated with tourism are provided by:

Hall, C.M. and Lew, A.A. (2009) *Understanding and Managing Tourism Impacts: An Integrated Approach*, Oxford: Routledge.

Shaw, G. and Williams, A.M. (2004) *Tourism and Tourism Spaces*, London: Sage, especially Chapters 2 to 4.

Wall, G. and Mathieson, A. (2006) *Tourism: Economic, Physical and Social Impacts*, Harlow: Prentice Hall.

General discussions of tourism economics and development in a range of settings in both the developed and the developing world, together with good case studies, are provided in:

Cochrane, J. (2008) *Asia Tourism: Growth and Change*, Oxford: Elsevier.

Harrison, D. (ed.) (2001) *Tourism and the Less Developed World: Issues and Case Studies*, Wallingford: CAB International.

Williams, A.M. and Shaw, G. (1998) *Tourism and Economic Development: European Experiences*, Chichester: John Wiley.

Issues around tourism employment are explored in detail in:

Riley, M., Ladkin, A. and Szivas, E. (2002) *Tourism Employment: Analysis and Planning*, Clevedon: Channel View.

Shaw, G. and Williams, A.M. (2002) *Critical Issues in Tourism: A Geographical Perspective*, Oxford: Blackwell, Chapter 7.

Useful case studies of more specific aspects of tourism and economic development in contrasting destinations include:

Church, A. and Frost, M. (2004) 'Tourism, the global city and the labour market in London', *Tourism Geographies*, Vol. 6 (2): 208–28.

Diagne, A.K. (2004) 'Tourism development and its impacts in the Senegalese Petite Cote: a geographical case study in centre–periphery relations', *Tourism Geographies*, Vol. 6 (4): 472–92.

Mbaiwa, J.E. (2005) 'Enclave tourism and its socio-economic impacts in the Okavango Delta, Botswana', *Tourism Management*, Vol. 26 (2): 157–72.

- Nepal, S.K. (2005) 'Tourism and remote mountain settlements: spatial and temporal development of tourist infrastructure in the Mt Everest region, Nepal', *Tourism Geographies*, Vol. 7 (2): 205–27.
- Sarrasin, B. (2012) 'Ecotourism, poverty and resources management in Ranomafana, Madagascar', *Tourism Geographies: An International Journal of Tourism Space, Place and Environment*, Vol. 15 (1): 3–24.

5

Tourism, sustainability and environmental change

KEY CONCEPTS

- **Alternative tourism**
- **Biodiversity impacts**
- **Carrying capacity (CC)**
- **Environmental change**
- **Environmental impact statements (EIS)**
- **Environmental impacts**
- **Global warming**
- **Greenhouse gases (GHG)**
- **Greenwashing**
- **Holistic approach**
- **Limits of acceptable change (LAC)**
- **Spatial zoning**
- **Sustainability/sustainable development**
- **Sustainable tourism**
- **Tourism/visitor management**
- **Visual pollution**



More online for Chapter 5 at <http://tourismgeography.com/5>

‘The environment, be it predominantly natural or largely human-made, is one of the most basic resources for tourism and a core element of tourism products’ (Wall and Mathieson, 2006: 154). The environment is crucial in determining the attractiveness of many destination areas and forms an essential ‘backdrop’ for the majority of tourist activities (Farrell and Runyan, 1991). From the earliest times, the enjoyment of ‘environments’, whether defined in physical or cultural terms, has had a major impact in shaping a succession of geographical landscapes that have become fashionable for tourists. For example, public tastes for different kinds of leisure environment have developed through time, through the formation of beach resorts and the changing preferences for scenic landscapes in the nineteenth century, to the quest for amenable climates and the attraction of historic heritage in the twentieth century. With each phase, so too are new spatial patterns of interaction between people and environments formed.

Tourism–environment relationships are not just fundamental, they are also highly complex, although the level of complexity has probably evolved through time as levels of

activity and the spatial extent of tourism has increased. Page and Dowling (2002) suggest that the earlier relationships between tourism and the environment, prior to mass tourism, might be characterised as one of ‘*co-existence*’. This implies that while tourist activities were not necessarily fully compatible with their environments, neither did they initiate damaging impacts, and they might actually have delivered some benefits. By the 1970s, however, the introduction and expansion of mass forms of international tourism raised growing levels of awareness of the role of tourism in promoting environmental change and its considerable capacity to destroy the resources on which it depends. Under these conditions the relationship between tourism and environment often evolved from one of co-existence to one of ‘*conflict*’ (Page and Dowling, 2002). The notion of tourism and environment in conflict spawned a burgeoning literature on tourism impacts that emerged during the 1980s and the 1990s, and which is conveniently and well-summarised in Mathieson and Wall’s (1982) benchmark text and in subsequent work around the same theme (e.g., Hunter and Green, 1995; Hall and Lew, 2009).

However, as Butler (1991) reminds us, because tourism is not a homogeneous activity, different types of visitors create contrasting demands and impacts on resources and areas. Moreover, because the places that tourists visit are themselves highly variable in their capacity to withstand use, the character of the relationship between tourism and environment is seldom consistent from place to place (Wall and Mathieson, 2006). This has encouraged recognition of a third form of relationship between tourism and environment, one of ‘*symbiosis*’, which brings mutual benefits for both tourism and the environment (Romeril, 1985). The designation of national parks in many parts of the world, for example, came about partly because these high-quality environments were seen as potentially valuable areas for tourism, which strengthened arguments for their conservation (MacEwan and MacEwan, 1982). For example, the cause of wildlife preservation in East Africa has been assisted by the growing popularity of safari holidays and the realisation of the economic benefits that tourism can bring to local communities (Sindiga, 1999).

Although the characterisation of the tourism–environment relationship in terms of co-existence, conflict or symbiosis is useful in drawing some important distinctions, Dowling (1992) proposes that in reality all three conditions are likely to occur at the same time. The emphasis on one aspect over another is largely dependent on how the relationship is managed. This concept is important to the overall approach in this chapter, which seeks to understand the relationship between tourism and the physical environment not in terms of a simple, bi-polar framework of impacts as being either positive or negative, or of management approaches as being either sustainable or unsustainable, but rather as a relationship that is infinitely variable and essentially dependent on the local conditions under which development is taking place. It is also essential, given current levels of interest and concern, to ground the discussion of tourism and environmental change in the overarching concept of sustainable development.

The concept of sustainable development

The modern concept of sustainable development originated with the report of World Commission on Environment and Development (1987) (also known as the Brundtland Commission) and which offered the now-familiar definition of sustainability as ‘development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future

generations to meet their own needs'. According to Wall and Mathieson (2006: 289) the key elements in the Brundtland approach to sustainable development are that it should:

- maintain ecological integrity and diversity;
- meet basic human needs;
- keep options open for future generations;
- reduce injustice;
- increase self-determination.

Sustainable development principles also support the empowerment of people to be involved in decisions that influence the quality of their lives and enable cultures to be sustained. As such, developments that are truly sustainable are those that meet the essential criteria of being economically viable, environmentally sensitive and culturally appropriate.

From certain perspectives, the concept of sustainable development appears to offer little more than a new reading of some well-established practices, especially in so far as some of the principles that it espouses simply articulate a form of prudent resource management that has been widely and effectively practised in areas such as agriculture for many centuries. Butler (1991), for example, observes that royal hunting forests in twelfth-century England were managed in ways that we would now define as 'sustainable'. There is an interesting and compelling argument to be made that the growth of urban seaside resorts as centres of mass tourism after 1850 also represented a highly sustainable form of development that was not only able to absorb a rapidly expanding market, but was also able to maintain and sustain its activity over many decades.

However, the proponents of sustainable development argue that the modern concept presents a much more holistic vision of how development should be organised (embracing, in an integrated fashion, political, social, cultural, economic and ecological contexts). Sustainability is also being informed both by a stronger ethical dimension and by possessing a clearer emphasis on the adoption of long-term views of developments and their potential impacts (Sharpley, 2000). The concept implicitly recognises that there are basic human needs (e.g., food, clothing, shelter) that development must meet, and that these needs are to be set alongside aspirational goals (e.g., higher living standards, sense of personal security, and access to discretionary activities such as tourism) that should also be sought. These are limited by environmental constraints that ultimately regulate the levels to which development can actually proceed, which is further constricted by sustainability's assurance of equity in access to resources and the benefits that they bring. To achieve this, sustainable development requires a realignment in attitudes and beliefs that mark its approach as being fundamentally different from previous approaches to resource management and conservation.

Although there is inherent logic to the sustainable development approach, the concept has nevertheless been subject to some quite significant criticisms. The outwardly simple definition of sustainability provided by the Brundtland Commission conceals much controversy and debate over who defines what is, or is not, sustainable and what sustainable development might therefore mean in practice. While it is generally recognised that the term has become an essential in the vocabulary of modern political discourse, it has also come to be used in 'meaningless and anodyne ways' (Mowforth and Munt, 2003: 80). For some critics the lack of conceptual clarity is grounded in a basic ambiguity in the term itself: the concept of 'sustainability' implying a steady-state, and 'development' implying growth and change (Page and Dowling, 2002). Wall and Mathieson (2006) suggest that

the reconciliation of this apparent tension can only be achieved by placing an emphasis on one or the other of the component words to help clarify the approach.

For this reason, the concept of sustainability has acquired a diversity of interpretations. These range from, at one extreme, a 'zero-growth' view that argues that all forms of development are essentially unsustainable and should therefore be resisted, to very different perspectives that argue for growth-oriented resource management based around the presumed capacities of technology to solve environmental problems and secure a sustainable future. It is also a culturally constructed concept, embedded in an Anglo-European tradition that is often translated in mixed ways into other cultural contexts. It is this diversity of interpretations that some argue is often used to mask unsustainable objectives in the guise of sustainability (sometimes referred to as 'greenwashing').

However, such flexibility in interpretation, while at one level constituting a weakness, may also be seen as a strength if it allows differing perspectives to co-exist under the broad umbrella of 'sustainability'. Completely abandoning the idea of sustainability is more likely to ensure that unsustainable development will occur, and thus its imprecision can be translated into a politically astute form of flexibility. Both Hunter (1997) and Sharpley (2000) have, therefore, suggested that the idea of sustainable development can be conceived as what they label 'an adaptive paradigm' that establishes a set of desirable meta-principles or goals within which contrasting development approaches may legitimately co-exist.

Sustainable tourism

From the preceding discussion, the relevance of sustainable forms of development to tourism should be obvious, given that it is an industry with a high level of dependence on 'environments' as a basic source of attraction. Tourism development also has a considerable capacity to stimulate a significant degree of environmental change. It therefore needs to be sustainable even though, as with the broader concept of sustainable development, there are difficulties in defining it and significant challenges in turning a theory of sustainable tourism into practice.

A number of difficulties around the concept of sustainable tourism have been noted. First, Wall and Mathieson (2006) emphasise that since sustainable development is a holistic concept, any approach that deals with a single sector (such as sustainable tourism) raises the risk that one system is sustained at the expense of another. Hunter (1995) offers a similar criticism of many early sustainable tourism initiatives that, he asserts, failed to place tourism development into the wider contexts of development and environmental change.

In developing this point, second, Sharpley (2000) notes that holistic approaches are difficult to implement in sectors such as tourism that are characteristically fragmented and therefore dependent on a large number of small, independent enterprises (not to mention their customers) adopting sustainable principles and practices in a coordinated fashion. Perhaps for this reason, many sustainable tourism projects have been implemented only at a local level, characterised by Wheeler as 'micro solutions struggling with a macro problem' (cited in Clarke, 1997). Indeed, perhaps a more significant criticism of some sustainable tourism approaches is that they implicitly seem to reject the notion that mass forms of tourism can be sustainable, even to the extent that mass and sustainable forms of tourism have been represented in some readings not only as polar opposites, but also as being characterised as, respectively, 'bad' and 'good' forms of tourism.

Third, and perhaps because of this type of dualistic reading of sustainable tourism, the concept has become widely confused with a plethora of alternative forms of tourism and their associated labels. As we will see later in this chapter, a diversity of alternative tourisms, many of which are focused around the enjoyment of nature, have emerged since the 1980s and most of which have been confused with sustainable tourism. These newer forms of travel experience include 'responsible tourism', 'soft tourism', 'green tourism', 'ecotourism', 'nature tourism', 'ethical tourism' and, of course, 'sustainable tourism'. But while many of these forms of tourism may indeed embrace most of the preferred attributes of sustainable tourism, sustainability is not confined to alternative travel, nor is it necessarily a characteristic, as the growing body of research literature on the unsustainable nature of alternative tourism makes clear. (These issues are considered more fully in the final section of this chapter.)

Finally, it may be noted that one of the primary practical barriers to the development of sustainable forms of tourism is embedded in the nature of tourism consumption itself. As we have seen in Chapter 1, tourism is widely perceived by tourists as a means of escape from routines and typically as a hedonistic experience in which behavioural norms are frequently suspended in favour of excessive patterns of expenditure and consumption. In this context, thoughts of prudence and social responsibility, which are implicit in most understandings of sustainability, are seldom maintained. This has prompted a number of writers, for example McKercher (1993a), to argue that there is little evidence of a widespread propensity amongst tourists to adopt sustainable tourism lifestyles when on holiday, even though tourism destinations may adopt specific sustainability policies that encourage changed patterns of behaviour on the part of tourists.

Although doubts about the true sustainability of tourism have been widely aired in the academic literature (see, *inter alia*: McKercher, 1993b; Weaver, 2000; Hardy and Beeton, 2001), the concept remains very much at the forefront of current thinking around the theme of tourism and environmental change. Despite divergent perspectives, there is still a consensus that proposes that a sustainable approach to tourism, one that manages growth within acknowledged resource conservation limits, offers the best prospects for continued tourism development.

Sustainable tourism needs, therefore, to develop in ways that:

- ensures that renewable resources are not consumed at a rate that is faster than rates of natural replacement;
- maintains biological diversity;
- recognises and values the aesthetic appeal of environments;
- follows ethical principles that respect local cultures, livelihoods and customs;
- involves and consults local people in development processes;
- promotes equity in the distribution of both the economic costs and the benefits of the activity amongst tourism developers and hosts (Murphy, 1994).

Tourism and environmental change

The challenge to tourism that is presented by the sustainable development agenda will become clearer if we move to consider in more detail how tourism relates to environmental change. It has already been implied that the basic complexities of the tourism–environment relationship are compounded by the diverse nature of the impacts and the inconsistencies that occur through time and space. But it is also important to note that the effects of

tourism on the physical environment are often only partially attributable to tourism activities, and one of the practical difficulties in studying those impacts is to disentangle tourist influences from other agencies of change that are working on the same environment. So, for example, the beach and inshore water pollution that developed as a serious environmental problem along parts of the Italian Adriatic coast in the late 1980s was partly caused by the presence of tourists, but was also a consequence of the discharge of urban, agricultural and industrial waste into the primary rivers that drain to this sea (Becheri, 1991).

The diversity of environmental impacts of tourism and the seriousness of the problem vary geographically for a number of reasons. First, while impact studies often assume that tourism is a homogeneous activity exerting consistent and common effects, there are actually many different forms of tourism and types of tourist, as we have seen in Chapter 1. The mass tourists who flock in the millions to the Spanish Mediterranean coast will probably create a much broader and potentially more serious range of impacts than will small groups of explorers trekking in Nepal or scuba diving in Indonesia. Paradoxically, however, where mass forms of tourism are well planned and properly resourced, negative environmental consequences may actually be less pronounced than those created by small numbers of people visiting locations that are unprepared for any form of tourist. For example, depletion of local supplies of fuel wood and major problems of littering are significant issues along many of the main tourist trekking trails through the Himalayan zone in Nepal (Hunter and Green, 1995).

Second, it is important to take account of the temporal dimensions of tourism development and activity. In many parts of the world, tourism is a seasonal activity that exerts pressures on the environment for part of the year, and then allows for fallow periods in which some degree of recovery is possible. So, there are differences between short-term/temporary impacts on the environment that may be largely coincident with the tourist season (such as air pollution from visitor traffic) and long-term/permanent effects where environmental capacities have been breached and irreversible changes set in motion (e.g., reductions in the level of biodiversity through visitor trampling of vegetation).

Third, a diversity of impacts stem from the nature of the destination. Some environments (e.g., urban areas) can sustain very high levels of visitation because their built infrastructure makes them relatively resilient or because they possess organisational structures (such as planning frameworks and entrepreneurial experience) that allow for the effective provision of visitor services. In contrast, other places are much less robust, and it is perhaps unfortunate that a great deal of tourist activity is drawn (by fashion, preferences and habits) to these fragile places. Coasts and mountain environments are popular tourist destinations that are often ecologically vulnerable, although even cultural resources can suffer from tourism excesses. Historic sites, in particular, may be adversely affected by tourists. The growth in tourism in recent years at archeological attractions such as Stonehenge in England, the Parthenon in Greece and the tomb of Tutankhamen in Egypt have resulted in partial or total closures of these sites to visitors to manage and reduce negative environmental impacts.

In exploring the environmental impacts of tourism, it is helpful to adopt a holistic approach. Environments, whether defined as physical, economic or social entities, are usually complex systems in which there are interrelationships that extend the impacts of change well beyond its initial causes. In addition, impacts often have a cumulative dimension in which alternative causes and secondary processes reinforce and influence the consequences of change. As such, treating individual problems in isolation ignores the likelihood that there are composite causes and impacts that are greater than the sum of the

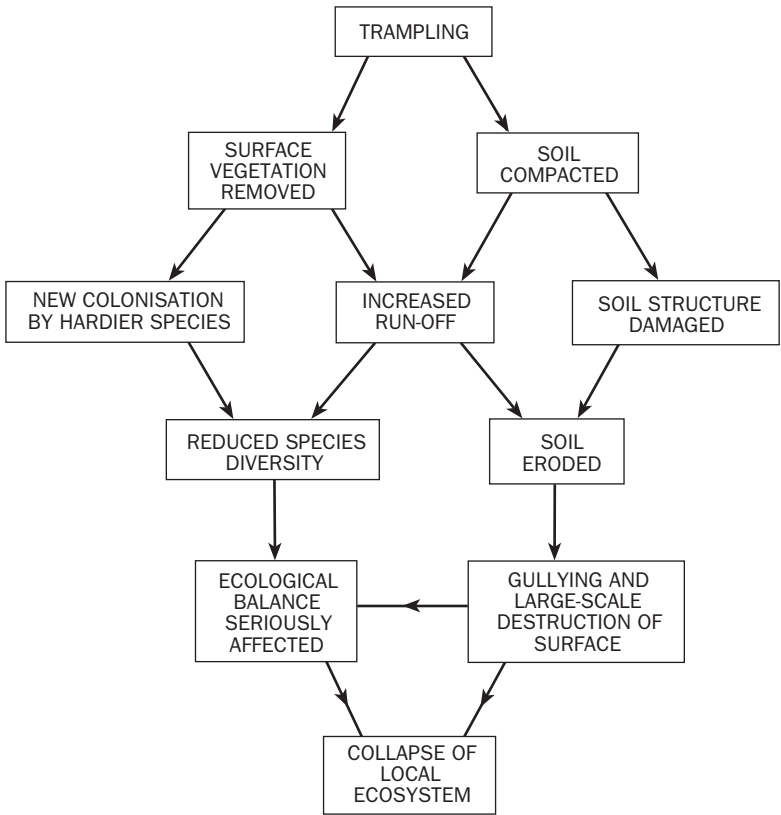


Figure 5.1
Effects of
trampling at
tourism sites

individual parts. As an illustration of this idea, Figure 5.1 shows how the initial effects of vegetation trampling by tourists becomes compounded through related processes of environmental change that may, in extreme circumstances, culminate in the collapse of a local ecosystem.

A second advantage of a holistic approach is that it encourages us to work towards a balanced view of tourism–environment relationships. There is a temptation to focus on the many obvious one-off examples of negative and detrimental impacts that tourism may exert, but, because tourism and the environment exist in a symbiotic relationship, there are positive effects, too. These include the fostering of positive attitudes towards environmental protection and enhancement, as well as, more practically, in actual investment in environmental improvement that restores localities for resident populations as well as providing support for tourism.

The third advantage of a holistic approach is that it recognises the breadth (some might say the imprecision) of the term ‘environment’ and the fact that different types of impact are likely to be present. As is perhaps implicit in the preceding discussion, the term can embrace a diversity of contexts – physical ecosystems; built environments; or economic, social, cultural and political environments – and tourism has the potential to influence all of these, in varying degrees. The economic and socio-cultural dimensions of sustainability are discussed elsewhere in the book, so the discussion that now follows focuses on the influences that tourism may have on physical environments, ecosystems and the built environment, together with a consideration of ways in which symbiotic relationships between tourism and the environment may be sustained through management approaches.

Table 5.1 summarises a cross-section of ways that tourism may promote environmental change in the physical environment (both natural and cultural). While this classification retains, mostly for brevity and convenience, the characterisation of change as being essentially positive or negative, it is appropriate to remind readers of earlier cautionary comments about the risks of simple categorisations and the need to recognise that impacts are seldom consistent in their nature across all contexts of development. The five key types of environmental impacts in Table 5.1, under which tourism effects may be grouped, are discussed below.

Biodiversity

Biodiversity impacts include a number of effects that broadly impact the flora and fauna of a host region. The potential areas of positive influence on environmental change through tourism mainly relate to the ways in which tourism provides both the impetus and the financial means to further the conservation of natural areas and the species they contain through the designation of protected zones and the implementation of new programmes of land management (Wall and Mathieson, 2006). The scope for tourism to provide economic support for conservation has been illustrated in areas as diverse as, for example, Australia, Brazil, China, Greece and Kenya (Craik, 1994; de Oliveira, 2005; Okello, 2005; Svoronou and Holden, 2005; Huang et al., 2011).

Tourism development, however, is more commonly associated with varying forms of biodiversity damage. Processes of tourism development (e.g., the construction of hotels and apartments, new roads, and new attractions) can result in a direct conversion of species habitats to urban land uses. In the Alps, the extensive clearance of forests to develop ski areas and the loss of Alpine meadows, along with their rich stocks of wild flowers, to hotels and chalets have significantly altered ecological balances and increased risks associated with landslides and snow avalanches (Gratton and van der Straaten, 1994).

At a more site-specific scale, other impacts become apparent. The destruction of vegetation at popular visitor locations through trampling or the passage of off-road bicycles and motorised vehicles is a common problem in scenic natural areas. Typically, trampling (or tramping) causes more fragile species to disappear and to be replaced either by bare ground or, where the regeneration of vegetation is possible, by more resilient and often exotic (from a different ecosystem) species. The overall effect of such change is normally to reduce species diversity and the incidence of rare plants which, in turn, may impact the local composition of insect populations, insect-eating birds and possibly small mammals for which plant and insect populations are key elements in their food chain.

Larger animals may be affected in different ways by tourism, even within environments that are protected. Reynolds and Braithwaite (2001) have developed a detailed summary of how tourist engagement with wildlife can initiate important behavioural changes in animals and alter the structure of animal communities. Some of the effects relate to modification of habitats through actions such as land development, reduction in plant diversity or pollution, but perhaps of greater importance is the potential for human activity to modify behaviours, introducing new levels of risk to animal communities. Behavioural modifications that are associated with increased levels of tourist engagement include:

- disruption of feeding and breeding patterns;
- alterations to dietary patterns where animals are fed by tourists;
- increased instance of animal migration;
- increased levels of aberrant behaviour;
- modification of activity patterns, such as a greater incidence of nocturnalism.

Table 5.1 A 'balance sheet' of environmental impacts in tourism

Area of effect	Negative impacts	Positive impacts
1. Biodiversity	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Disruption of breeding/feeding patterns Killing of animals as leisure (hunting) or to supply souvenir trade Loss of habitats and change in species composition Destruction of vegetation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Encouragement to conserve animals as attractions Establishment of protected areas to meet tourist demand
2. Erosion and physical damage	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Soil erosion Damage to sites through trampling Overloading of key infrastructure (e.g., water supply networks) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Tourism revenue to finance ground repair and site restoration Improvement to infrastructure prompted by tourist demand
3. Pollution	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Water pollution through sewage or fuel spillage and rubbish from pleasure boats Air pollution (e.g., vehicle emissions) Noise pollution (e.g., from vehicles or tourist attractions such as bars) Littering 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Cleaning programmes to protect the attraction of locations to tourists
4. Resource base	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Depletion of ground and surface water Diversion of water supply to meet tourist needs (e.g., swimming pools) Depletion of local fuel sources Depletion of local building material sources 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Development of new/improved sources of supply
5. Visual/structural change	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Land transfers to tourism (e.g., from agriculture) Detrimental visual impact on natural and non-natural landscapes through tourism development Introduction of new architectural styles Changes in urban functions Physical expansion of urban areas 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> New uses for marginal or unproductive land Landscape improvement (e.g., to clear urban dereliction) Regeneration or modernisation of built environment and reuse of disused buildings

Sources: Mathieson and Wall (1982); Hunter and Green (1995); and Wall and Mathieson (2006)

These behavioural changes can result in increased vulnerability and risks to animal communities through:

- reduced levels of health and conditioning;
- reduced levels of reproduction;
- increased levels of predation, especially of young animals where parents are suffering frequent disturbance through the presence of tourists.

Erosion and physical damage

The impacts of tourism on the diversity of flora and fauna link with the second area of environmental concern: erosion and physical damage. This concern illustrates how environmental problems tend to be highly interlinked. One way that erosion occurs is from the trampling of ground under the feet of visitors. While footpaths and natural locations are the most likely places for such problems to occur, the extreme weight of tourist numbers can also lead to damage to the built environments. The Parthenon in Athens, for example, is not only under attack from airborne pollutants but is also being eroded by the shoes of millions of visitors. However, in such situations, tourism can have positive impacts, for although the activity may be a major cause of problems, revenue generated by visitors may also be a key source of funding for wider programmes of environmental restoration.

Initially, trampling kills native vegetation and changes the microclimatic conditions near pathways. These conditions usually lead to soil erosion. Figure 5.1 shows how the systematic manner in which the environment operates actually transmits the initial impact of trampling to produce a series of secondary effects which may eventually exert profound changes in local ecosystems. Localised examples of such damage can be spectacular. In north Wales, popular tourist trails to the summit of Snowdon (the highest peak in England and Wales) commonly show eroded ground that may extend to 9m (29ft) in width, while localised incidence of soil erosion and gullying has lowered some path levels by nearly 2m (6.6ft) in a little over twenty years since they were first opened.

MORE ONLINE: Case Study 5.1 Tourist camping impacts in Warren National Park, Western Australia

Pollution

The environmental conditions and impacts that tourists are probably most aware of are those associated with pollution, especially water pollution. With so much tourism centred in or around water resources, its pollution is a major concern. Poor-quality water may devalue the aesthetic appeal of a location and be a source of water-borne diseases such as gastro-enteritis, hepatitis, dysentery and typhoid. Visible water pollutants (sewage, organic and inorganic rubbish, fuel oil from boats, and more) accumulate in still waters and are routinely deposited by wave action onto beaches and shorelines, leading to direct contamination, noxious smells and visually unpleasant scenes.

Water pollution also has a number of direct effects on plant and animal communities. Reduced levels of dissolved oxygen and increased sedimentation of polluted water diminish species diversity, encouraging rampant growth of some plants (e.g., forms of seaweed) while discouraging less robust species. In some cases, such changes have eventually

impacted on tourism. In parts of the Mediterranean, and particularly the Adriatic Sea, the disposal of poorly treated sewage (supplemented by seepage of agricultural fertilisers into watercourses that feed into the sea) has created localised eutrophication of the water. (Eutrophication is a process of excessive nutrient enrichment.) This has led directly to formation of unsightly and malodorous (smelly) algal blooms that coat inshore waters during the summer months, reducing the attractiveness of the environment and depressing tourism demand for holidays in their vicinity (Becheri, 1991).

Water pollution has been especially commonplace in areas of mass tourism where the tourism industry has developed at a pace that is faster than local infrastructure has been able to match (e.g., the Spanish Mediterranean coast and the more popular tourist destination areas in China), but even in long-established tourism locations, where local water treatment and cleansing services ought to have been adjusted over time to meet local needs, water pollution is still a problem. In 2004, for example, the European Environment Agency reported that while 96 per cent of beaches in Europe complied with EU *minimum* mandatory standards governing fecal contamination of bathing waters, only 87 per cent met the more demanding *guide* standards. Growing population pressures and industrialisation are two major challenges for maintaining water quality, along with the physical geography and government regulatory policies that vary from one place to the next. Thus, for example, while Greece attained 98 per cent compliance with the recommended EU guide standards, the UK managed only 75 per cent while Belgium achieved just 18 per cent (EEA, 2006).

Along with water pollution, tourism is also associated with air pollution and, less obviously, noise pollution. Noise pollution is usually highly localised, centring on entertainment districts in popular resorts, airports, urban centres and routes that carry heavy volumes of tourist traffic. Air pollution, on the other hand, is much more widespread due to tourism's dependence on transportation systems that spew chemical pollutant from vehicle exhaust fumes into the atmosphere. Given the natural workings of the atmosphere, these air pollutants are more likely to migrate beyond the region in which they were generated. Nitrogen oxides, lead and hydrocarbons in vehicle emissions not only threaten human health but also attack local vegetation and have directly contributed to increased incidence of acid rain in some localities. The St Gotthard Pass, which lies on one of the main routes between Switzerland and Italy, is an example of a location where atmospheric pollution from tourist traffic has been found responsible for extensive damage to vegetation, including rare Alpine plants (Smith and Jenner, 1989).

Since about the mid-1990s, significant concern has arisen around global warming and the contributions that the emissions of greenhouse gases (GHG), such as carbon dioxide (CO₂), are making to this emerging problem. While greenhouse gases are produced by a wide range of processes and activities, the rising levels of air travel (to which tourism is a major contributor) has been identified as an emerging and serious problem. The Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) have suggested that by 2050 air travel might account for as much as 7 per cent of global CO₂ emissions (Becken, 2002), up from current estimates of up to 5 per cent. The bigger concern is that because aircraft generally emit pollutants into the upper troposphere, these emissions remain active in the atmosphere for longer periods, creating a cumulative effect that may be as much as four times greater than equivalent emissions at ground level.

However, these impacts are not uni-directional and there is a growing body of evidence that the global warming to which tourism is a contributor is damaging the capacity of some tourism resource areas to meet demand. For example, higher winter temperatures

are now being held to account for reduced levels of snow fall in mountain areas in Europe, North America and Asia which, in turn, is raising questions over the long-term viability of some winter ski resorts (Konig and Abegg, 1997; Hamilton et al., 2003). Similarly, higher summer temperatures in regions such as Australia, Mediterranean Europe, Russia and the US have been associated with increased incidence of droughts, heat-waves and, as a related problem, forest fires (Perry, 2006).

Resource base

A fourth area of concern centres on tourism impacts on the resource base. Tourism is often a positive force for encouraging local improvement in the supplies of key resources and infrastructure, including the promotion of resource conservation measures from which everyone benefits. However, it is also associated with the exploitation, depletion and diversion of key resources. For example, the attraction of hot, dry climates for many types of tourism puts serious demands on local water supplies, which may become depleted through excessive tourist consumption, or diverted to meet tourist needs for swimming pools and golf courses. In parts of the Mediterranean, tourist consumption of water is as much as six times the levels of use by local people. Tourism development may also be responsible for the depletion of local supplies of fuel and building materials, and in some places the removal of sand from beaches to make concrete.

MORE ONLINE: Case Study 5.2 Water and tourism on the Spanish island of Mallorca

Visual or structural change

The final area of environmental impacts is in the visual and structural changes that tourism development brings. It is here that there is perhaps the clearest balance between negative and positive impacts of tourism. The physical development of tourism will inevitably produce a series of environmental disturbances and change. The natural and non-natural environment may be exposed to various forms of 'visual' pollution, including new forms of architecture or styles of development. Land may be transferred from one sector (e.g., farming) to meet demands for hotel construction, new transport facilities, car parks or other infrastructure elements. The built environment overall will also expand, whether in the form of growth in existing urban resorts, new attraction centres, or second homes in the countryside.

However, set against such potentially adverse changes, there are significant areas of benefit. The first is tourism-related improvements to infrastructure, whether in the form of enhanced communications, public utilities or private services. These benefit local residents, too. The second is the introduction of new uses for formerly unproductive and marginal land. Throughout the western US, for example, abandoned mining towns (also known as ghost towns) have been given new life since the 1970s as historic tourism centres. A third benefit from tourism is its role in helping to promote urban improvement strategies by renovating derelict buildings and neighbourhoods. In Britain, continental Europe, the US and Canada, the regeneration through reuse of redundant areas, with old dockland and waterfronts being favoured targets, has been a recurring theme in contemporary urban development (e.g., Couch and Farr, 2000; Law, 2000; and for a fuller discussion of this theme, Chapter 9 of this book).



Plate 5.1 Tourists in nature, on and off the protective trail, at Kanas National Park in Xinjiang, China (photo by Alan A. Lew)

Managing tourism and environmental change

The capacity of tourism to create significant levels of environmental change has led to a range of management responses to capture the perceived opportunities and control the potential difficulties created by tourism development. These approaches have been conveniently summarised by Mowforth and Munt (2003) under eight broad headings which they describe as ‘tools of sustainability’ (Table 5.2). Some of these approaches are concerned with establishing regulatory frameworks (such as area protection, regulation of industry and codes of conduct); some are concerned with ways of managing visitors; while the remainder are concerned with ways of understanding and assessing impacts (such as the use of environmental impact assessment, carrying capacity, public consultation processes and local participation, or the development of indicators of sustainability). Constraints of space preclude a full consideration of all the tools of sustainable management, but the following sections review a cross-section of established and emerging approaches.

Visitor management

There is now a lengthy history of visitor management in tourism and an established repertoire of management techniques that can help to deliver sustainable forms of tourism through the regulation of the visitors. These include:

- spatial zoning;
- spatial concentration or dispersal of tourists;
- restrictive entry or pricing.

Table 5.2 *The ‘tools’ of sustainability*

<i>Technique</i>	<i>Typical responses</i>
Area protection	Designation of national parks, wildlife or biological reserves
Industry regulation	Government legislation Professional association regulations Voluntary regulation
Codes of conduct	Tourist codes Industry codes Best practice
Visitor management	Zoning Honeypots Visitor dispersion Pricing and entry restrictions
Environmental impact assessment	Cost-benefit analyses Mathematical modelling Environmental auditing
Carrying capacity	Physical carrying capacity Ecological carrying capacity Social carrying capacity limits of acceptable change
Consultation	Public meetings Attitude surveys Delphi technique
Sustainability indicators	Efficiency gains in resource use Reduced levels of pollution Better waste management Increased local production

Source: Mowforth and Munt (2003)

Spatial zoning is an established land management strategy that aims to integrate appropriate forms of tourism into environments by defining areas of land that have differing suitabilities or capacities for tourism. The goal is to align levels of tourism development and tourist access with assessments of the environmental capacity of a place through various forms of controls. This approach originated in the US for the planning and management of national parks and forests, where it was known as the Recreation Opportunity Spectrum. ROS zoning may be used to exclude tourists from the most sensitive primary conservation areas; to focus environmentally abrasive activities into locations that have been specially prepared for such events; and to focus general visitors into a limited number of managed locations where their needs may be met and their impacts contained and managed.

Zoning policies are often complemented by strategies to concentrate tourists into preferred sites, sometimes referred to by recreational planners as ‘honeypots’ or, more critically, as ‘sacrifice areas’. Where sites are vulnerable and under pressure, efforts are made to deflect visitors to alternative destinations. Honeypots are commonly provided as interceptors, with planned facilities to attract the tourist by virtue of their promotion and on-site provisions (e.g., information, refreshment, entertainment, car parking, etc.) that effectively prevent the further penetration of most tourists into more fragile environments

that may lie beyond. Commercial tourist attractions and shopping areas, tourist information/visitor centres and museums, and public parks and heritage sites are all examples of locations that can act as honeypots and assist in the wider environmental management of tourism. In contrast, where conditions require a redistribution of tourist activity away from concentrated areas, planned devices such as scenic drives or tourist routes and distributed attractions can move people away from environmental pressure points.

In some locations, regulating the environmental impacts of tourism is now being achieved via pricing policies, exclusions and other controls. The nature and scope of such practice varies considerably from place to place. In the US, for example, entry into many of the national parks is subject to payment of an entry fee, whereas in the UK, entry is free. However, although access to British national parks is unrestricted, policies of exclusion and control are more commonplace in local level management of these areas than in the US. In the Dartmoor National Park in southwest England, for example, planning restrictions are now widely deployed to protect the open moorland environment that lies at its core, with explicit regulations against development that threatens the special character of the moorland landscape and with physical development mostly limited to existing settlements (DNPA, 2002). Visitors are encouraged (through patterns of access and planned provision of facilities) towards a relatively small number of higher-capacity sites, while the movement of vehicles is subject to a park-wide traffic policy that both restricts and segregates vehicles to prescribed routes according to size and weight (Figure 5.2).

Carrying capacity

The concept of carrying capacity (CC) is a well-established approach in assessing the ability of places to withstand human use while maintaining their integrity. In simple terms the concept proposes that for any environment, whether natural or non-natural, there is a capacity (or level of use) which when exceeded is likely to trigger negative environmental changes and promote varying levels of damage or otherwise result in reduced levels of visitor satisfaction (McIntyre, 1993; Wahab and Pigram, 1997). Carrying capacity has been visualised in several distinct ways. For example:

- *physical carrying capacity* is normally viewed as a measure of absolute space, such as the number of spaces within a car park;
- *ecological carrying capacity* is the level of use that an environment can sustain before (long-term) damage to the environment is experienced;
- *perceptual (or social) carrying capacity* is the level of crowding that a tourist will tolerate before he or she decides a location is too full and relocates elsewhere.

The concept of carrying capacity is widely used in the popular media, by politicians and environmental activists, and by others who are attracted to its apparent simplicity and imageability. It is an outwardly attractive concept that gains credibility because it seems to make intuitive sense. However, the notion that issues of capacity may be reduced to simple numbers has attracted significant criticism from planners and scholars that has brought its practical value as a tool for measuring impacts into question (Lindberg et al., 1997; Lindberg and McCool, 1998; Buckley, 1999; McCool and Lime, 2001). For example, it has been noted that ecological capacities are difficult to anticipate and may often emerge only after damage has occurred, while perceptual carrying capacities are prone to variation both between and within individuals or tourist groups, depending very largely on circumstance, motivations and expectations. The capacity of any location, therefore, will vary according to factors such as tourist behaviours and the types of use,

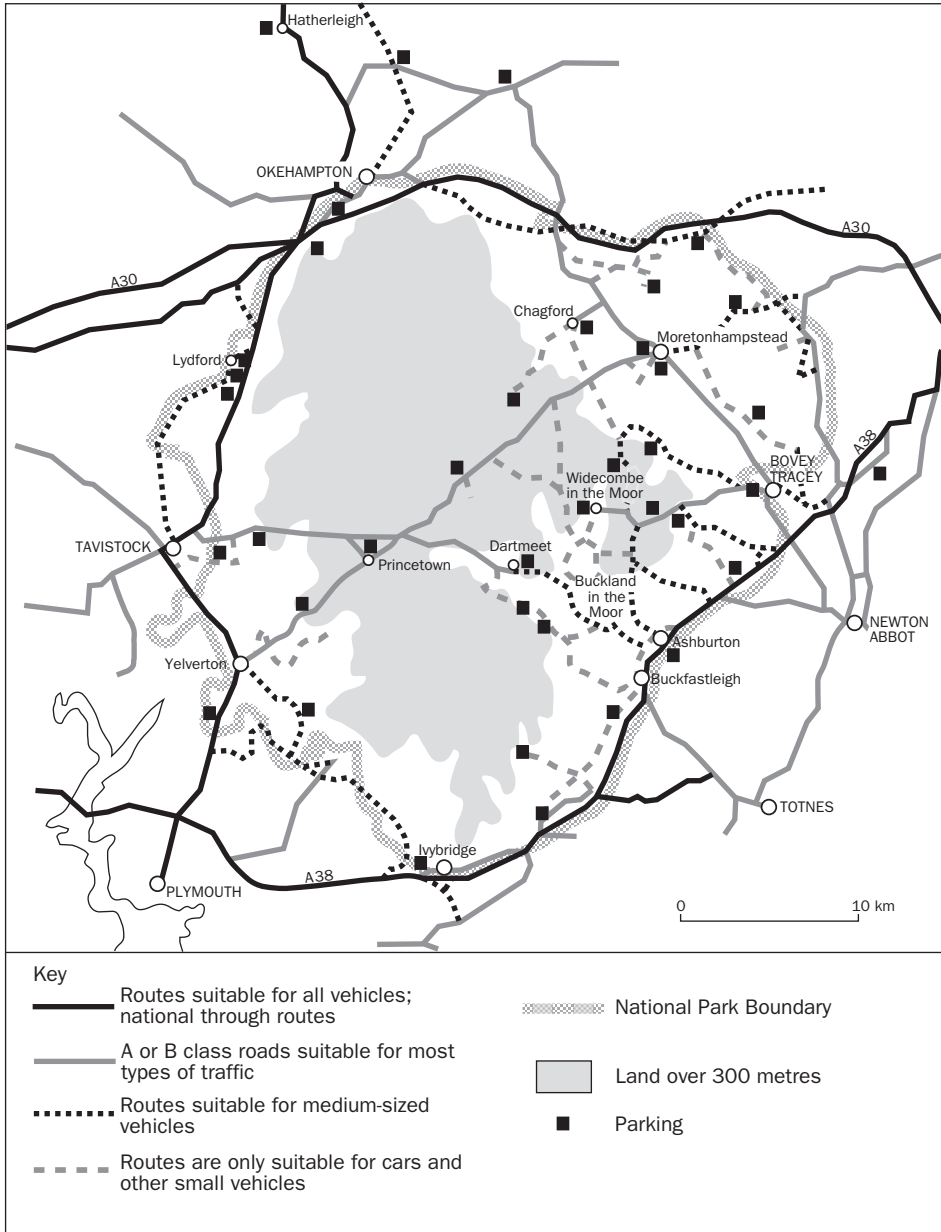


Figure 5.2 Traffic management strategies in the Dartmoor National Park, UK

ground conditions, seasonal variations, as well as prevailing management practices and objectives (McCool and Lime, 2001). Human perceptions tend to be flexible and malleable, with tourists having a strong desire to enjoy the experiences they have paid for, despite a variety of potentially negative encounters. There are also numerous crown management techniques that can go a long way toward reducing visitor complaints. As such, any location will have multiple capacities, not just in terms of physical, ecological or social capacities, but also in terms of variation *within* these categories, too.

More importantly, perhaps, the concept of carrying capacity has been criticised as overly reductionist in its approach (Wagar, 1974), because it distils complex issues into a quest to identify a critical threshold of use based on a simple number. By doing this, it omits essential qualitative considerations. Indeed, McCool and Lime (2001: 373) argue that by adopting the traditional approach of carrying capacity we become guilty of asking the wrong question. Thus rather than asking how many people an area can sustain, we should be addressing the social and biophysical conditions that are desired or are appropriate at the destination. In other words, how much change is acceptable given the goals and objectives for an area?

The limits of acceptable change

As a result, perhaps, of the recognised limitations of the concept of carrying capacity, several related alternative approaches to impact assessment have become popular. The limits of acceptable change (LAC) technique was developed in the US as a means of resolving development-related conflicts in conservation areas. The central features of the method (which is summarised as a set of key stages in Table 5.3) are:

- the establishment of an agreed set of criteria surrounding a proposed development;
- the representation of all interested parties within decision-making;
- the prescription of desired conditions and levels of change after development;
- the establishment of ongoing monitoring of change and implementation of agreed strategies to keep impacts of change within the established limits.

The LAC approach embodies several key aspects that are associated with sustainable tourism. It recognises that change is an inevitable consequence of development, but asserts that sustainable forms of development may be achieved through the application of rational planning, overt recognition of environmental quality considerations, and broad public consultation. However, like carrying capacity, the LAC approach suffers some practical weaknesses. It is difficult to get diverse stakeholders to agree on the more qualitative aspects of tourism development, which are also technically a challenge to assess. In addition the process is dependent on the existence of a structured planning system and sufficient political, financial and professional resources for the long-term monitoring and review stages that are required. Hence the contexts in which LAC would be most beneficial, such as in shaping tourism development in developing economies, often are the least suited to the technique in practical terms (Sidaway, 1995).

Table 5.3 Key stages in the limits of acceptable change approach

-
- Background review and evaluation of conditions and issues in development area
 - Identification of likely changes and suitable indicators of change
 - Survey of indicators of change to establish base conditions
 - Specification of quality standards to be associated with development
 - Prescription of desired conditions within zone(s) of development
 - Agreement of management action to maintain quality
 - Implementation, monitoring and review
-

Source: Adapted from Sidaway (1995)

Environmental impact assessment

The environmental impact assessment (EIA) has become one of the most widely accepted and used methods for evaluating the potential environmental consequences of all forms of land development. As such, it is potentially a valuable tool for translating sustainable principles into working practice. In particular, EIA provides a framework for informing decision-making processes that surround development, and a widening number of industries around the world are routinely required (or advised) to undertake EIAs and produce written environmental impact statements (EISs). Table 5.4 summarises the four key principles to which most EIAs will conform.

The methodologies of EIA are diverse and may embrace the use of key impact checklists, cartographic analysis of spatial impacts, and simulation models or predictive techniques (Hunter and Green, 1995). Their strengths are that, when properly integrated into the planning phases of a project, they should help developers anticipate environmental effects, enable more effective compliance with environmental standards and reduce the need for subsequent (and potentially expensive) revision to projects. The overall goal of sustainable development is also more achievable when environmental impacts have been evaluated in advance. However, EIAs have also attracted criticisms, including tendencies:

- to focus on physical and biological impacts rather than the wider range of environmental changes;
- to apply only to a specific project and a local geographic level, thereby overlooking wider linkages and effects;
- to meet only the requirements of the legislative and institutional frameworks in which they operate;
- to require a limited range of scientific and other data as a means of assessing likely impacts;
- to advocate technocratic solutions to environmental problems, which some advocates of sustainable development view as inappropriate (Craik, 1991; Hunter and Green, 1995; Mowforth and Munt, 2003).

Thus, as with CC and LAC, the EIA has practical limitations that can inhibit its application in many tourism development contexts, including those that might benefit most from the technique. Despite their shortcomings, however, it is always safer to undertake a comprehensive and rational planning process that seeks to identify and address the potential negative environmental impacts of tourism development. The alternative, of doing nothing, is much more likely to result in environmental degradation.

Table 5.4 Key principles of environmental impact assessment

-
- Assessments should identify the nature of the proposed and induced activities that are likely to be generated by the project
 - Assessments should identify the elements of the environment that will be significantly affected
 - Assessments will evaluate the nature and extent of initial impacts and those that are likely to be generated via secondary effects
 - Assessments will propose management strategies to control impacts and ensure maximum benefits from the project
-

Source: Adapted from Hunter and Green (1995)

Consultation and participation

The EIA model has also been criticised for being a professionalised approach that excludes or disempowers local people in ways that conflict with some of the principles of inclusion that sustainable development is intended to reflect (Mowforth and Munt, 2003). Ashley (2000) argued that community-based approaches to resource management are essential if both the conservation needs of the tourism industry and development agendas of local stakeholders are to be met, while Scheyvens (2002: 55) states that 'too many efforts at implementing environmentally sensitive tourism have focused on conservation of resources and failed to embrace the development imperative, thus neglecting the livelihood needs of local communities'.

Such realisations are reflected in an increasing number of projects that have placed greater emphasis on management that involves consultation and community participation in developing sustainable solutions to problems of tourism development. The success or failure of such community initiatives are highly dependent on local conditions. In particular, participatory approaches are dependent on the assumption that community members have common shared interests and aspirations, which is not always the case. More fundamental concerns centred on poverty, personal safety and political stabilities can divide communities, making sustainable development through consultation and participation an elusive goal.

Sustainability and alternative tourism

To conclude this chapter, we return to the subject of alternative tourism and, in particular, the question of how far the so-called 'alternative' forms of tourism provide templates for sustainable tourism. There is perhaps a natural temptation to view mass forms of packaged tourism as the least sustainable and the style of tourism that is most likely to bring widespread environmental change. In contrast, alternative forms of tourism are often characterised by their smaller scale, the involvement of local people, a preference for more remote locations and a predilection to place enjoyment of nature, landscape and cultures at the centre of the tourism experience. Outwardly, these characteristics appear more in tune with principles of sustainability. Further, the alluring names that are commonly given to alternative forms of tourism include 'green tourism', 'eco-tourism', 'soft tourism' and 'responsible tourism', all of which tend to reinforce a popular belief that sustainability equates with alternative tourism. Such views, however, need to be taken with caution. Although the underlying philosophies of alternative tourism may strongly reflect the concept of sustainability, the experience of alternative tourism in a growing number of places suggests that such forms may be highly potent as agents of change and generators of impact. In fact, alternative tourism can be just as problematic, in development terms, as mass forms of tourism.

Alternative tourism encompasses forms of niche and specialty tourisms that are not mass tourism. It is only sustainable to the degree that mass tourism is assumed to be unsustainable. While there may be considerable validity to the assumption that mass tourism is unsustainable, it would be a mistake to view all of mass tourism in such a simplistic manner. The examples above reflect alternative tourism models with environmental values. Others, however, reflect social and pro-poor agendas, with considerably less concern for environmental issues (such as slum tourism, rural home-stays and volunteer community development tours, sometimes associated with religious

organisations). Even when tourists seek ethical goals, their alternative tourism experiences can have complex results. Orphanage tourism, for example, refers to volunteer experiences working with orphans in developing economies, especially in Africa and Southeast Asia. Voluntourists pay several thousands of dollars to have these experiences, and in turn support the impoverished orphans. This has commodified the orphans, resulting in a rapid increase in the number of orphanages and orphans (most of which actually have parents) in some countries (TC, 2013).

Summary

Many forms of tourism are dependent on the environment to provide both a context and a focus for tourist activity. However, those same activities have a marked capacity to devalue and, occasionally, destroy the environmental resources upon which tourism is based. The environmental effects of tourism are broadly experienced through its impacts on ecosystems, landscapes and the built environment. Specific impacts vary spatially, reflecting differences in the nature of the places that tourists visit, the levels and intensity of development, and the capacities and expertise of resource managers. As the environmental problems associated with tourism have become more apparent, greater attention has been focused on ways of producing environmentally sustainable patterns of development and alternative forms of tourism that produce fewer detrimental impacts on destination environments. However, truly sustainable tourism has often proven to be elusive, and there are risks that alternative tourisms, in time, develop into mass forms of travel, along with all of the attendant problems that such a development tends to produce.

Discussion questions

- 1 What are the main factors that will lead to spatial variation in the environmental impacts of tourism?
- 2 Critically assess the value of the concept of sustainable development as an approach to understanding the environmental impacts of tourism.
- 3 With reference to a tourism destination area of your choosing, identify the range of environmental effects that tourism development has created in that area.
- 4 In what ways, and with what consequences, may global warming affect international tourism?
- 5 How far can conceptual tools such as carrying capacity, limits of acceptable change and environmental impact assessment actually help us to create sustainable forms of tourism?
- 6 Are alternative forms of tourism intrinsically environmentally sustainable?

Further reading

An excellent understanding of the environmental impacts of tourism is provided by:
 Wall, G. and Mathieson, A. (2006) *Tourism: Change, Impacts and Opportunities*, Harlow: Prentice Hall.
 Hall, C.M. and Lew, A.A. (2009) *Understanding and Managing Tourism Impacts: An Integrated Approach*, Oxford: Routledge.

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The following provides a convenient critique of links between tourism and sustainability:

Hunter, C. and Green, H. (1995) *Tourism and the Environment: A Sustainable Relationship?*, London: Routledge.

Although not confined to discussions of the environment, a very insightful critique of tourism and sustainability is provided by:

Butler, R.W. (1999) 'Sustainable tourism: a state-of-the-art review', *Tourism Geographies: An International Journal of Tourism Space, Place and Environment*, Vol. 1 (1): 7–25.

Mowforth, M. and Munt, I. (2003) *Tourism and Sustainability: Development and Tourism in the Third World*, London: Routledge.

Other useful essays on tourism and sustainability include:

Boers, B. and Cottrell, S. (2007) 'Sustainable tourism infrastructure planning: a GIS-supported approach', *Tourism Geographies: An International Journal of Tourism Space, Place and Environment*, Vol. 9 (1): 1–21.

Hunter, C. (1997) 'Sustainable tourism as an adaptive paradigm', *Annals of Tourism Research*, Vol. 24 (4): 850–67.

Sharpley, R. (2000) 'Tourism and sustainable development: exploring the theoretical divide', *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*, Vol. 8 (1): 1–19.

There are several texts devoted to the theme of alternative tourism and sustainability:

Fennell, D. (2007) *Ecotourism*, London: Routledge.

Weaver, D. (2006) *Sustainable Tourism: Theory and Practice*, Oxford: Butterworth Heinemann.

Possibly the best source for information on contemporary social sustainability issues in tourism is:

Tourism Concern: Action for Ethical Tourism, <http://www.tourismconcern.org.uk>

6

Socio-cultural relations and experiences in tourism

KEY CONCEPTS

- **Acculturation**
- **Authenticity**
- **Commodification**
- **Cultural capital**
- **Cultural distance**
- **Cultural exchange**
- **Demonstration affect**
- **Destination image**
- **Empowerment**
- **Irridex**
- **Mobilities**
- **Performance**
- **Postmodernism**
- **Power relationships**
- **Pseudo-events**
- **Social values**
- **Staged authenticity**
- **Tourism and crime**
- **Tourism encounters**
- **Tourism language**



More online for Chapter 6 at <http://tourismgeography.com/6>

The relations between tourism, society and culture are complex. Societies and cultures are simultaneously objects of the tourist gaze – ‘products’ to be consumed by global travellers – as well as arenas of interaction in which social and cultural attributes are modified by the practices of tourist consumption and the varying forms of contact between visitors and host communities that modern tourism enables. However, these relations are not only complex, but they have also become contested, and there is a growing body of empirical evidence that reveals significant variation and inconsistency in the effect of tourist relations with the societies and cultures that are toured. More importantly, perhaps, this is an area in which critical thinking has developed in some significant ways. Traditional understandings tended to view tourism’s social and cultural relations in Smith’s (1977)

rather comfortable conception of 'hosts and guests', with a further assumed directionality in which tourism primarily created *impacts on* host societies and cultures, rather than the other way around.

More recent thinking on the concept of power relationships has, however, challenged these traditional representations of tourism destinations and communities as predominantly passive recipients of tourism impacts (Mowforth and Munt, 2003). Instead, social and cultural contacts between tourists and hosts are seen as a negotiated relationship (Crouch et al., 2001) in which influences are far from uni-directional and all parties are affected in differing ways. Urry's work around mobilities (Urry, 2000; Sheller and Urry, 2004) adds further intriguing dimensions to this subject by highlighting how, in increasingly mobile societies, the issue of who is local and who is a visitor is less apparent than it might have been in the past.

The social dimensions of tourism, including the attraction of different cultures as motivations for travel, are well established. As Hollinshead (1993) notes, the quest to encounter difference, to encounter 'others' and to experience novel environments has become a prime motivator for global travel. This has become even more pronounced as tourism has migrated from the often undifferentiated forms of relatively localised mass travel, as characterised in the industrial era mobilities of the early twentieth century, to increasingly globalised and differentiated forms of tourism that reflect mobilities of the post-industrial era (Franklin, 2004). For international tourists, at least those from the developed world, the appeal of encountering exotic foreign cultures, with their distinctive traditions, dress, languages, food, music, art and architecture, has become a dominant justification for their engagement with tourism destinations. Culture, and the societies that create culture, have become central objects of the tourist gaze.

In this chapter we explore several facets of the relations between tourism, society and culture, looking first at some of the key conceptual ideas that have shaped approaches to this area of study and then moving on to consider the nature of the tourist encounter with other cultures and societies, and some of the key effects that have been identified as arising out of such encounters. However, it is important to preface these discussions by emphasising that our understanding of the relationships between tourism, societies and cultures is still incomplete and uncertain. It is hampered both by limitations in what is increasingly a contested conceptual and theoretical basis in tourism research, and by inconclusive or conflicting empirical studies. Several factors account for this situation:

- Uncertainty arises from the complex processes of socio-cultural change and the near impossibility of filtering the specific effects of tourism from the general influence of other powerful agents of change, such as globalised telecommunications and the media. Culture is not a fixed reality (Hunter, 2001) but evolves in response to a wide range of influences, of which tourism is just one.
- Socio-cultural relations in tourism have received much less attention by researchers than has been paid to the economic and environmental consequences of tourism development. This is partly because most social and cultural beliefs and practices are much less amenable to direct observation and to conventional forms of statistical measurement, of the kind that is popular in the analysis of tourism business activities.
- There is often an unrecognised and unquestioned assumption by researchers that communities will willingly adapt to the socio-cultural changes that tourism may bring to their lives because it is a price worth paying to realise the economic benefits that the industry can create. Indeed, a number of authors have observed that the social

acceptance of tourism is often tied to its economic impact and to the positionality of an individual in relation to the tourism activity. Hence people who work directly in the industry are less likely to acknowledge its negative impacts than those who do not.

Tourism, society and culture: theoretical perspectives

The critical understanding of tourism and its relationship to society and culture has moved through some important phases of theoretical development. This has influenced understanding of how tourists relate both to the societies and cultures of others and to the mechanisms by which tourist encounters may trigger socio-cultural change. In this section we review several key concepts that attempt to capture the essence of these relations: authenticity, commodification, the demonstration effect and acculturation, as well as noting how recent interest in power relations provides important new perspectives on some established ideas. Although none of these critical concepts originate from geography as a discipline, their inclusion in this discussion reflects a belief that any attempt to understand socio-cultural relations in tourism from a geographical perspective must, of necessity, engage with these ideas. Authenticity, for example, is often grounded in place and in sectors such as heritage tourism. The geographical patterns of tourist movements, and their patterns of concentration, will often directly relate to the spatial distribution of the authentic destinations that people wish to visit. Similarly, the processes of demonstration and acculturation arise most powerfully through the juxtaposition of people of differing backgrounds in geographical space, in which the dynamics of power relations are then played out.

Conceptualising authenticity and commodification

In seeking to conceptualise the tourist's fascination with other societies and cultures, one of the earliest and most influential ideas has been Dean MacCannell's concept of 'staged authenticity' (MacCannell, 1973, 1989). The basic premise of his position is that tourist behaviour is widely shaped by an implicit search for authentic experiences as an antidote to the inauthentic and superficial qualities of modern life. This quest is best realised, so the argument runs, through engagement with the real lives of others, whether reflected in the societies and cultures of other times (through heritage tourism) or of other cultures (through travel to the distant or the exotic). MacCannell draws on earlier work by Goffman (1959) who argues that social spaces (like that which tourists occupy) are divided into 'front' regions in which the formalities of the encounter between the host and the guest are played out as a 'performance', while the real lives of local people are lived in 'back' regions that are generally inaccessible to the guest. Thus MacCannell suggests that while tourists might seek the authentic experiences of 'back' regions through their travels, they are usually confronted with (and are satisfied by) staged versions of authenticity that are presented only in 'front' regions. Inevitably these performances represent varying measures of inauthenticity associated with the process of staging.

While the performative nature of tourism has become quite widely acknowledged (see, for example, Edensor, 2001), the notion that tourists are essentially motivated by a quest for authentic experiences has been significantly challenged. Both Urry (1990, 1991) and Wang (1999) argue that the diversity of modern tourism clearly exceeds the explanatory capacities of MacCannell's original, somewhat simplistic, concept. The experience

of authenticity is continually eroded both by the commodification of the cultures that are being represented and by the simple presence of other tourists as an audience. These inevitably compromise authenticity by altering the social dynamics that surround the performance (Olsen, 2001).

Postmodern critical perspectives have also undermined the relevance of authenticity, noting that for many forms of postmodern tourism, authenticity is irrelevant and not something that tourists actively seek. To the contrary, writers such as Ritzer and Liska (1997) argue that many tourists actually seek out *inauthentic* representations as being an infinitely more comfortable and reliable experience than the real places that the inauthentic purports to represent. For example, Disneyland's Main Street is a more attractive experience than any real American Main Street for many tourists, while many tourists to the Grand Canyon National Park in the US spend more time viewing the Imax movie about the Grand Canyon than they do appreciating the actual canyon itself. The postmodern tourist, it is argued, is more interested in the experience, no matter its source, than any objective measure of authenticity, if that is even possible.

However, those same postmodern perspectives have also opened some interesting areas of debate around how authenticity is established, suggesting that it retains a relevance in explaining tourist behaviours. Bruner (1994) notes that in many contexts authenticity is not an inherent property of a particular object or situation, but rather it represents a projection onto the toured objects and sites of the tourist's own beliefs (Wang, 1999). Authenticity thus becomes a cultural value that is constantly created, reinvented and negotiated through social processes (Lowenthal, 1985; Olsen, 2001), so that many forms of tourism can acquire a level of authenticity simply because they are seen by the participants to be what real tourists do.

Wang (1999) talks of an 'existential' authenticity through which tourists reconnect with their real selves through engagement with diverse tourism activities and practices. In this way forms of tourism such as beach holidays, sea cruises or touring theme parks, all of which appear to have little to do with authentic places and cultures, may nevertheless be validated in the minds of the tourist as authentic expressions of those particular styles of tourist behaviour. Wang (1999) explains, for example, how tourist activity such as visiting friends and relatives can be seen as a ritual that celebrates 'authentic' family ties. Even the patently inauthentic (in MacCannell's terms) can acquire a form of authenticity. For example, a purchased souvenir, though created solely for tourist consumption, is authentic for the tourist because it is personally associated with the visited place. There is no doubt, for example, that for many of the visitors to the Disneyland theme park at Anaheim, Los Angeles (which is arguably one of the least authentic sites in world tourism), the park acquires a form of historic authenticity by virtue of being the original modern theme park from which others have subsequently developed. It is perceived as the 'authentic' expression of the theme park, which adds to its enjoyment by millions of visitors.

It is therefore the case that in many situations there is no single, authentic form of experience but a plurality of expressions and perceptions of the authentic. From a post-modern perspective, almost any place or experience can be authentic in the context of the right person, time or place. Geography is important here because the manner in which places vary across the globe means that in many sectors of tourism there exist multiple authenticities that are place-dependent. These may be variations on a common theme, but distinctions among places will often serve to differentiate the authenticity of experience across geographical space. Hence, for example, the quintessential tourist experience of the beach holiday is qualitatively different between, say, a northern European

country such as Sweden, a Mediterranean country such as Greece, or an Indian Ocean state such as Mauritius.

So despite the many critiques of the concept of authenticity, along with the ambiguities and pluralities of its meaning, it remains a prominent component in the discourse of the relationship between tourism and society and culture. As we shall see in Chapters 8 and 9, authenticity is a particularly important notion in key tourism areas such as heritage tourism, as well as the wider processes of place promotion.

Staged forms of authenticity form part of what Shaw and Williams (2004) describe as ‘engineered’ tourist experiences. These are essential components in the circuits of production and consumption that now shape global tourism. Tourist consumption often forms a basis for personal identity formation through the acquisition of what Bourdieu (1984) defines as ‘cultural capital’ (Ateljevic and Doorne, 2003). In other words, it is argued that people seek to define themselves and their perceived place in society through the patterns of consumption that they exhibit, with the cultural goods and services they obtain having a particular primacy. This is clearly evident in tourism, with both the collection of souvenirs and the ‘bragging rights’ to places they have visited adding significantly to the tourist’s cultural capital.

However, for consumers to acquire cultural capital through tourism, the tourist experience (see Figure 1.5 in Chapter 1) needs, at least in part, to become a commodity that, in addition to any *utility* value, also possesses an *exchange* value. That is, it can be purchased and traded through the conventions of the international marketplace (Llewellyn Watson and Kopachevsky, 1994). Although it has not always been recognised in these terms, commodification has been a feature of tourism for centuries. For example, if we consider the process of commodification as transforming elements of tourist experience into something that can be purchased as a good (or product), then common tourist practices such as organised excursions from industrial communities to Victorian seaside resorts in the UK in the nineteenth century represented a form of commodification. Even Roman tourists visiting ancient Greece some 2000 years ago, and Greek tourists to Egypt before that, purchased travel, hired tour guides and brought back commodity souvenirs of the major attractions they visited (Milne, 1916; Perottet, 2002). But in modern tourism, commodification has become a much more pervasive and subtle influence on tourist behaviours, so that it is not only the tangible products of tourism (such as transport, accommodation or souvenirs) that become commodities, but more importantly also the intangibles, such as experience.

In cultural terms, Meethan (2001) argues that commodification occurs in two connected ways: first, as an initial representation of the destination in the images that are promoted through travel brochures and the media; and second, through the ways in which local culture is represented and presented in the tourist experience of the destination itself. The initial representation is especially significant because if, as is often the case, the representation of the destination to potential travellers wanders freely into areas of myth and fantasy, then images created are actually alien to the true identities and practices of the destination (Shaw and Williams, 2004). In a somewhat subversive manner, however, these constructed images of local customs and practice must then be delivered by the host community as performed, commodified experiences to satisfied client expectations, even though they may be unrepresentative. Commodification, therefore, sets up powerful tensions with the notion of authenticity for, as Wall and Mathieson (2006) observe, in the process of commodification the artefacts and practices lose many of their original meanings and hence their ability to represent, authentically, the cultures from which they are derived.

Authenticity and the commodification of tourism places

Issues of authenticity and commodification often reflect concerns over the way in which the cultures of indigenous peoples are used to promote and sustain international tourism. The success of most modern tourist destinations depends on the ease with which distinctive images of a place may be formed and marketed. Such images may be constructed around a variety of both natural elements and socio-cultural characteristics. There is, though, a tendency for image-building processes by marketing agencies to misrepresent societies and cultures or to simplify their characterisation. This can be a problem because, in an effort to meet the expectations of tourists, the promoted destination image obliges local people to present their traditional rituals and events, folk handicrafts, music and dance, religious ceremonies or sporting contests in ways that accord with the image, rather than reality. (While all of these are capable of attracting tourists and forming a central element in their experience of the destination, when they are staged for tourists, they risk becoming projections of the tourists' own imagination more than true representations of the object of their gaze [Cohen, 1988].)

This is not to argue that all tourist interests in culture are automatically detrimental. There is a solid base of evidence to show how cultural places, artefacts and performances have been sustained (and in some instances rediscovered and reacquired) through the interest and support of visitors. For example, in many tourist destinations, the souvenir trade has the potential to contribute significantly to local economies and to sustain material elements of traditional culture that might otherwise be lost. The studies by Hall et al. (1992) and Ryan and Crofts (1997) of Maori culture in New Zealand illustrate several aspects of this process, where traditional arts, crafts and performances have been conserved and reinvented for tourist consumption. Interestingly, in a number of situations the process of reasserting traditional practices illustrates Olsen's (2001) argument that rather than constituting a fixed attribute, authenticity is often negotiated through social processes. Smith's (1996) study of the Inuit provides one example in which tourist demand for authentic souvenirs stimulated creative and novel practices (especially in stone carving) that provided new ways to express Inuit cultural identity, but in a form that both the Inuit and the tourists were prepared to accept as an authentic representative of native cultures.

MORE ONLINE: Case Study 6.1 Tourism and Mayan identity in Belize

Table 6.1 *Tourism's major positive and negative impacts on host societies and cultures*

Major positive impacts

- Increased knowledge and understanding of host societies and cultures
- Promotion of the cultural reputation of the hosts in the world community
- Introduction of new (and by implication more modern and global) values and practices
- Revitalisation of traditional crafts, performing arts and rituals

Main negative impacts

- Debasement and commercialisation of cultures
- Removal of meanings and values associated with traditional customs and practices through commodification for tourist consumption
- Increased tensions between imported and traditional lifestyles
- Erosion in the strength of local language and religion
- More globalised patterns of local consumption
- Risks of increases in antisocial activities (e.g., gambling, prostitution and crime)

Sources: Adapted from Mathieson and Wall (1982); Ryan (1991); and Wall and Mathieson (2006)

However, as levels of demand increase and the experience of other cultures becomes increasingly commodified, there are very real risks of negative repercussions as cultural artefacts and performances become absorbed into what Boorstin (1961) has described as ‘pseudo-events’ – elaborately contrived, artificial representations designed to meet the undiscerning gaze of mass tourists. Pseudo-events generally share several characteristics:

- They are planned rather than spontaneous.
- They are designed to be performed or reproduced to order, at times or in locations that are convenient for the tourist.
- They hold an ambiguous relationship to the real elements on which they are based.
- Through time, they become authentic and may even replace the original event, practice or element that they purport to represent.

It is easy to see how tourist demand encourages these processes, and, on the positive side, how it may be argued that by focusing tourist attentions on staged representations of local culture, the pseudo-event serves a valuable function in relieving pressures on local communities and thereby protecting their real cultural basis from the tourist gaze. But as it does so, it creates artificiality which detaches cultural elements from their true context, in an almost museumised experience. Tourists observing a traditional native ceremony will usually lack the knowledge to comprehend the symbolism and true meaning of event, but there is a greater risk that through time the performers also lose sight of the original significance of their practice. This alters its basis within the host culture. The Hawai’ian Luau is an example of this, with mass tourists attending their authentic nightly hotel luaus, complete with full interpretations, though they may sometimes lose accuracy in both form and description in favour of entertainment. Meanwhile, ethnic Hawai’ans maintain their traditional festival for special occasions in the more remote areas of the islands.

Similarly, the successful marketing of traditional objects as tourist souvenirs may alter their meaning, value and form. Where significant tourism markets develop, a tendency towards increased dependence on mass forms of production can marginalise the true craft worker. Mass production typically takes the development and sale of craft goods out of local community control and into the hands of non-native producers and intermediaries.

The extent to which authenticity issues and the commodification of culture by tourism is a real concern varies from place to place and is very much a matter of opinion. The natural temptation is to decry the manner in which commercial tourism erodes and alters the cultural basis of host societies. However, it is important to remember that culture is not static, it is dynamic and adaptive, and a vibrant society will constantly re-create and reconstruct its cultural basis. It is also a mistake to characterise traditional, native populations as passive objects of the tourist gaze, since it is evident that host communities may actively construct and promote representations of their culture to attract the visitor, and many practices have thereby acquired new meanings and values. In this way, tourism should perhaps be conceived not as a force from outside the local culture, but rather (from a postmodern perspective) as an integral part of the many ongoing processes of cultural formation (Cragg, 2003; Shaw and Williams, 2004).

The demonstration effect and acculturation

The concept of commodification provides an important perspective from which tourism studies seek to explain the mechanisms through which tourism relates to cultures and



Plate 6.1 Colorful traditional culture commodified for tourists in Durban, South Africa (photo by Alan A. Lew)

societies. A number of other theories and concepts have also been advanced to attempt to explain how contact between tourists and the communities that are toured results in socio-cultural change, two of which, the demonstration effect and processes of acculturation, have been particularly popular.

The demonstration effect suggests that changes in the hosts' attitudes, values or behaviour patterns may be brought about through processes of imitation based on local contact with, or observation of, the tourist. It is, therefore, dependent on the existence of visible differences between visitors and hosts. In particular, by observing the behaviours and superior material possessions of tourists, local people may be encouraged to imitate their actions and aspire to ownership of particular sets of goods, such as clothing brands or styles that they see as markers of status. Fisher (2004) locates the origins of the concept of a demonstration effect in tourism in the work of de Kadt (1979) who observed how local patterns of consumption will often change to reflect those of the tourist. But he also notes how the links between consumption patterns, lifestyle and social status have much earlier antecedents in, for example, the urban cultural renaissance of seventeenth-century Europe (Borsay, 1989).

In some cases, the demonstration effect can have positive outcomes, especially where it encourages people to adapt towards more amenable or productive patterns of behaviour

and where it encourages a community to work towards things that they may lack. This has often been used as an economic argument in favour of the introduction of tourism to traditional societies that may not be familiar with monetary-based entrepreneurship. More typically, among tourism scholars, the demonstration effect has been characterised as a disruptive influence, displaying a pattern of lifestyle and associated material ownership that may remain inaccessible to local people for the foreseeable future, especially when contact is between developed world tourists and developing world communities. This may promote resentment and frustration or, in cases where visitor codes and lifestyles are partially adopted by locals, lead to conflicts within the communities with prevailing patterns, customs and beliefs.

Young people are particularly susceptible to the demonstration effect and, hence, tourism has occasionally been blamed for creating new social divisions between community elders and the young in host societies, or the encouragement of age-selective migrations, with younger, better-educated people moving away from the community in search of the improved lifestyles that the demonstration effect outwardly displays. The migrant, of course, may well benefit from such a move but the social effects on the community that is losing its younger members will be broadly detrimental.

Recent critical perspectives have begun to call into question many of the assumptions on which the demonstration effect implicitly resides. Once again the difficulties of isolating the influence of tourism on local society from the wider effects of modernisation and globalisation raises questions over the significance of a tourism demonstration effect. Fisher (2004) notes several areas of influence that are likely to be far more significant agents of change than tourism. Global media and telecommunications (television, movies and the Internet), for example, are increasingly accessed from directly within MacCannell's 'back' regions, allowing local people to directly view news, entertainment, and the advertisements of global corporations, as well as letters and messages from friends and relatives who live and work abroad.

But beyond the recurring doubt about the specific role of tourism, there are more focused questions around who is demonstrating what to whom? The demonstration effect assumes a largely uni-directional influence and a neo-colonial relationship between 'strong' tourist and 'weak' local cultures. Yet as Franklin (2004) makes clear, a widening range of 'foreign' practices (for example, in dress styles and food tastes) are routinely adopted and imported by tourists into day-to-day lives, as cultural capital and markers of social status or taste, as a consequence of their experience of other places. These practices suggest, therefore, that the demonstration effect should be more properly considered as a process of *cultural exchange* rather than a form of cultural colonialism.

The demonstration effect, with its emphasis on detached (observation-based) forms of influence, is particularly attractive in explaining tourism impacts where contacts between hosts and visitors are mostly superficial and transitory. However, where links between hosts and visitors are more fully developed (through home-stays or volunteer activities, for example) acculturation theory offers an alternative perspective. Acculturation theory states that when two cultures come into contact for any length of time, an exchange of ideas and products will take place that will, through time, produce varying levels of convergence or homogenisation between the cultures (Murphy, 1985). The process of exchange will not, however, be a balanced one because a stronger culture will tend to dominate a weaker one and exert a more powerful effect over the form of any new socio-cultural patterns that emerge. Cultural 'strength', in this approach, is not based on distinct or a well-defined integrity, but is more a reflection of population size, economic power

and media influence, such as is currently demonstrated on a global scale by the influence of the US.

As with the demonstration effect, processes of acculturation are most easily envisaged in relationships between the developed and the developing world, but such patterns may also be found within developed states. Most of the world's countries contain marginal or peripheral regions that are attractive to tourists and which also contain distinctive cultures. Examples include Aboriginal peoples and ethnic minorities who may be more indigenous than the dominant society, rural communities and others who live alternative lifestyles without actually have a different ethnicity, immigrant populations that settle in a defined place, and those who speak distinct dialects and languages that differ from the dominant language of a country. These groups will often selectively strengthen aspects of their culture as a form of resistance against changes arising from acculturation associated with tourism from the dominant society. Those efforts, such as language and festival conservation, will often become tourist attractions within themselves. Processes of acculturation, therefore, operate in a range of spatial contexts, from local to global, with tourism comprising only one component.

Changing moral and social values

Another area of impact emerging from the demonstration effect and acculturation is the potential for contact between visitors and hosts to alter the value systems and the moral basis of destination societies. The usual concern is that they are producing a drift toward the adoption of more permissive or relaxed moral standards. However, because cultural attributes such as values are more deep-seated, it has proven rather harder to distil specific effects that may be linked with tourism (Wall and Mathieson, 2006).

The often casual lifestyle of many tourists while they are on holiday, their conspicuous consumption, and their rejection (albeit temporarily) of the normal strictures of dress and some elements of etiquette, can create very diverse reactions among local people in a destination. The strength of that reaction will depend on the cultural distance between the host and the visitor (see Figure 6.2). Where differences are clear and significant, the demonstration effect can draw some elements in the host society (especially the young) towards the alluring lifestyle that the tourists project, while others (particularly older groups) will resist what are perhaps perceived as immoral forms of behaviour. Such divisive tendencies have, for instance, been noted in several Mediterranean destinations, where the imposition of largely agnostic or atheistic North European tourists onto predominantly Catholic or Greek Orthodox communities with quite restrictive moral and social codes has been problematic (Tsartas, 1992). Many of the pueblo Indian villages in the US Southwest limit photography by tourists, either with a complete ban, as on the Hopi reservation, or charging a fee, as at Taos Pueblo, as a way to manage perceived disrespectful behaviour by tourists (Lew, 1999).

In time, however, the natural processes of succession within a community ensure that the value systems instilled in the young of today are likely to become the norm for the society at large in the future. As a result, the effect of exposure to tourists, and to their own opportunities to become tourists, may produce a drift towards changed moral and social values. Once again, the extent to which this constitutes a 'problem' will depend on the positions from which such changes are viewed, and while the temptation is to paint the tourist and tourism as the moral polluter of simpler, traditional societies, there are cases where roles are reversed and impacts are greater amongst the tourists than amongst the hosts. Visitors to Scandinavian countries or the Netherlands, for example, may find

prevailing moral codes that adopt rather more tolerant attitudes to social issues such as sexuality and bisexuality, drug use or prostitution than those that prevail at home. Under these circumstances it is the tourists, not the hosts, who are likely to experience a challenge to their traditional moral codes and behaviours.

The common social issues that are routinely linked with tourism include tendencies for it to be associated with increased incidence of gambling, prostitution, pickpockets and other types of crime. The hedonistic character and dropping of normal social restrictions while on holiday inevitably fosters interest among some tourists in activities such as gambling or prostitution. Such interests will occur selectively and, with the occasional exception of resorts such as Las Vegas or Monte Carlo (see Leiper, 1989), only small minorities of visitors will actually indulge in these activities. However, gambling has been a major growth area in tourism (Eadington, 1999) and has shown a demonstrable capacity both to sustain the expansion of established resorts such as Las Vegas, Nevada and to revive places that were previously in decline, such as Atlantic City, New Jersey. Timothy's (2001) study of border tourism has also shown how the establishment of casinos on the borders between states that permit gambling and those that do not has become a common form of development, reflecting significant levels of suppressed demand for gambling in many local communities, as well as amongst visitors. The effects of gambling tend to be variable although it is probably fair to characterise the benefits as being broadly economic, whereas the problems tend to be social in nature, especially when addictive forms of behaviour develop that lead to the breakdown of family or other social ties (Pizam and Pokela, 1985; Wall and Mathieson, 2006).

Gambling, prostitution and crime are frequently interlinked, both through organisational structures in which the ownership of casinos and brothels may be vested in the same hands, and sometimes financed by profits from criminal activity, and through spatial proximity in which clubs, casinos, bars and brothels cluster to produce 'red light' or 'entertainment' districts. London's Soho and Amsterdam's Warmoesstraat are examples of such clusters. The links to tourism, however, can be mixed. Studies of prostitution (e.g., Hall, 1992, 1996; Cohen, 1993; Muroi and Sasaki, 1997; Opperman, 1999) have tended to suggest that while tourism may create an environment that is conducive to the development of prostitution, and may promote existing practices, it seldom introduces the activity in a direct sense. Thailand, for example, has developed a dubious reputation for sex tourism, yet it is clear that prostitution was an established element in local Thai subcultures long before the arrival of large-scale tourism. The primary effect of tourism seems to have been to encourage the addition of a tier of expensive, elite young women to meet the new demands of the higher spending tourist market (Cohen, 1993), although there is also some evidence of a more direct link between international tourism and illegal sexual exploitation, especially involving children.

Similarly, links between tourism and local crime are not always clear and consistent. Visible differences in the levels of affluence between visitor and host may account for increases in robbery and muggings. This can especially occur with tourists who are unfamiliar with a location and unable to distinguish 'safe' from 'unsafe' areas, making them easy targets for streetwise criminals (Ryan, 1993; Prideaux, 1996; Sheibler et al., 1996; Harper, 2001). Tourism development has also been linked to increased rates of burglary, vandalism, drunk and disorderly behaviour, sexual and drug-related offences and soliciting by prostitutes (which is a criminal activity in many countries). However, statistical linkages do not necessarily mean that tourism causes such activity. The normal practices of tourists create conditions and environments in which many forms of crime will flourish, but except in situations where the tourists themselves are perpetrators of crime (as, for

example, in the rising incidence of drunken and violent behaviour by young British tourists in Spanish Mediterranean resorts or, less commonly, the smuggling of drugs or other illegal goods by visitors), tourism is unlikely to introduce crime to a host society. The tendency must already exist, albeit, perhaps, in a latent form.

The moral value systems in many societies are rooted (if only distantly) in religious beliefs and practices, so the capacity of local communities to resist changes to their traditional moral codes may be partly dependent on the strength of the religious foundation to daily life. The links between tourism and religion have changed through time in some interesting ways. Religion was, and still is, a basis for particular forms of tourism that are associated with pilgrimage. But while in many societies, especially in the developed world, belief in religion has been eroded in the face of growing agnosticism and atheism, religious sites continue to be popular objects of the tourist gaze, even if people do not subscribe to the beliefs that such places represent (Vukovic, 2002). There is no doubt that worshippers at the great cathedrals of Europe are greatly outnumbered by the millions of tourists who come simply to view the buildings.

This is a potential source of conflict when the practices of the devout are directly compromised by the idle curiosity of the masses. For most tourists, religion has become entertainment, typically in the form of casual inspection of religious sites or the observation of a religious ceremony. For the worshipper, or the participant in a religious ceremony, the place or the event has quite different meanings and may be a source of profound spiritual, moral and psychological support. Any devaluation of the experience, therefore, whether it be through the commodified performance of religious spectacles for tourist consumption, or irreverent behaviour on the part of tourists towards religious places or practices, may be deeply disturbing (see Case Study 6.2). Yet as before, the effect of such encounters will be unpredictable. On the one hand, it may serve to strengthen local adherence to religiously based practices and values, reinforcing a sense of local cultural identity. Equally, it may erode the position of religion within a society, altering the meaning and symbolism of ceremonial events and opening the way to wider processes of social and cultural change.

Power relations

Implicit in these critical positions are concepts of power relationships. The role of power in shaping tourism relationships has been recognised for some time, although the interpretation of how those power relations map onto the actual world of tourist experience has developed in some interesting ways in recent years. By tradition, tourism's relationship with the communities that are toured has been widely represented as one of inequality, with dominant tourists impacting subordinate hosts. Mowforth and Munt (2003) capture this perspective in noting how tourism is often envisaged as a contact zone in which disparate cultures meet in asymmetric relations and with sharply different experiences. Moreover, this asymmetry has been shown to be operating at both a global and a local scale. At a global scale, tourism has been characterised as creating neo-colonial patterns of dependency between dominant areas of tourism generation in the developed world and subordinate areas of tourism development (in either peripheral zones of developed world states or, more typically, in emerging destinations in the developing world). Tourism, therefore, tends to occupy spaces that have been opened through the exercise of power, especially the commercial power of global capital (Mowforth and Munt, 2003). Meanwhile, at the local scale, the nature of the encounter between the tourist and the people who are visited has been viewed as an unequal meeting in which

attributes such as the material wealth of the tourist tend to place them in a position of superiority relative to local populations, who are expected to fulfil subservient service roles in relation to the visitors' needs.

Such readings are, of course, not necessarily inaccurate. It has been widely recognised, for example, that processes of commodification implicitly exercise power by imposing global market expectations onto receiving areas and defining how cultures and cultural artefacts should be represented to visitors, through activity such as place promotion or the staged events that visitors experience at the destination. The power of local communities to resist the external commodification of their home and their culture is limited by the perceived need to conform to external expectations to realise the economic benefits that tourism may bring. Similarly, there has been an increasing tendency of developed world, 'Western' ideologies, such as sustainability and gender equality, to be imposed on traditional, 'non-Western' others as a condition of participation in processes of tourism development (Mowforth and Munt, 2003).

The acquiescence of local power to those who commodify tourism's products is part of a much wider issue of how cultural identities are formed. Shaw and Williams (2004) observe that the delimitation of culture is a relational process, by which it is meant that part of the solution to defining who we are depends on the existence of 'others' with whom we may make comparisons and draw distinctions. Without the 'other' the definition of the 'self' becomes problematic. The important point for this discussion is that the process of recognising the 'other' (who, in the context of tourism, will generally comprise the communities that are visited) implicitly shapes a power relationship in which the 'other' is accorded lower status (Aitchison, 2001). This is because self-interest, whether of the 'I' or the 'us', take primary positionality in most relational encounters.

There is, however, concern over the simple acceptance of the notion that tourism relations are shaped simply by the power of global capital and the economic force of tourists as consumers of commodified experiences that overwrite the narratives of local people who are powerless to resist. Foucauldian perspectives are particularly useful in this context, since the French philosopher Michel Foucault envisages power not in terms of the relative strength of one over another, but as a relational process in which it flows in multiple directions. This is seen most clearly in tourism, in the mediation by third parties who act as brokers or middlemen in the relationships between tourists and the communities they visit (Cheong and Miller, 2000). Tourism brokers include, among others: travel companies that sell tours at the point of departure; local entrepreneurs and elites who operate tourist businesses in destination areas; local politicians and planners who regulate destination area development; and local police who regulate tourist and local tourism activities.

The tourism system that regulates the space that exists between the tourist (in their home) and the host (in their home) is characteristically dynamic, as we have seen in Chapters 1 and 2. Brokers, periodically, will also become tourists, some tourists may become locals if they take up residence in areas that they have visited (through retirement or second home ownership), and both tourists and local people may become brokers if they engage with tourists or tourism activity. Brokers may also mitigate the degree and direction of influence through, for example, more comprehensive preparatory interpretations or educational information. But the essence of Cheong and Miller's (2000) argument is that tourists are more likely to be targets of power relations rather than agents of it, because they are more likely to endure the consequences of power rather than directly exercise it themselves. Tourists operate from insecure positions, since they will often be found in unfamiliar environments, possibly disadvantaged by an inability to speak local

languages, and exposed to different cultural norms and expectations that they may not comprehend. The tourist may possess economic power, but as Ateljevic and Doorne (2003) recognise, cultural power usually resides with the local communities.

New social structures and empowerment

The composite effect of many of the socio-cultural changes that have been associated with tourism may eventually lead to significant shifts in local social structures and new patterns of social empowerment. As before, these impacts are likely to be most pronounced where tourism brings together hosts and visitors from contrasting socio-economic traditions.

Change results through a number of pathways, but three are worth emphasising. First, tourism creates new patterns of employment and opportunities for work among groups who, in traditional societies, may not normally work for remuneration, for example women. As we have seen in Chapter 4, tourism creates particular opportunities for employment for women, and it has been argued that one of the beneficial impacts of tourism is to help in the liberation of women from traditional social structures by giving them the independence that comes with a personal income. This, through time, may bring about more egalitarian social forms and practices. Ateljevic and Doorne's (2003) study of the production of 'tie-dyed' fabrics as tourist commodities in the Chinese prefecture of Dali showed how local women engaged in the production of these fabrics acquired a greater level of independent control over their lives, while the income they earned raised the prospect of improved educational and employment opportunities for their children. In many traditional agrarian societies, the arrival of tourism may also be beneficial to young people who gain employment in the industry. This enables new levels of financial independence, leading to partial or total release from the traditional social controls of their elders (especially within extended families) and new choices in matters such as their place of residence and their selection of marriage partners. Of course, other forms of employment for women and young people, besides tourism, can also lead to these types of structural changes.

Social empowerment, and resulting power changes, may also arise through the second key process: language change. The role of language in tourism is an area that has received only modest levels of attention until very recently (Cohen and Cooper, 1986; Thurlow and Jaworski, 2010; Hall-Lew and Lew, 2014). Language is a significant defining feature of a society because it provides identity and acts as a cultural marker. More significantly, it underpins social relations by defining who talks to whom, and how they talk. International tourism is generally conducted through one of a very few languages that have worldwide usage: most typically English, to a lesser extent, Spanish and French, and increasingly Chinese. Tourists who originate in countries where these 'global' languages are based will often harbour expectations that the hosts should have at least a minimal grasp of their language. Foreign ownership of tourism developments may impose a new language as the norm for business purposes, while training in the hospitality industries will also strive to give personnel some grasp of languages that they are likely to encounter.

The acquisition of new tourism-related language skills empowers people in several significant ways. It provides wider access to globalised media and the influences that those media convey; it makes easier the possibility of migration in search of better employment or improved prospects; and it alters the status of the individual within their home society through the acquisition of a powerful skill that others may lack. However, as skills in international languages are acquired, there is also a risk of the displacement

and eventual loss of marginal local languages (Huisman and Moore, 1999). White's (1974) study of the decline in the use of Romansch in areas of tourism development in Switzerland demonstrated this pattern.

The empowerment that comes with the employment or the adoption of new languages is best envisaged as operating at the individual or group level. But occasionally, whole communities and cultures become empowered through the development of tourism and its integration into local socio-cultural development. Picard's (1993, 1995) studies of tourism development on Bali showed how the appeal of the distinctive Balinese culture to international tourists provided powerful political and economic 'levers' that could be deployed to advantage by the local Balinese authorities in their dealings with the central Indonesian government. The desire of the Indonesian authorities to showcase Balinese culture (easily the leading tourist attraction in Indonesia) to project a positive image of the country to the international community, enabled a reassertion of local identity and the political elevation of Bali in ways that might not otherwise have been possible.

The Bali experience points to a third pathway to change, in addition to employment and language acquisition, which occurs through the creation of local political resistance. Pitchford (1995) notes that where social groups possess a distinctive culture that forms the basis of an attraction to tourists, this becomes a resource of both material and cultural significance in any local assertion of identity or resistance to change. Such resistance may be directed against the homogenising effects of globalisation and the mass marketing of international travel, but may also be deployed to counter neo-colonialism, whether as an external (e.g., foreign corporations) or an internal (e.g., domestic migrants or a central government) process. Pitchford's (1995) study examines how tourism development in Wales has been used to promote and protect Welsh culture in the face of a protracted and systematic erosion of Welsh identity through internal colonisation by the English. Picard's (1993, 1995) work on Bali demonstrates a comparable process in terms of Balinese resistance to domestic neo-colonialism by the Indonesian central government.

However, resistance is not just a process of engagement between the communities that receive tourists and the wider world, it also works within communities as a process through which the cultural acceptance of tourism is debated and negotiated. This notion of mediated resistance is examined in Case Study 6.2, which serves not just to illustrate how the local relations between tourism and cultural practices might be rationalised, but also illustrates several of the wider issues that have been discussed throughout this chapter.

MORE ONLINE: Case Study 6.2 Mediated resistance to tourism in a Hindu pilgrimage town

The tourist encounter

At the heart of the processes of socio-cultural exchange between tourists and the communities they visit is the encounter between the host and the guest. Out of this encounter can emerge a range of social or cultural effects. Several important characteristics of the tourist encounter with local communities, especially in the context of mass tourism, include (Hunter, 2001; Hall and Lew, 2009):

- it is transitory and superficial, with tourists being in a destination, and encountering locals, for very short periods of time;

- it is constrained in space (focused on particular tourist sites) and time (seasonality);
- it is staged, rather than spontaneous, and often commercial and impersonal in character;
- it is differentiated (or unequal) in terms of attributes such as wealth, but also in terms of less tangible qualities such as expectations.

Although tourist encounters may be fleeting, impersonal and outwardly superficial, some form of socio-cultural effect will often emerge from the process of contact. This is particularly evident where tourism brings together regions and societies that have significant degrees of difference. International tourists, in particular, will tend to originate in a developed, urbanised and industrialised society and will carry with them the beliefs, values and expectations that such societies promulgate. But as the spatial range over which tourists roam is continually extended (and given the predisposition of many tourists to seek out places that are different), so too does the likelihood increase that encounters between local people and visitors will bring together opposing values and experiences. Considerable cultural distance may extend over differences in levels of: development and underdevelopment; pre-industrial, industrial and post-industrial; traditional and (post)-modern; urban and rural; and affluence and poverty. This occurs in a context in which the tourist is at leisure and probably enjoying and seeking out novel situations, while the local people pursue the familiar comfort of routine work.

Of course, this encounter is not always shaped in such simplistic ways, and nor is the character of the encounter and its related effects consistent across all of the spaces of tourism. Spatial variation in the nature and consequences of the tourist encounter with local communities will occur for a number of reasons. Key variables that help to explain these differences include: the circumstances creating the encounter; the type of visitor; the nature of the encounter's location; the spatial proximity of tourists and local populations; the levels of involvement of locals in tourism; cultural similarity between the two groups; and the stage of tourism development in the destination.

Situation of the encounter and visitor type

It has been suggested by de Kadt (1979) that visitors and local people encounter one another in three basic situations:

1. when tourists purchase goods and services from locals in shops, bars, hotels or restaurants;
2. when tourists and hosts share the same facilities, such as local beaches and entertainment places;
3. when they meet purposely to converse and to exchange ideas, experiences or information.

The extent and the nature of socio-cultural impacts will clearly be influenced by whichever of these forms of contact prevails, though they will also be influenced by the type of visitor (see Chapter 1) and the frequency and duration of their visits. When tourism is dominated by mass markets, contacts are most often to be in either (or both) of the first two categories. Because of the limited seasons associated with many package holidays and the short duration of individual trips, these contacts are typically casual and brief. However, even though contacts may be limited, the large scale of mass tourism is still capable of producing significant changes through the demonstration effect or acculturation. Purposeful engagement

between the two groups is rare in modern mass tourism, and is more typically a feature of independent travellers, explorer types of tourists, and specialty niche tourisms. Since they are less numerous, these tourists are generally believed to have less of an impact on local societies and cultures, although, strictly speaking, any form of contact is likely to produce some degree of social and cultural change. In addition, if ‘explorer’ types of tourists spend extended periods (e.g., a month or more) in a host community, the scope for cultural interchange will be significantly increased.

Nature of the location

Geographic elements are also important in tourism’s social and cultural encounters, both in the nature of destinations and in the spatial proximity between hosts and visitors. Local community tolerance of tourism activities will be affected by the capacity of a locality to absorb tourists and the degree to which tourists form identifiable groups or create visible problems. In metropolitan centres, such as Paris or Hong Kong, thousands of tourists may be accommodated with few discernible impacts because the urban infrastructure is designed to cope with heavy use and in many situations the tourist simply blends with the crowds. In contrast, small rural communities that are not adapted to handling crowds may struggle to cope with more than a few hundred visitors at one time, and because those visitors are far more conspicuous, the potential for change induced by demonstration effects and acculturation will be increased.

Spatial proximity and levels of involvement

The nature and the intensity of exchanges will be influenced by the spatial proximity, both functional and perceived, between local populations and tourists. As we have seen in Chapter 4, tourism development has a marked tendency to spatial concentration at favoured locations, so its patterns of development tend to be sporadic and uneven. While some diffusion of impacts from major centres of tourism into surrounding areas may be expected (e.g., through the employment of people who travel daily to work in tourism from a hinterland), the capacity of tourism to affect host societies and cultures will decline as distance from the tourist centres increases. Even within tourism areas, some locations remain untouched by most tourists and their routine movements because they are ‘off the beaten path’. In addition, certain forms of development, especially tourism enclaves, will purposely segregate locals and visitors, thereby minimising the social and cultural effects of each group on the other.

For similar reasons, different sectors within a local community will welcome the presence of tourists to different degrees. Business sectors and the government are more likely to hold favourable views of tourism because of the economic benefits that the industry is perceived to bring. On the other hand, ordinary local residents, who are not employed in tourism and therefore do not benefit directly from the tourism economy are more likely to have negative views, especially where their lives are affected by the noise, overcrowding, congestion and overuse of facilities that tourism often creates. Thus the attitudes and behavioural responses of local residents towards tourism are differentiated by the direct or indirect ways in which the various groups within communities experience tourism.

Cultural similarity

Perhaps the two most important factors shaping the socio-cultural effects that arise from the tourist–host encounter are the degree of cultural similarity between the two groups and

the stage of tourism development that has been attained in the destination. The 'cultural distance' between the visitor and the local community (which often, but not always, correlates with spatial distance) is crucial in determining the level and perceived intensity of effects. The maximum social effects tend to occur when a host community is relatively small and isolated, when affluence levels are markedly different, and where tourism is associated with historical exploitations of locals by outside interests. When local people and the visitors have similar levels of socio-economic and technological development, and locals feel invested in the success of tourism, then socio-cultural differences and attitudes will tend to be less pronounced and tourism's perceived negative effects on local societies and cultures will be reduced as a consequence.

Although international tourism does bring differing groups together, in many locations tourism also brings together culturally similar people. In North America, for example, interchange between Canadian and American tourists, whose lifestyles have much in common, produces comparatively few socio-cultural repercussions. In the rapidly expanding markets of Southeast Asia, where over 75 per cent of international visitors originate from within the region, cultural impacts might be expected to be an issue due to the great ethnic diversity across the region. However, there remains a sufficient breadth of shared historical, economic and socio-cultural experiences to produce fewer major tourism effects than might be anticipated. Unsurprisingly perhaps, studies of domestic tourism within individual countries suggest that many of the socio-cultural impacts that are linked to international travel largely disappear in situations where the visitor and local populations derive from the same socio-cultural milieu (see, e.g., Brunt and Courtney, 1999).

Stage of development

In Chapter 2, Butler's model of the Tourism Area Life Cycle (TALC) was used to illustrate how tourism places develop and evolve through time (Butler, 1980). An important theme that is implicit in the TALC concept is that the types of tourists and the impacts of tourism on destination areas will also evolve through time, and that the scale of impact will increase as the destination progresses from early exploratory stages (where effects are slight) to the stages of saturation (in which impacts may be significant).

One of the most referenced articulations of this idea is Doxey's 'Irridex' (a contraction of 'irritation index'), which attempts to show how attitudes to tourism in a host area might change as the industry develops (Figure 6.1). This model suggests that tourists are initially welcomed, both as a novelty and because of their scope for creating economic prosperity. As developments become more structured and commercialised, local interests become sectionalised, with some local people becoming involved with the tourists, while others are not. Signs of apathy toward tourism emerge, especially amongst the latter group. If growth continues, physical problems of congestion and expanding development sow seeds of annoyance among locals, whose lives are now increasingly affected and inconvenienced by tourism and tourists. In the final stage of Doxey's model, annoyance turns to open antagonism and hostility towards the tourists, who are now blamed, fairly or unfairly, for perceived detrimental changes to local lifestyles and society.

Although it maps a pathway that may well be encountered in some tourism destinations (the model was based on observations in Canada and the Caribbean), Doxey's model has drawn a number of criticisms. The most significant are that the concept is essentially a negative reading that permits little recognition of positive benefits of tourism, while the uni-directional quality of the model suggests an inevitable sequence of decline in the relationship between local people and tourists (Murphy, 1985). The model also fails to

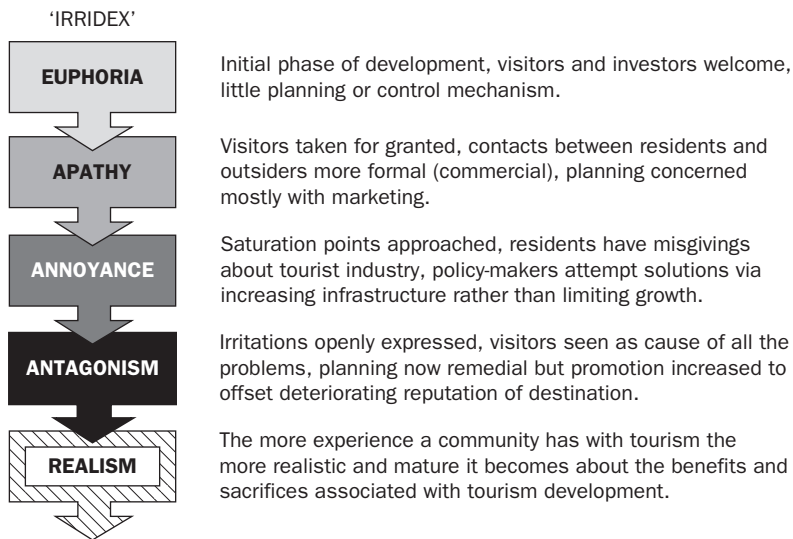


Figure 6.1 An extended version of Doxey's 'Irridex' irritation index (based on Hall and Lew, 2009)

acknowledge the evolution of attitudes among people who are directly involved with, and benefiting from, the tourism industry, which could markedly differ from the attitudes of those who are not. Furthermore, there is no recognition of the capacity for the trajectories of change to be altered through effective planning efforts.

In response to these criticisms, Hall and Lew (2009) suggest extending a further stage to the Irridex model. Most communities with a mature tourism industry have moved beyond the antagonism stage to a more nuanced sense of 'realism' (Figure 6.1), in which a variety of views are expressed, and policies are adopted that seek to balance the economic benefits of tourism with the socio-cultural needs of the place. Though attractive in its simplicity, Doxey's model does not capture the many nuances in the relations between tourists and local communities that the realism stage implies. This leads to some important, wider criticisms of some of the conventional interpretations of the relationships between tourists and host communities. The fundamental problem is that the traditional approach presents just two cultural forms: the host and the guest (Smith, 1977). While convenient, it fails to replicate the complexities and diversities of the tourist encounter in real-world settings. The host–guest dichotomy has been critiqued from a number of perspectives.

First, it should be remembered that tourist flows to many destinations are composed of tourists from a variety of sources with differing cultural backgrounds and contrasting levels of cultural difference from the communities they visit. The United Kingdom, for example, receives significant numbers of tourists from Europe, North America, Japan and elsewhere, some of whom are socially and culturally closer to the British hosts (who are also increasingly multicultural) that they encounter. The nature of any one encounter, and its potential effects, is contingent on the degree of cultural distance between the particular host and guest, which will be highly variable rather than consistently the same.

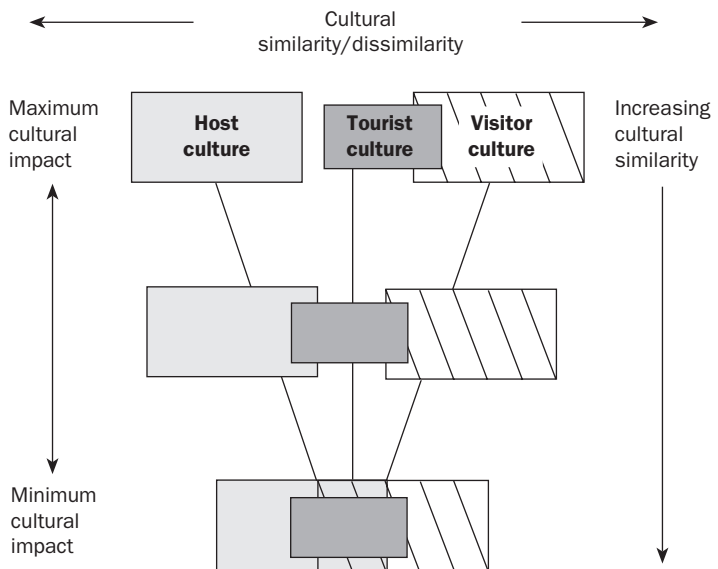
Second, it is also a mistake to assume that destinations are themselves culturally and socially homogeneous. Sherlock (2001: 285) makes the point that contemporary social settings are increasingly shaped by mobilities, with local communities frequently comprising 'a fragmented and continually changing network of social ties' as its members

come and go with economic opportunity and need. As such, locals may be a rare minority in some destinations. Furthermore, many tourist destinations attract part-time residents in the form of second home owners who occupy an ambiguous and ill-defined position in relation to a simple concept of hosts and guests. These people may appear as locals to the tourist, but as visitors in the eyes of longer-term residents.

Third, as an extension of the previous point, in many situations so-called hosts and guests share in the process of producing and consuming the places that are toured, such that the host may often be endowed with many of the attributes of the guest (Sherlock, 2001). Local leisure practices may merge imperceptibly into the practices of visitors, as seen in restaurants, in entertainment venues, in retail environments and in the shared enjoyment of the spectacle of different types of public spaces, such as street markets (see Williams, 2003). Equally, the tourist encounter is not merely an encounter with host communities, but is also an encounter with other tourists whose actions and behaviour become integral to the production of the tourist experience (Crouch et al., 2001).

Fourth, and most importantly, however, we should recognise that the behaviour patterns of the visitors are often a diversion from their socio-cultural norms and do not, therefore, accurately represent the host societies from which they originate. Graburn's (1983a) concept of behavioural 'inversions' (see Chapter 1) indicates how tourist behaviours often display a significant degree of departure from normal patterns, with conspicuous increases in levels of expenditure and consumption, or the adoption of activities that might be on the margins of social acceptability at home. Thus, tourists on holiday are more likely to engage in drinking and overeating, gambling, atypical dress codes, and nudity or semi-nudity than when they are at home. There exists what we might label as a distinct 'tourist culture', which is a subset of behavioural patterns and values that tend to emerge only when the people are travelling, and which, when viewed by local people in receiving areas, projects a false and misleading image of the visitors and the societies they represent. This idea is illustrated diagrammatically in Figure 6.2 in which each box represents a culture with the tourist culture nesting between, but also extending outside, the visitor's home culture and the host's destination culture, representing atypical forms

Figure 6.2
Cultural 'distance'
and the socio-cultural
impact of tourism



of behaviour. The greater the extent of overlap between the visitor and host cultures, the greater the socio-cultural similarities and the fewer the resulting tourism impacts. Conversely, the less overlap that exists between the three cultures, the greater the cultural distance between host and visitor and, consequently, the greater the chance of the tourist encounter producing observable socio-cultural impacts.

However, it is not just the culture of the tourist that may be misrepresented by the manner in which tourists present themselves to host communities. As we have already seen, the commodification of local culture and the frequency with which it is presented to tourists in staged, and structurally inauthentic, performances means that in many situations, the host communities are also represented in ways that do not reflect their true nature. Consequently, the tourist encounter, although sometimes characterised as a meeting ground between insiders and outsiders, with all the connotations of convergence and mutual accord, is also a fertile ground for mutual misunderstanding (Hunter, 2001).

Conclusion

The impacts that tourism brings to host societies and cultures are remarkably diverse and often inconsistent in their effect, reflecting the many different ways under which people travel and variations in the local conditions that they encounter. In some situations, where cultural distances between hosts and visitors are slight, the socio-cultural effects of tourism may be minimal. Elsewhere, changes related to tourism are more significant. While the tendency in many of the discussions of socio-cultural relationships between tourists and the communities they visit is to emphasise the negative, the preceding discussions have attempted to show that there are often significant and tangible benefits from encounters between tourists and local people too. Thus, for example, tourism can actually become an agent for empowerment, a means for sustaining cultural identities, and a way of asserting distinctive local identities in a world that is increasingly shaped by global processes.

It is also important to re-emphasise the point that societies and cultures are not fixed entities, nor are hosts the passive receivers of the change stimuli that the visitor may bring. Society and cultures evolve constantly, in response to a wide range of external and internal influences, one of which is clearly international tourism. But it must be remembered that tourism is one of many such influences and disentangling the effects of tourism from those of, *inter alia*, multinational corporations, international political organisations, global media, NGOs, aid and charitable groups, and cultural exchange and educational programmes is probably an impossible task.

Summary

Through contact between tourists and the societies and cultures that are toured, tourism has the power to alter socio-cultural structures in destination areas even though the precise forms of such effects are often uncertain and spatially variable. A diversity of factors account for such variations, including the nature and scale of tourist encounters, the cultural 'distance' between the different groups and the stages of tourism development that have been attained. The range of possible socio-cultural effects include: issues of cultural commodification and (mis)representation; the introduction of new moral codes; and the promotion of new social value systems. However, while the tendency is to represent

tourism as a form of socio-cultural 'pollution', there is evidence to show that processes of cultural influence are often two-way, and, further, that positive socio-cultural impacts around local empowerment and the maintenance of cultural identities and their associated practices may be initiated and strengthened through contact between tourists and local communities.

Discussion questions

- 1 If tourist encounters with host communities are characteristically transitory and superficial, why is tourism considered to be a threat to local societies and cultures?
- 2 What are the primary social and cultural benefits that tourism might bring to the places that tourists visit?
- 3 Evaluate, with reference to case studies, the evidence that tourism produces moral drift in host communities.
- 4 Discuss the validity of MacCannell's concept of authenticity as a basis from which to explain contemporary tourist interest in exotic societies and cultures.
- 5 To what extent is it fair and correct to characterise tourism relations with host communities as asymmetric, with processes of cultural change through tourism being uni-directional?
- 6 What is the place of traditional concepts such as the demonstration effect and acculturation theory in understanding how tourism produces social and cultural change?

Further reading

Students with interests in the conceptual basis to the relations between tourism, society and culture might usefully commence their further reading by reference to a number of classic texts and papers. These will include:

- Cohen, E. (1988) 'Authenticity and commodification in tourism', *Annals of Tourism Research*, Vol. 15 (2): 371–86.
- MacCannell, D. (1973) 'Staged authenticity: arrangements of social space in tourist settings', *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 79 (3): 589–603.
- Urry, J. (1990) *The Tourist Gaze: Leisure and Travel in Contemporary Societies*, London: Sage.

More recent writings that either develop themes that are explored in these sources or which introduce valuable new perspectives include:

- Church, C. and Coles, T. (2007) *Tourism, Power and Place*, Abingdon, UK: Routledge.
- Crouch, D., Aronsson, L. and Wahlstrom, L. (2001) 'Tourist encounters', *Tourist Studies*, Vol. 1 (3): 253–70.
- Fisher, D. (2004) 'The demonstration effect revisited', *Annals of Tourism Research*, Vol. 31 (2): 428–46.
- Rojek, C. and Urry, J. (eds) (1997) *Touring Cultures: Transformations in Travel Theory*, London: Routledge.
- Selby, M. (2004) 'Consuming the city: conceptualizing and researching urban tourist knowledge', *Tourism Geographies: An International Journal of Tourism Space, Place and Environment*, Vol. 6 (2): 186–207.



Part IV

Understanding tourism places and spaces

It is not by accident that the title to this collection of chapters also serves, for the most part, as the sub-title for the text as a whole. Much of the preceding discussion has pursued precisely the goal of these chapters. However, most of the content in Parts I, II and III has been largely shaped by traditional views of the scope and concerns of tourism geography, as well as the ways of understanding or interpreting the spatial patterns of tourism and the relationship between tourists and places. For a more complete view of what tourism geography constitutes today, from a critical human geography perspective, requires that we think about tourism, to *understand* it, in new ways. It is in this sense that Part IV addresses this subject.

There are two key questions that shape the approach in these chapters. First, how should we understand the position of tourism in post-industrial (or postmodern) society and the new spaces of tourism that have emerged with that shift (see Minca and Oakes, 2014)? Second, how has the so-called ‘cultural turn’ in human geography altered how we understand the changing place of tourism in contemporary life and the different geographies that it creates (see Ioannides and Debbage, 2014)? Tourism has always been more than just the simple practice of travelling for pleasure or for mind and body rejuvenation through rest and relaxation. It has always been an activity encoded with layers of meaning, some subtle, some much more overt. However, until relatively recently, those meanings and the practices that they generate have seldom been seen as part of daily life to any degree of significance.

All that is changing as tourism moves from being a marginal activity, pursued in what Turner and Ash (1975) once described as ‘pleasure peripheries’, to an activity that is often central to the spaces people occupy in their twenty-first century post-industrial life. Tourism today has become much more central in the construction of identity, both of places and of individuals. For many individuals, their tourism consumption decisions are consciously made to confer particular identities and status. Tourism is also an important arena for people to explore alternative selves and their understanding of who they are (through embodied forms of tourism such as adventure travel). Forms of tourism can also offer expressions of resistance to an anonymous and de-personalised post-industrial world, through (re-)connections to personal histories, including ethnic and national heritage.

One of the essential differences that the cultural turn and the wider adoption of post-modern perspectives in human geography has made has been to reposition the tourist as *subject*: a recognition that people have agency to make decision and take actions. So instead of being passive recipients of managed tourist experiences, they are actively

shaping experience for themselves, no matter how staged the presentation. Postmodern discourses reject the notion of overarching or universal theories and explanations of phenomena, such as tourism. Instead, they favour a multiplicity of positions that reflect the fact that each individual makes sense of the world they inhabit on their own terms. So while many sectors of tourism are still shaped by practices of mass consumption and the geographies that those practices support, an important message to take from this part of the book is that other forms of tourism are emerging that are far more reflective of individual tastes and preferences. Consequently, the spaces and places that locate tourism are becoming more diverse, more numerous and harder to differentiate from the other spaces that people occupy in daily life. We need to recognise and appreciate the implications of these trends for the wider understanding of tourism geography.

7

Cultural constructions and invented places

KEY CONCEPTS

- **Everyday life**
- **Geographic place**
- **Globalisation**
- **Heritage tourism**
- **Individual agency**
- **Pseudo-events**
- **Place promotion**
- **Place theming**
- **Placelessness**
- **Postmodern tourist**
- **Power of place**
- **Sense of place**
- **Theme parks**
- **Tourism place**
- **Tourism roles**
- **Tourist gaze**
- **Tourist performance**
- **Tourist practices**



More online for Chapter 7 at <http://tourismgeography.com/7>

Places, and images of places, are fundamental to the practice of tourism. The demand for tourism emanates from individual and collective perceptions of tourist experiences that are associated with particular places. Accordingly the promotion and marketing of tourism depends heavily on the formation and dissemination of positive and attractive images of destinations as places. Tourism therefore maps the globe in a distinctive manner, and one of the ways that we may view the geography of tourism is as the collective manifestation of perceptions and images of what constitute tourism places. However, as those perceptions and images are recast and re-formed in response to changing public expectations, tastes, fashions, levels of awareness, mobility and affluence, new tourism geographies emerge. By modifying or replacing previous patterns, different forms of tourism are built around new areas of interest.

This chapter explores some of the ways that these new tourism geographies are formed and, in so doing, aims to introduce Part IV of this book – understanding the spaces of

tourism. In particular, the discussion aims to show that although part of the process of inventing tourism is centred on the physical development of tourist space, which much of the preceding discussion in this book has been explicitly concerned with, the making of tourist places is not simply a physical process. When we define a location as a tourist place, we apply an additional layer of distinction to it. Part of that distinction may indeed be grounded in the physical attributes of a place (especially for nature-based sites). More significantly, however, it is a culturally informed process.

The cultural base of tourist places is evident in several ways, two of which are worth noting at this juncture. The first is in the *roles* that we ascribe to tourist places. Tourist places need to serve a purpose, whether as places of fun, as places of excitement and challenge, as places of spectacle, or as places of memory. Yet none of these attributes exists in isolation; they are cultural constructs that reflect the values, beliefs, customs and behaviours by which we define ourselves as individuals and as members of a social group. Second, tourist places are generally made distinct by recognisable tourist *practices*. A number of writers (e.g., Crouch et al., 2001; Edensor, 2000a, 2001) have drawn attention to the ritualised, performative nature of tourism, with shared conventions and assumptions about appropriate tourist behaviour and tourism settings. Tourist places are therefore actively produced through the performances of the tourists who congregate at favoured sites and whose presence and actions, in turn, reinforce the nature and character of those sites as tourist places.

It is also useful to note how the evolution of tourist places through time is shaped by underlying socio-cultural processes and respond directly to changes in cultural markers such as taste and fashion. Thus, we need to recognise that while we may initially appraise tourist destinations in terms of their physical and cultural resources, the evaluation and subsequent physical development of tourism places typically depends as much on social and institutional structures and organisations as it does on the more tangible impacts of, for example, product development and innovations in transport technology.

Hence, the original growth of sea bathing resorts in eighteenth-century England mirrored key societal shifts in health practices and beliefs, while the later development of mountain tourism in Alpine Europe owed its impetus to the newly emergent views of landscape that grew out of the new taste for the Romantic picturesque that was popularised in the first decades of the nineteenth century. Later still, the growth of mass forms of Mediterranean tourism only became really established as the fashion for sunbathing became popularised from about 1920 on (Turner and Ash, 1975). Railways and airplanes may have provided physical mechanisms for moving tourists in large numbers to new destinations, but for this to be fully realised required a transformation in the social organisation of tourism (e.g., guided tours and later packaged holidays) and the expansion of holidaymaking into popular mass culture.

Recognising the significance of culture as a primary influence on the tourist's identification of (and with) places, allows us to start to comprehend the bewildering range of locations that now present themselves as destinations for the (post)modern traveller. Contemporary societies are shaped by mobilities as we are constantly confronted by choices of where to visit and what to do (Franklin, 2004). Part of the sheer diversity of tourism places in the contemporary world arises, therefore, from the simple fact that different people will apply different criteria in resolving the choices that are at their disposal. However, it is important to recognise that the tourism decisions that we make, while often formed at the level of the individual and thus reflective of personal inclinations and dispositions, are mediated in some important ways. Of course, part of that mediation is derived from the cultures in which we reside and which influence our preferences and

inform the codes of behaviour that we exhibit as tourists. But in addition, and most importantly, our recognition of, and identification with, tourist places is also mediated by the actions of others whose role it is to intentionally influence our perceptions and promote places as objects of tourist attention.

In simple terms, therefore, we may view the identification of tourism places as arising from the interplay of:

1. the agency that we exercise as individuals and the performative nature of our behaviours as tourists;
2. the cultures in which we reside and which help to determine those individual and performative characteristics;
3. the agency of others whose role it is to shape perceptions and promote tourist places.

To try to develop a clearer understanding of these important ideas and the ways in which they intersect, this chapter examines four related themes: (1) the construction of tourist places through the ‘gaze’; (2) the performative nature of tourism; (3) the role of place promotion; and (4) the theming of tourist environments. However, before we move to the main discussion, it is necessary to explore in a little more detail, geographical understandings of the concept of ‘place’ and how this relates to the invention of tourism places.

The concept of place

Since at least the 1970s, ‘place’ has become one of the central organising concepts in human geography. However, ‘place’ remains an elusive and at times intangible idea. By tradition, the examination of place provided a focus of geographical investigation in the early part of the twentieth century and was widely reflected in the work of geographers such as de la Blache, Hartshorne and Fleure (Castree, 2003). However, the understanding of place that was deployed at that time was essentially of places as physical locations: distinctive points on the earth’s surface at which characteristic physical or human patterns could be isolated and described. More recent understandings of place, especially following the reassertion of humanistic approaches in the 1970s by writers such as Relph (1976) and Tuan (1977), have extended and deepened the concept in some important ways, in particular by seeking better understandings of how people relate to places (Crang, 1998).

A key facet of our modern understandings of place has been the recognition that places are socially constructed, rather than just physical entities. While in their simplest guise, places constitute points on a map, they are more importantly a locus of institutions, social relations, material practices and foci of different forms of power and discourse (Harvey, 1996). Places are not merely bounded spaces or *locations*, but are also settings (or *locales*) in which social relations and identities are constituted and through which they developed a *sense of place* (Agnew, 1987). A sense of place, which essentially relates to the unique qualities that places acquire in people’s minds, is formed in complex ways. In part it is a product of the physical attributes of the setting that mark the place as being distinctive, such as local geology and vegetation, as well as architectural building styles. But it is also a product of the personal attachments to places that people develop, and the consequent ways in which they endow places with subtle symbolic or metonymic qualities (i.e., the place comes to represent more complex emotions and feelings). Places therefore provide individuals with a sense of belonging that is progressively reinforced over time by

memories (both collective and individual) that become associated with the places in question and which together help to reinforce people's sense of personal and social identity. There are, therefore, very powerful imaginative and affective dimensions that cause people to identify with particular places (Castree, 2003) that, while unseen, are hugely influential on attitudes and behaviour. 'Places say something about not only where you live or come from, but who you are' (Cragg, 1998: 103).

Power of place

However, it is very important to acknowledge that places are dynamic rather than fixed entities. As a Marxist, Harvey (1996) is keen to emphasise the political–economic basis of place, and the ways in which places evolve in response to changes in the (often global) systems of production and consumption. Thus, for example, places that were once defined by manufacturing and other productive industries, and the communities that were forged in association with those industries (such as urban docklands), are being progressively remade as new places of consumption with new identities shaped by different social dynamics (such as gentrification) or new activities (such as tourism). Harvey (1996) also emphasises the role of places as symbols of power and notes several of the ways in which institutions, such as the church and the state, routinely identify and revere a range of places (e.g., sacred and historical sites) as symbolic expressions of institutional power and related social meaning. Yet these are seldom fixed entities either, changing as new political power and agendas change over time.

Globalisation

One of the most powerful forces of change that is widely believed to affect the distinction of places is globalisation. Harvey (1996: 297) observes that places are no longer protected by the 'friction of distance', while Castells (1996) asserts that the flows of people, information and goods that lie at the heart of globalisation are breaking down the barriers that once made places different. Relph (1976, 1987) has also provided a detailed dissection of the ways in which modern urban development has rendered a growing number of places as 'placeless', that is, indistinct from each other because of the homogeneity of their built environments and their associated styles of living. Ironically, tourism (which by tradition has been represented as a quest for difference) has become one of the most influential agents in promoting *placelessness* and homogeneity in some of its most popular destination areas, especially in global resort destinations.

From this brief exploration of the concept, it may be deduced that tourism intersects with place in a number of important ways, including:

- Many forms of tourism are firmly grounded in a distinct sense of place, which differentiates them and without which much of the rationale for modern travel would be undermined.
- Tourist perceptions and motivation (and hence behaviours) are directly shaped by the ways in which they imagine places, and are encouraged to imagine places by the travel industry.
- Tourist places often possess strong symbolic and representational qualities that form a primary basis to their attraction.
- Tourism is a primary means through which we construct and maintain personal and social identities; i.e., where we visit says much about who we believe we are and about the images and identity that we wish to project to others.

- Tourism can be a medium through which people create and develop personal attachments to places and through which a place becomes a site of meaning.
- Tourism places provide people with important sites of memory; we tend to recall tourist experiences long after more routine aspects of our daily lives are forgotten and we commonly engage in actions (such as photography or collecting souvenirs) that enable us to store these memories of tourist places for future recall.
- Tourist places help to provide some people with a sense of belonging, particularly when places become sites of annual (or more frequent) personal ‘pilgrimages’.

The tourist gaze

In developing a closer understanding of how tourists relate to the places that are toured and how their actions shape their experience of place, one of the most influential ideas to emerge since the 1990s has been Urry’s (1990) notion of the ‘tourist gaze’. Urry’s book sets out to answer a question that is fundamental to tourism, namely, why do people leave their normal places of work and residence to travel to other places to which they may have no evident attachment and where they consume goods and services that are in some senses unnecessary? The answers that Urry proposes are shaped by two fundamental assumptions: first, that we visit other places to consume the sights and experiences that they offer because we anticipate that we will derive pleasure from the process; and, second, those experiences will in some way be different from our everyday routines and, therefore, out of the ordinary. Urry (1990: 12) further explains that the extraordinary may be distinguished in several ways. For example:

- in seeing a unique object or place – such as the Eiffel Tower or the Grand Canyon;
- in seeing unfamiliar aspects of what is otherwise familiar – such as touring other people’s workplaces or visiting museums or other tourist sites that allow us to glimpse how other people live (or lived), such as the stately home or the restored miner’s cottage in an industrial museum;
- in conducting familiar routines in unfamiliar settings – such as shopping in a north African bazaar.

In these types of ways, Urry argues, our gaze as tourists becomes directed to features in landscapes and townscapes that separate them from everyday experience, and whenever places are unable to offer locations or objects that are out of the ordinary then, almost by definition, there is ‘nothing to see’. Seeing, then, is a central component in the concept of the gaze; indeed the term itself prioritises the visual forms of consumption of tourist places as the means by which most tourists relate to the places they visit. ‘When we “go away” we look at the environment with interest and curiosity . . . we gaze at what we encounter’ (Urry, 1990: 1). More recently, Urry has expanded this concept to expand seeing as more than just visual, but as a multi-sensory experience (Urry and Larson 2011).

The concept of the gaze is valuable because it posits an understanding of both the construction and the consumption of tourist places that is grounded in observed tourist practices and a common-sense rationale. It also provides a useful point of entry to understanding the selective ways that tourism maps space and defines tourist places (as opposed to non-tourism places). Most importantly, it emphasises the subjective nature of tourism and the position of the tourist as subject (MacCannell, 2001), and in so doing, the concept of the gaze points to two important consequences. First, it puts the role of tourists as

consumers in a central position within the process of making tourist places; and second, in acknowledging that different groups will construct their gaze in differing ways, it provides an explanatory rationale for the diversity that is evident across the range of tourist places that we commonly encounter.

The metaphor of visualisation that is explicit in the term 'gaze' is also a key to comprehending many modern tourism practices and their associated meanings. Tourism is a strongly visual practice. We spend time in advance of a trip visualising the places we will visit by examining guide books and brochures, or through anticipatory day-dreams. We often spend significant parts of the trip itself engaged in the act of sightseeing in which we gaze upon places, people and artefacts. And we relive our travel experiences as memories and recollections, aided by photographs or video footage that we have consciously taken to act as visible reminders of the trip (see Figure 1.5).

For Urry (1990: 138ff.) photography is intimately bound up with the tourist gaze. It provides a means of appropriating the objects of our gaze as we 'capture' interesting scenes or actions in our cameras, and it verifies to others that we have really witnessed the places that our photos represent. Photography also idealises places by the way that we select scenes, frame and compose our images and in the digital age manipulate the output to enhance further the qualities of the settings we have recorded if the true image fails to satisfy. The postcards that we may buy and send to others similarly act as a surrogate means of representing and signalling the genuineness of the tourist experience (Yuksel and Akgul, 2007). Many aspects of tourism therefore become what Urry terms 'the search for the photogenic' – a quest for the visual experiences that directly shapes the way we tour places as we move from one 'photo opportunity' to the next (see also Crang, 1997; Crawshaw and Urry, 1997).

However, the entire process of visualisation, experience and recall of tourist places is, of course, socially constructed and strongly mediated by 'cultural filters'. We gaze and record places in a highly selective fashion, disregarding some places altogether and, from the remainder, removing the unappealing or the uninteresting. In the process, we are inventing (or reinventing) places to suit our purposes. The gaze, whether purely visual or multi-sensoral, is also a detached and superficial sensory process, as the term itself suggests, lacking deeper layers of interactions with people and environments. This superficiality increases the importance of cultural signs within the invention and consumption of tourist places – not signs in the literal sense of directional indicators, but figurative signs: places or actions that represent, through simplification, much more complex ideas and practices. So for the tourist, a prospect of a rose-decked, thatched cottage may come to represent a much wider and more complex image of 'olde England' and the lifestyles and practices that mythologies associate with the rural past. Thus, there is a real sense in which some forms of tourism have become an exercise in the collection of such 'signs', such as postcards and the holiday photographs from the great tourism sites of the world conferring a status on the individual, the true mark of the modern (or postmodern) tourist.

The emphasis within Urry's conception of the gaze on places that present the extraordinary also helps to explain the clear tendency for tourism geographies to change through time. As places become unacceptably familiar, there is an evident need for at least a part of the tourist gaze to be refocused on new destinations or perhaps on elements in existing destinations that had not previously been a part of the tourist circuit. So, Brighton and Torbay are replaced by Biarritz and St Tropez, while the seasoned tourist to Paris, no longer simply content with views of the Eiffel Tower, may now sign up for guided visits to the city's nineteenth-century sewers (Pearce, 1998). The tourist gaze is seldom

fixed, but, rather, it shifts in response to changes in fashion, taste, accessibility and in the character of places through tourism development and, indeed, through the gaze itself.

There is no doubt, as MacCannell (2001) concedes, that Urry has accurately described a prominent form of tourist travel and a characteristic mode of engagement of tourists with place. However, and perhaps unsurprisingly, dissenting voices have been raised, for although the concept of the gaze provides a valid and convincing explanation of some important areas of tourist behaviour, it provides a rather less convincing basis for understanding the full range of those behaviours. As Franklin (2004: 106) observes, 'one would not want to dispute the foundational and influential nature of the tourist gaze, but we might say it is only one among many types of touristic relationship with objects'.

Two areas of concern are worth noting, both of which arise from the basic assumptions that informed Urry's original ideas. The first concern relates to whether tourism necessarily engages with the extraordinary. Urry (1990: 12) proposes that 'tourism results from a basic binary division between the ordinary/every day and the extraordinary', which implies that the objects of the tourist gaze should be exceptional. This is problematic because it assumes the existence of 'an ordinary' against which comparisons may be drawn and that tourism retains a level of distinction that enables meaningful differentiation from other socio-cultural practices. Yet one of the evident impacts of postmodern change has been a progressive dissolution of assumed boundaries (what Lash and Urry [1994] have termed 'de-differentiation') so that tourism becomes harder to separate from other social and cultural practices, while the 'extraordinary' has become infused into daily life. In a robust challenge to the tourist gaze, Franklin (2004: 5) drives the point home by noting that 'the everyday world is increasingly indistinguishable from the touristic world. Most places are now on some tourist trail or another . . . [and] . . . most of the things we like to do in our usual leisure time double up as touristic activities and are shared spaces.'

In a related line of argument, MacCannell (2001) also criticises Urry for assuming that the everyday cannot be extraordinary and that modern life is intrinsically boring, thereby creating the need for periodic escape to extraordinary places through tourist travel. Franklin (2004: 23) is of a similar mind, asserting that 'with modernity there is never a dull moment'. This bold claim risks over-stating its case as it seems an evident truism that most people would be quite capable of identifying many aspects of their modern lives that are grindingly dull and routinised. However, the point that many facets of modern life (and many modern places) are also integral to the tourist experience.

To some extent this argument turns on whether the exceptional is necessarily unfamiliar. Notions of 'exceptional' and 'ordinary' are, after all, relative terms that are normally defined at the level of the individual. Franklin's (2004) thesis is persuasive around the theme of the dissolution of boundaries and the embedding of many of the experiences that we acquire through tourism into daily life, but he perhaps loses sight of the fact that people, as reflexive individuals, will still accord 'extraordinary' status to many of their tourist trips (even when they are made to familiar places) and that these trips will tend to remain as distinctive, memorable events within their wider lifestyles. A frequent tourist to France, for example, will become familiar with large swathes of French territory and with many aspects of French life. However, that familiarity does little to diminish the *frisson* of anticipation that can accompany each new trip to France, nor to dilute the sense of engagement with foreign, extraordinary, and even exotic places that such trips tend to provide. Perhaps, as Urry suggests, it may be the *scale* of difference that is important here, rather than difference as an absolute condition.

The second significant critique of Urry's concept is that the tourist gaze proposes an essentially detached engagement of tourists with places and the experiences that places

provide. Urry's gazing tourist is characteristically an observer, a collector of views and someone for whom sightseeing is a primary *modus operandi*. Yet the increasingly diverse nature of contemporary tourism reveals many areas of engagement in which the gaze is marginalised or even irrelevant. In a later chapter we will consider the embodied nature of tourist experience. This refers to the tourist being an active participant in local customs, practices and activities through embodied, sensory experiences. The burgeoning interest in adventure and other active forms of tourism (such as climbing, trekking, surfing, hang-gliding or bungee-jumping) and the more selective, but, locally important, engagement of tourists in sectors such as wine and food tourism, sex tourism and naturism, tells us that many people are not content simply to look, but must also feel, taste, touch, smell and hear (see, e.g., Franklin, 2004; Hall et al., 2000; Inglis, 2000; MacNaghten and Urry, 2001; Veijola and Jokinen, 1994). The inability of the concept of the gaze to fully account for these forms of experience does not negate its wider value as a theoretical perspective on what is probably the dominant form of relation between tourists and place, although clearly it is a weakness that should be noted.

Tourism places as places of performance

The manner in which tourists direct their gaze is an important aspect in the making of tourist places but we should recognise that it forms a part of a wider process of engagement that is sometimes described as the tourist 'performance'. This includes the actions, behaviours, codes and preferences that tourists exhibit while visiting a destination. Interest in the performance of tourists is a relatively recent critical position that has developed through new cultural perspectives in geography (and other social sciences) and reflects recognition of a very basic observation, namely, that 'tourism cannot exist independently of the tourists that perform it' (Franklin, 2004: 205). In other words, while the tourist industry may produce and promote any number of tourist spaces, these remain inert entities until such time as they become populated with people (tourists) whose engagement with the sites and with each other produces the institutions, relations and practices that define the site as a place of tourism. Edensor (2001: 59) writes that 'tourism is a process which involves the on-going (re)construction of praxis and space in shared contexts', and tourists thus possess a dynamic agency that continually produces and reproduces diverse forms of tourism and tourist places through their performative actions.

The performative nature of tourism is interesting because there is both a standard circularity (through which repeated performance reinforces particular codes and practices) and an opportunity for resistance against those codes and expectations. In terms of circularity, it is immediately evident that some aspects of tourist performance reflect what Bourdieu (1984) defines as *habitus* and which establishes habits and responses that are shaped by the everyday lives that we live. These are socially normative codes of behaviour that help us to organise our lives and engage effectively with others within wider communities. Tourism generates or acquires its own shared sets of conventions with regard to behaviour and expected actions (i.e., the tourist performance) by drawing on our wider habitus (which provides automatic, unreflexive dispositions which we seldom abandon completely), but is supplemented by particular expectations of how we should behave *as tourists* at given locations. In this light, tourism may be seen as constituting a collection of embodied practices and meanings that are commonly understood and which are reproduced by tourists through their performances.

The circularity or repetition within this process should therefore be evident in so far as part of the performances we give as tourists reflect a shared understanding of what we are *expected* to do as tourists. Moreover, as performers we are generally subject to the gaze of other tourists, our co-performers, and this surveillance of others helps to reinforce commonly accepted behavioural conventions that are appropriate to being a tourist in a particular place (Edensor, 2001).

However, tourism also provides sites of resistance. Edensor (2001) describes how tourism offers the opportunity to discard our everyday ‘masks’ and explore temporarily new roles and identities. In so doing we may choose not only to confront routine habits and pursue the inverted forms of behaviour that Graburn (1983a) has suggested are characteristic of tourism, but we may also challenge established codes of tourist behaviour. It is through these processes that tourist performances reveal their dynamic and changing qualities. Although it is often strongly mediated (for example, by tour guides), the tourist performance is not fixed but may be subverted, adapted or contested in order to meet the particular goals of the performers. In certain circumstances it may be used as a means of asserting a distinct identity (especially when performance diverges from the norm) and it may be consciously non-conformist; for example in resisting the conventions of organised forms of tourism in favour of more personalised alternative explorations of places and experience. More simply, perhaps, it is also true that different types of tourists will encounter the same places with different perspectives and expectations. So that while there may be common normative codes that shape tourist practice across most places, alternative styles of tourist performance will emanate not only from varying modes of resistance, but also through the plain fact that people are different from one another.

MORE ONLINE: Case Study 7.1 Tourist performance at the Taj Mahal in India

Tourism place promotion

The essential argument in the preceding two sections is that the manner in which we gaze upon tourist sites (and sights) and the performances we impart as tourists to those sites contribute directly to the creation of tourism places. However it is important to recognise that while the gaze and its associated forms of performance are a product of our own social, educational and cultural backgrounds, they are also a reflection of the systematic production and presentation/promotion of tourism places within the media in general, and by the travel industry in particular. Urry (1990) has characterised this as a form of ‘professional gaze’ through which media (such as film, television, magazines, travel books and advertisements) constantly produce and reproduce objects for tourist consumption. This is an enormously powerful influence that infiltrates the subconscious of everyday life, creating new patterns of awareness, fuelling desires to see the places portrayed, and instilling within the travelling public new ways of seeing tourism destinations. Most visitor perceptions of tourism places are vague and ill-formed, unless those perceptions have been sharpened through previous experiences. Hence there is clear potential (through the process of place promotion) for marketing and promotional strategies to shape both the character and the direction of the tourist gaze, and in the process, invent new tourism places and re-invent old destinations.

Place promotion is defined by Ward and Gold (1994: 2) as ‘the conscious use of publicity and marketing to communicate selective images of specific geographical localities or areas to a target audience’. This is a useful starting point as it clearly positions

the use of images as a critical element in the process of choosing a destination (Molina and Esteban, 2006). Morgan (2004: 177) comments that 'place promotion presents the world as image, inviting the viewer to become an imaginary traveller to an imagined place', and as we have already seen, engaging our imaginations at the early stages in the planning of a tourist trip is an important part of the business of travel (see Chapter 1). However, such images are, by necessity and definition, selective representations of the places in question, and as a consequence, all place promotion campaigns are founded on fragmentary assemblies of place elements that promoters judge will resonate with potential visitors (Ward and Gold, 1994). Hughes (1992) further explains that the construction of such imaginary geographies succeeds by linking the promoted images to the store of perceptions and experiences that are already embedded (from other media and knowledge pathways) in what the tourist considers 'commonsense understandings' of the destinations in question. Such images form a 'text' that is used to represent the tourist destination, and which can be read in variable ways by different 'readers', that is the tourists (Jenkins, 2003). This provides important practical advantages by drawing selectively on alternative sets of images to enable the same place to be sold simultaneously to different customers (Ashworth and Voogd, 1994). This approach, however, may also create tensions around how a particular place should best, or most appropriately, be represented.

This is an important point because it encourages us to recognise that place promotion is more than simply an exercise in marketing. Morgan (2004: 174) writes that while place promotion 'has a clear business function and marketing rationale', the discourse of place promotion actually 'reveals underlying narratives of place'. This connects directly to the wider understandings of place as loci of social relations, material practices, power and resistance (see, e.g., Ringer, 1998; Aitchison et al., 2001) that directly inform the formation of promotional images. These issues, however, are seldom raised by tourism researchers, who tend to mirror business and industry perspectives that focus almost exclusively on the visual representations of place.

Surprisingly little analytical work has been conducted on the role of advertising in the cultural representation of tourist places (Dann, 1996), although several researchers have established the importance of cultural themes in shaping the presentation of destinations in tourism brochures (Dilley, 1986; Waitt, 1999). Some of the first promoters of tourism places were the railway companies, which, in their efforts to secure a commercial market, produced some enduring images of places. Visitors to contemporary Torquay in southwest England, for example, are still welcomed to the 'English Riviera' – a conception of the Great Western Railway in the first decades of the twentieth century. Under the distinctly patriotic slogan 'See your own country first', it exhorted potential travellers to explore the delights of distant and exotic Cornwall in preference to Italy, with which it drew direct parallels in terms of the mildness of climate, the natural attractiveness of its (female) peasantry and even the shape of the two peninsulas on a map. In so doing, the railway promoters fed off such limited perceptions of Cornwall as may have existed at the time, but primarily they invented an image that was then reinforced through associated guide-books and literature that presented Cornwall as some form of distant, yet still accessible, Arcadia (Thomas, 1997).

Comparable strategies were also evident at the same time in the US, where the Santa Fe railroad company, among others, actively promoted tourist travel encouraging, for example, citizens from the eastern US to visit the 'old west' on the Santa Fe Chief rail line before it disappeared into history (Zube and Galante, 1994). 'Indian Detours' became an early form of adventure travel, taking paying tourists with early automobiles on rough dirt roads from the major train stations in New Mexico and Arizona to see the exotic

Navajo and Pueblo Indians, as well as the newly created Grand Canyon National Park (Sweet, 1989). With only a few modifications, and some new layers of history (such as 'Route 66'), the types of images and themes created in the early 1900s continue to be part of the collection of place images that are used to successfully sell this region today (Norris, 1994).

The creative promotion of tourist places can readily be seen in any content analysis of contemporary tourist brochures, revealing texts that are often unashamedly escapist in their tone and which, when combined with photographic representations, emphasise difference, excitement, timelessness or the unspoiled, tradition or romance – reflecting the perceived market at which the material is aimed.

Such creative constructions of tourist places are most prevalent in the representation of exotic destinations, where fewer people have had the direct experience needed to balance the claims of the brochures and the guidebooks. Messages are often subtly encoded. A study by Dann (1996) of a cross-section of British travel brochures promoting foreign places found, for example, that 25 per cent of illustrations showed only empty landscapes and, especially, beachscapes (reinforcing ideas of escape); that pictures showing tourists were nine times more common than pictures of local people (reinforcing notions of exclusivity and segregation); and that written text placed overwhelming emphasis on qualities of naturalness (as an antithesis to the presumed artificiality of the tourists' routine lives), and the opportunities for self-(re)discovery. Only occasionally were senses of the exotic conveyed by use of images of local people, while reassurance that the experience of difference would not be so great as to be disorientating and unpleasant was provided by pictures showing familiar (though culturally displaced) items – typically as background elements. Examples of the latter might include 'English-style' pubs in the Spanish package tour resorts or, most ubiquitously of all, glimpses of the familiar red emblem of the Coca-Cola Company.

Promotional material that presents selective representations of realities is, of course, to be expected. What is more interesting, perhaps, is the emerging trend in some sectors of tourism towards promotion of places on the basis of historic rather than contemporary associations or, especially, through largely imagined reconstructions of a locality (see, e.g., Prentice, 1994). Hughes (1992: 33) comments that 'the past is being reworked by naming, designating and historicizing landscapes to enhance their tourism appeal', while the modern fascination with visual media such as television and film, has also become widely embedded in tourism place promotion (Butler, 1990; Carl et al., 2007).

These trends have been nicely exemplified in England and Wales by the growing practice within regional and local tourism boards of appropriating legendary, literary or popular television characters or events to provide a form of spatial identity to which tourists will then be drawn (Figure 7.1). Some are well established. The term 'Shakespeare Country' to designate the area around Stratford-on-Avon dates back to railway advertising of the 1930s and, along with similar descriptions of the Lake District as 'Wordsworth Country' or Haworth as 'Brontë Country', possesses some grounding in the real lives of individuals. 'Robin Hood Country' is more problematic given the uncertainties surrounding the actual existence of Robin Hood. However, descriptions of parts of Tyneside as 'Catherine Cookson Country' (after the books of the popular novelist) or the Yorkshire Dales as 'Emmerdale Farm Country' (after the TV soap opera) or Exmoor as 'Lorna Doone Country' (after the eponymous fictional heroine) take the process one stage further removed. They confuse reality with fictional literary and television characters or locales, and tourists are thereby confronted by a representation of what is already a representation. It is then only a short step to the totally artificial worlds of Disney in which cartoon

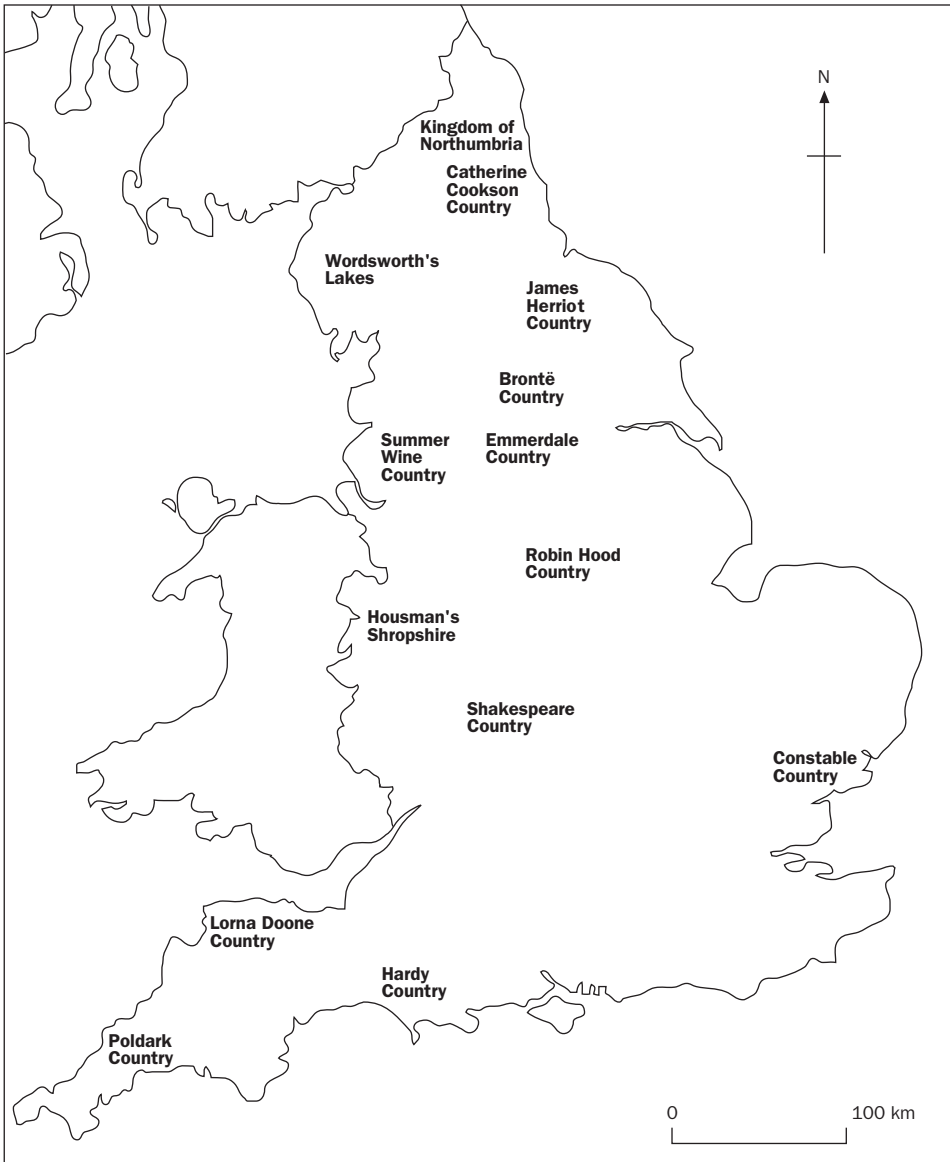


Figure 7.1 Imagined tourism 'countries' in England

characters – albeit in the form of employees in costume – step into the sunlight of Anaheim or Orlando to be photographed with the tourist.

Such practices represent the commodification of tourism in one of its most overt forms. This is the tourism industry constructing a product and marketing it as an inclusive and convenient experience of another, imagined, place. In reference to the commodification of heritage tourism, Lowenthal (1985: 4) observed that 'If the past is a foreign country, nostalgia has made it the foreign country with the healthiest tourist trade of all.' Heritage tourism draws selectively on the real nature of places and presents only those elements that will appeal to the market segments at which a holiday experience is directed. But

given the alacrity and vigor with which tourists consume such commodified and invented places, the question is raised as to whether or not 'real' (not commodified) experiences of place are important or significant.

The problem for tourism providers is that having constructed specific images of peoples and places to draw visitors, it then becomes obligatory for destinations to match the images that are projected to meet tourist expectations. The assumption is that tourist expectations must be confirmed or exceeded to ensure return visits or positive personal recommendations to other, potential visitors. Word-of-mouth is one of the most important methods for disseminating knowledge of tourism places, because it tends to be more believable. In this way, tourist images become self-perpetuating and self-reinforcing (see Jenkins, 2003), with the attendant risk, however, that through time, tourist experiences become increasingly artificial in an effort to maintain the original image.

The argument that tourist experience is founded on artificial rather than real situations is an idea that has been debated since the early 1960s, when a number of scholars (most notably Boorstin, 1961) attempted to argue that the traveller does not experience reality but thrives instead on 'pseudo-events', which are commodified, managed and contrived products that present a flavour of foreign or real places in a selective and controlled manner. This is evidenced in several distinct directions, including the isolation of tourists from host environments (known as the 'tourist bubble'), forms of cultural imposition (tourism industry imposed cultural changes) and the staging of events (separate from traditional stagings).

The physical isolation of the tourist from the host environment receives its most obvious expression in the forms of enclave resort development in the developing economies (see Chapter 4), where visitors are provided with the familiar creature comforts that may literally have been imported from their place of origin, and set within a physical environment that has been deliberately contrived to reflect popular images of what an exotic location should be like. But many other forms of tourism tend to locate visitors in an 'environmental bubble': a protective cocoon of Western-style hotels, international cuisine, satellite television, guidebooks and helpful, multilingual couriers. These might be considered 'surrogate parents' that cushion and, as necessary, protect the tourist from harsher realities and unnecessary contacts. In such a situation, the tourist gaze is akin to gazing into a mirror. We construct tourism places to reflect ourselves, rather than the places we are visiting.

As we have seen in Chapter 6, expectations on the part of tourists and the tourism industry often lead to forms of cultural imposition and change in host communities. Many tourists, quite illogically, expect a home-away-from-home experience, even in foreign lands, and the necessity for local providers to match those expectations (to provide facilities that meet 'international standards') inevitably changes the nature of the places that are visited. In the most extreme forms of this phenomenon, places actually begin to lose their sense of identity. They become placeless (Relph, 1976), which is quite indistinct from other tourist places and quite unrepresentative of the realities of indigenous 'real' places. For example, the mass tourist resorts of the Spanish coast, commonly present a bland, placeless uniformity that says little about the 'real' Spain that exists often only a few miles inland.

Artificiality in the tourist experience of place may also be a consequence of staged events. One of the many ironies in international travel is that a primary motive for touring is exposure to foreign culture and custom, yet this is often met through contrived presentations of supposed traditions, whether via the sale of inauthentic souvenirs or via staged events or places (MacCannell, 1973, 1989). Sanitised, simplified and staged

representations of places, histories, cultures and societies match the superficiality of the tourist gaze and meet tourist demands for entertaining and digestible experiences. Yet they generally provide only partial representations of the societies and cultures of places that are toured.

But do the rising levels of artificiality in tourist experiences of place really matter in the business of place promotion? From an economic standpoint, the answer is probably ‘no’. Writers such as Poon (1989), Urry (1994b; 2000), Ritzer and Liska (1997) and Franklin (2004) have clearly signalled the importance of postmodern forms of tourism as a force shaping the development of new tourist places, and that the artificiality of experience of place is not a barrier to its success. The postmodern tourist is widely recognised as embodying a new spirit of playfulness as a dominant mode of experience. These people are not deceived by the pseudo-realities of contemporary tourism, but are happy to accept such constructions at face value as an expected and even *valued* aspect of new forms of experience. No one is fooled, for example, by the staged representations of other places or other epochs that are assembled in almost perfect detail in the themed hotels of Las Vegas or Disneyland, but that does not stop these places from being hugely popular (and hugely enjoyable) as tourist places. Indeed, as has previously been noted, the *inauthentic* is, today, often preferred to the authentic as being a much more efficient, reliable, comfortable and pleasurable experience.

The theming of tourist environments

In their discussion under the heading of ‘landscapes of pleasure’, Shaw and Williams (2004: 242) remind us that ‘tourism spaces are dynamic in that they are constantly being created, abandoned and re-created’. They also note how industrialisation and modernity contributed directly to the creation of tourist places such as sea-bathing resorts, and that in turn, post-industrialisation and postmodernity are creating new and rather different tourism places. An important facet of this process of invention of new tourism places (and the reinvention of existing ones) has been the trend towards ‘theming’ the environment.

Theming is a planned process that strives to impart a sense of both identity and order to a given place through a combination of physical design (or redesign) of space and the development of an associated set of cultural narratives, all of which connect to a common theme or a set of related themes. The chosen theme(s) may relate to distinctions of both time and/or place and is generally overlain by complex associations of economic, social, historical or cultural practices. Within the environment in question, themes are actively reinforced through material and symbolic means to encourage both direct and subconscious engagement on the part of the user (tourists or other consumers) with the themes in question. These devices might include:

- development of landscape and architectural elements (or, in a historic environment, retention of selected elements from the previous landscape) that are suggestive of the theme;
- naming of places, streets, public spaces or premises with titles that connect to the theme;
- development of attractions (such as museums, tourist trails, living history displays or places of entertainment) that reflect the selected theme;
- adoption of street furniture (lights, benches) and signage that identifies with the theme by its styling or by carrying logos;

- inclusion of styles and mixes of retailing (or other businesses) that relate to the theme;
- marketing of souvenirs in which the theme is mirrored;
- incorporation of the theme into place promotion media (such as brochures).

Examples of themed places were introduced in Figure 7.1, though they can be created throughout the world with increasing frequency since the onset of modern mass tourism in the 1950s (Lew 1988). The increasing prominence of themed environments undoubtedly reflects the reorganisation of space, especially in cities, as centres of consumption, with the redesign of space around visual images and scripted themes or narratives being a key part of this process (Paradis, 2004). Paradis further suggests that themed environments are predominantly designed to appeal to tourists or visitors and that the emergence of theming of built environments, in particular, has coincided with the growth of tourism as a major form of urban economic development. There is, therefore, an important linkage between theming, place promotion and the commercial success of places as tourist destinations. While themes may often reflect the spectacular, they may also be attached to otherwise mundane products or locations as a way of enhancing their competitive position and attracting attention (Paradis, 2004).

However, theming does not simply deliver commercial benefits, there are also important opportunities to project varying forms of cultural identity through the development of themed spaces, and in some situations, complex mosaics of themes will become evident as different interest groups seize opportunities to develop themes that reflect their differing purposes and agendas. For example, Lew (1988) found that heritage themes may be driven by historic preservationists (focused on authentic buildings), cultural purists (with strong identity goals) and localists (with little interest in promoting to outsider tourists), in addition to the tourism businesses that are usually associated with such places. Unsurprisingly, there is a wide range of potential tourist spaces to which theming may be applied and Figure 7.2 presents a theoretical framework to illustrate this point. Several aspects of the typology shown are worth noting.

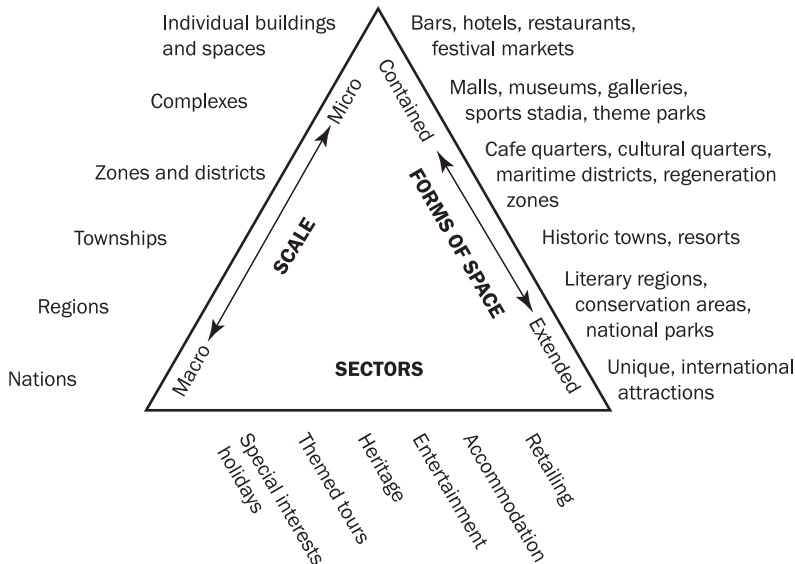


Figure 7.2 Typology of themed tourism spaces

First, theming may be applied at a range of geographical scales that span the spectrum from the micro-level of individual premises to the macro-level of regional or even national space. At the micro-level, the theming of individual premises, such as bars or restaurants, has become a very familiar aspect of contemporary retail change, as was seen for example, in the widespread development of ‘Irish style’ pubs in American and British cities during the 1990s. At a higher spatial level, different types of urban zones have become themed areas (such as waterfront regeneration zones or major retail malls of which the West Edmonton Mall (Canada) and the Mall of America in Minnesota (USA) are ultimate examples (Goss, 1999). Theming may sometimes engulf entire townships – such as the ‘Bavarian’ themed town of Leavenworth in Washington (USA) (Frenkel and Walton, 2000) or the town of Ironbridge in Shropshire (UK), which styles itself as ‘the birthplace of industry’ because of its role in the British Industrial Revolution. Finally, theming at a national level may sometimes be encountered when a destination area possesses a single, very strong product that forms the dominant basis to its place promotion activity. The case of Egypt and the role of its ancient past in defining its contemporary identity as a world tourism destination is an example of this.

Second, theming can be applied to differing *forms* of space. Some themed environments comprise enclosed or contained spaces that operate as commercial attractions, such as theme parks; but theming may also be used to imbue public spaces with particular qualities or identities. The popular current trend in many global cities to designate cultural arts or boutique cafe ‘quarters’ within redeveloped city centres is an example of this practice, as is the wider process of regional designations that was discussed earlier (Figure 7.1). The regional examples make a further interesting point since it is evident in these cases that themed space need not necessarily be contiguous, but may comprise an assemblage of spatially disconnected sites between which tourists must literally tour to fully engage with the chosen theme. Equally, themed spaces may be disaggregated into smaller areas, each of which projects its own theme. The Disney theme parks exemplify this process in the subdivision of space into contrasting zones such as ‘Frontierland’ and ‘Fantasyland’, while similar approaches are used in themed shopping malls.

Third, the typology suggests that theming may be applied to different *sectors* of tourism. The sector to which it has perhaps been applied most widely is the expanding realm of heritage attractions, but from the paragraphs above it is clear that theming is also a popular approach in entertainment and retailing sections.

Theme parks

We will revisit several themed environments in subsequent discussions of heritage and of tourism in urban places (see Chapters 8 and 9). This chapter, however, concludes with a more detailed consideration of the development of theme parks. Theme parks commend themselves for further consideration from a number of perspectives, but three key ideas are worth pursuing, in particular:

1. the role of theme parks in the globalisation of culture;
2. the capacity of theme parks to shape new geographies of tourism and invent tourist places;
3. the postmodernity of theme parks and the influence that this concept has exerted on other postmodern tourist spaces.

The specific character of theme parks varies from place to place, but for purposes of this discussion a theme park is viewed as a self-contained family entertainment complex designed around landscapes, settings, rides, performances and exhibitions (and related services, such as food, shopping and accommodations) that reflect a common theme or set of themes.

Modern theme parks have become strongly associated with the development of a globalised tourism culture, both through the spatial extension from their origins in North America to other world regions such as Europe and the Pacific Rim of Asia and through the important role that the major corporations that they are associated with now play in global media. As Davis (1996) explains, the ancestry of the modern theme park may be traced to the American fairground-style amusement parks (such as Coney Island) that had been established towards the end of the nineteenth century and which were believed to number in excess of 1,500 by the early 1920s. A smaller number of similar ventures had also been created in Britain and Europe prior to 1955, such as the Efteling Park in the Netherlands.

However, it was largely through the entry into the amusement park industry of the cartoon and movie-maker Walt Disney that the modern theme park evolved. Disney opened his first park at Anaheim (Los Angeles) in 1955, and although he drew several ideas from the Efteling Park in shaping the initial designs, Disneyland – as his first park is named – was a genuinely innovative development of a new type of tourism space and one which anticipated, but also influenced, important shifts in taste and preference in leisure behaviour. In particular, Disney realised the potential to initiate wider connections between the theme park, the media of TV and film, and the advertising and marketing of those media and their associated products. The immediate success of Disneyland (which attracted 3.5 million visitors in its first year of operation [Bryman, 1995]) partly reflected, therefore, the fact that the Disney company's film and media outputs had become accessible as physical attractions that could be visited and experienced at first hand (Plate 7.1).

To achieve such synergies of entertainment and corporate promotion, major theme parks are produced as a carefully scripted and intricately designed set of physical spaces that blend the attractions and other forms of entertainment with an appropriate range of commercial opportunities, all set within a highly regulated and controlled environment. Davis (1996: 402) describes the landscape of places such as Disneyland as 'exhaustively commercial . . . a virtual maze of public relations and entertainment . . . a site for the carefully controlled sale of goods (souvenirs) and experiences (architecture, rides and performances) "themed" to the corporate owner's proprietary images'. Indeed, within Disney parks, the overarching 'theme' is clearly Disney itself (rather than the narratives of history, fantasy, nature or exploration that outwardly shape the different 'lands' that comprise each park). Hence the rides, architecture, products and sub-themes all connect to the films, TV shows, comics and music of the Disney corporation in a self-reinforcing circle of promotion and cross-references. (For a highly detailed analysis of the design and operation of Disney parks, see Fjellman, 1992.) The impact of Disney's initial venture and the popular allure that has been created around Disney's parks has had two important effects. First, the commercial success of the Disney theme park concept encouraged others to enter the field, in particular major entertainment corporations and film companies such as MCA and Time Warner (which operates the highly successful Universal Studios theme park in Hollywood). The quest for new business on the part of these corporations has prompted a spatial extension of theme parks into what has become a global market (see below). Second, the process of globalising the theme park has been recognised as



Plate 7.1 The innovator and his innovations: Walt Disney and Mickey Mouse greet the visitors to Disneyland, Los Angeles (photo by Stephen Williams)

a highly influential medium of cultural exchange and, especially, influence. According to Wasko (2001) the image of Mickey Mouse is reputedly now the best-known cultural icon in the world, which clearly testifies to the global ‘reach’ of major entertainment corporations such as Disney.

However, while there is no doubt that corporations such as Disney deliver valued forms of entertainment to a global audience (see Wasko et al., 2001), there is also a significant critical discourse around perceived detrimental cultural impacts. Deconstruction of Disney’s movies and theme parks (e.g., Byrne and McQuillan, 1999) tends to expose the partial and selective political ideologies that shape the Disney product (e.g., around processes such as colonisation of the American West or of gender and race relations) or the extreme levels of rationality, predictability and control that govern the operation of the parks (Ritzer and Liska, 1997). Buckingham (2001: 270) captures well a common view of Disney when he writes that Disney ‘encapsulates everything that is wrong with contemporary capitalism: the destruction of authentic culture, the privatization of public space, the victory of consumerism over citizenship, the denial of cultural differences and of history’. Yet, as Byrne and McQuillan (1999: 2) observe, Disney retains a ‘powerful hegemonic hold over children’s literature, family entertainment, mainstream taste and Western popular culture’ that not only remains intact, but is also continuing to reach new audiences.

The development of theme parks as tourist attractions illustrates several aspects of the contemporary redefinition of tourism practices and places, and they illustrate, very effectively, the idea of staged and invented places. The notion of theme parks as invented tourism places operates at two levels. First, in many parks the visual and contextual fabric is often an invention since it portrays imaginary characters and places that circulate around cartoon figures, fairy stories, myths or legends. ‘Magic Kingdoms’ and ‘Fantasy Lands’ are popular constructions in theme parks across the world, while themes that have a stronger grounding in reality, such as Disney’s ‘Frontierland’ and ‘Main Street USA’, present idealised and highly selective recollections, rather than any ‘real’ place.

Second, theme parks are quite capable of inventing new tourism geographies by the way in which they are located. While some ventures have gravitated towards established tourism areas, such as the cluster of theme park developments in central Florida, others have been obliged (through their considerable land requirements) to take on new ‘greenfield’ sites in places where tourism was not previously present or conspicuous. The original Disney development at Anaheim, for example, was located in a nondescript zone on the urban fringe where the local tourist stock at the time amounted to just seven rather modest motels. Similarly, the subsequent development of Euro-Disney on a 2,000 ha site at Marne-la-Vallée, 32km east of Paris, although close to a tourism city of global significance, also introduced large-scale tourism to an area that had only been lightly affected previously.

Initially the development of American parks led to an expansion of European theme parks (from the late 1970s) and then of East Asian and Australian parks (during the 1980s) (Davis, 1996). The growth in theme parks on the Pacific Rim, notably in Japan and more recently South Korea and China, has been especially impressive. For example, a study of theme park development in Japan (Jones, 1994) showed that before 1983 there were only two theme parks in that country, but by 1991 that number had risen to twenty-seven (Figure 7.1). The catalyst for change in Japan was the opening of Tokyo Disney in 1983, which although not owned by the Disney Corporation, was designed by Disney staff and is, as Bryman (1995) observes, unashamedly American in its approach although it does offer some important concessions and adaptations to Japanese culture and taste. Annual levels of visiting to Tokyo Disney soon exceeded 10 million, spawning a growing number of alternative theme parks, some of which mimic the Disney concept while others develop the Japanese fascination with the cultures of other places that embraces an eclectic mix of themes that include Nordic villages and medieval German towns. A recent study of theme park development in China (Zhang, 2007) has also demonstrated the rapidity with which theme parks are emerging as attractions to both domestic and international tourists in China. Zhang’s study is interesting, not just for its account of the expansion of Chinese theme parks (which has seen hundreds of small parks established since 1980 and a number of major projects at cities such as Beijing, Shanghai and Shenzhen) but more importantly because of the challenge to the prevailing hegemony of the Disney model that Chinese theme parks appear to offer. Parks such as the ‘Chinese Folk Cultural Village’ at Shenzhen, China are not just environments of leisure and tourism, but carefully designed spaces that project and reinforce key messages about the political, social, educational and cultural modernisation of China.

The spatial expansion of theme parks as tourist attractions is, of course, a reflection of the success of the concept and its almost universal appeal; something that is also strongly reflected in their capacity to draw huge numbers of visitors. These are family attractions that, perhaps surprisingly, also appeal to older tourists. Tokyo Disney attracted almost

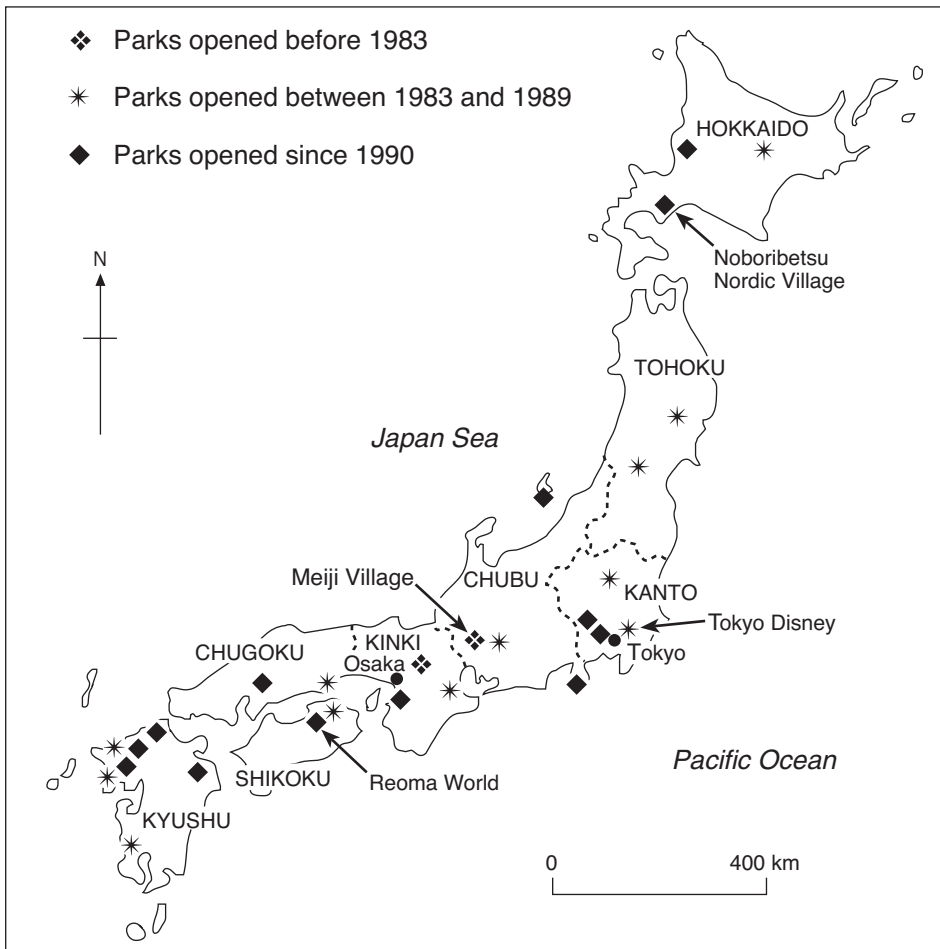


Figure 7.3 Development of theme parks in Japan

13 million visitors in 2006, while in the same year the combined total attendance at the six Disney parks in the USA (Disneyland, California Adventure, Magic Kingdom, EPCOT, Animal Kingdom and Disney World/MGM – the last four all in Florida) exceeded a staggering 65 million people. Aggregate attendance at the top twenty-five theme parks in the US and Canada in 2012 is estimated at 206 million (TEA, 2013).

The spatial distribution of the major parks is interesting. As the Japanese case shows, there are clear advantages to being close to major urban markets and/or established tourism regions. In the USA (see Figure 7.4) the largest parks generally cluster in the warmer states such as Florida and California, since these represent the preferred destinations for American tourists in general. The more attractive climates in these locations clearly favour outdoor parks. (This was a requirement that Disney discovered to its cost in the near-disastrous opening of Euro-Disney in the damp and often cold outskirts of Paris.) But interestingly, parks can also be developed successfully in less propitious locations. Loverseed's (1994) analysis of patterns of visiting to American theme parks in the 1990s showed that, at that time, the most rapid rates of expansion in visits were being recorded in less popular tourism areas such as Illinois, Ohio, Missouri, Tennessee and Kentucky, although the actual levels of visiting were well below the market leaders in

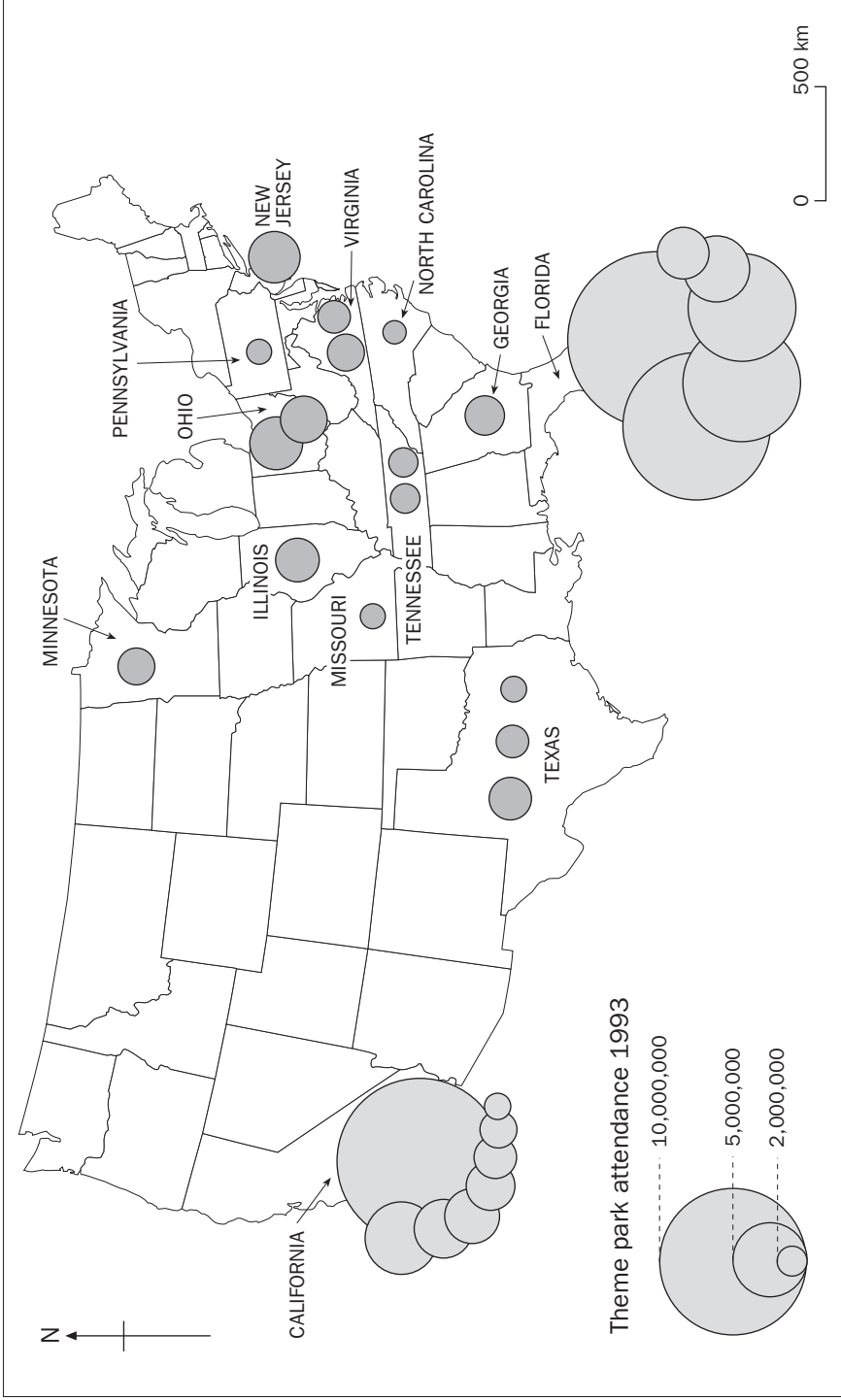


Figure 7.4 Theme park attendance in the USA, 1993

California and Florida. Similarly, in Britain, the most popular theme park, Alton Towers, is buried deep in the lanes of rural north-east Staffordshire, one of the less-visited counties in England. The capacity of theme park tourism to define new places as objects of the tourist gaze is, therefore, quite significant.

Theme parks and postmodernity

Lastly, brief mention should be made of the postmodern character of theme parks and their influence on other themed tourist spaces. Because of a number of primary characteristics, theme parks have been widely viewed as the quintessential postmodern spaces. This postmodernity is evident in, for example:

- the overt and conscious mixing of architectural styles and spaces that produces places that are a collage or pastiche of otherwise incompatible genres;
- the deliberate confusion of the real with the artificial and a common reliance on what Eco (1986) terms the ‘hyper-real’ – objects or situations that are more real than reality itself (such as the chance to be photographed with Mickey Mouse);
- the extended use of simulacra (which are representations of originals that do not actually exist – such as Tom Sawyer’s island, which visitors to Disneyland tour by boat);
- the exaggeration of time–space compression in which park visitors cross simulated time and space with effortless ease or encounter juxtapositions of diverse epochs and cultures in ways that are otherwise impossible (Bryman, 1995);
- the widespread incidence of ‘de-differentiation’ (Lash, 1990) which, as noted above, refers to the dissolution of conventional boundaries between institutional orders and related distinctions. This is evident in aspects such as the seamless integration in Disney’s latest generation of parks of retailing, entertainment and tourist accommodation, but, according to Rojek (1993b), extends to a more fundamental dissolution of the distinctions between theme park experience and the spectacle of daily life itself (see, also, Franklin [2004] for a similar argument).

These are environments that appeal strongly to the ‘post-tourists’ – the playful consumers of superficial signs and surfaces that some writers see as embodying the new age of tourism (e.g., Feifer, 1985; Rojek, 1993b). Bryman (1995: 178) captures this essence very well in noting how theme parks ‘through their cultivation of excitement, their presentation of sound-bites of history (and the future) and their fabrication of simulacra which are better than their original referents and exhibit impossible juxtapositions, create an environment in which ‘the post-tourist emphasis on playfulness, variety and self-consciousness’ (Urry, 1990) can be given full rein.

Critically, however, these effects and influences are no longer confined to the spaces of theme parks, but (perhaps because of the enormous popularity of such places) have come to influence a much broader range of places that people encounter, either as tourists or simply as part of daily routines. Davis (1996) observes how theme parks have expanded from being stand-alone attractions to form complexes and resort regions (such as Orlando and Las Vegas) and become widely influential on the form and design of an extended range of other leisure environments: heritage centres, museums, hotels, casinos, restaurants (‘eatertainment’), older retail districts and shopping malls (‘shoppertainment’), among other themed places (Bryman, 1995; Hannigan, 1998). Whether we care for it or not, theming has become an embedded part of daily experience and it is in this wider influence on postmodern places that the real significance of theme parks probably lies.

Summary

This chapter has explored some of the ways in which new tourist geographies and associated tourism places are formed. While many factors contribute to the formation of new patterns of tourism, particular emphasis has been placed on cultural influences that not only shape our understanding of places and the way in which we select the different sites on which we gaze, but also shapes directly the performances we deliver as tourists. These performances, in turn, contribute further to the process of defining (or making) tourist places. However, although many aspects of our gaze are individuated, our actions are also mediated by others. This is evident especially through the practice of place promotion, which raises our awareness of potential destinations and actively influences the way in which we form images of those places. Place promotion is also revealed in the increasingly popular practice of ‘theming’, which is a trend that is not only influential in the places that we visit as tourists, but is also becoming widely embedded in the places in which we live our daily lives.

Discussion questions

- 1 Identify and evaluate the strengths and the weaknesses of Urry’s concept of the tourist gaze as a way of understanding how tourists relate to place.
- 2 What do you understand by the term ‘tourist performance’ and why might the performative characteristics of tourism be important?
- 3 In what ways does place promotion in tourism tend to shape only selective representations of tourism places?
- 4 Why has the practice of theming tourism places become so popular, both with developers and with tourists themselves?
- 5 What do you believe are the key components that have defined the success of Disney’s theme parks?

Further reading

There is a substantial geographical literature on the concept of place, but the following essay provides a very convenient point of entry:

Castree, N. (2003) ‘Place: connections and boundaries in an interdependent world’, in Holloway, S.L. et al. (eds) *Key Concepts in Geography*, London: Sage, pp. 165–85.

Several introductory essays on place and performance in tourism can be found in:

Lew, A.A., Hall, C.M. and Williams, A.M. (eds) (2014) *The Wiley-Blackwell Companion to Tourism Geography*, Oxford: Blackwell.

Although they are not recent publications, the most influential discussions of ‘placelessness’ and the manner in which modern developments have eroded the distinctive nature of places are probably:

Relph, E. (1976) *Place and Placelessness*, London: Pion.

— (1987) *The Modern Urban Landscape*, London: Croom Helm.

The concept of the tourist gaze is to be found in:

Urry, J. (1990) *The Tourist Gaze*, London: Sage.

Urry, J. and Larson, J. (2011) *The Tourist Gaze 3.0*. London: Sage.

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For recent critiques of Urry's concept of the tourist gaze, see:

Franklin, A. (2004) *Tourism: An Introduction*, London: Sage.

For further insights into the performative character of tourism see:

Crouch, D., Aronsson, L. and Wahlstrom, L. (2001) 'Tourist encounters', *Tourist Studies*, Vol. 1 (3): 253–70.

Edensor, T. (1998) *Tourists at the Taj: Performance and Meaning at a Symbolic Site*, London: Routledge.

Useful recent essays on the representation of tourist places can also be found in:

Avraham, E. and Letter, E. (2013) 'Marketing destinations with prolonged negative images: towards a theoretical model', *Tourism Geographies: An International Journal of Tourism Space, Place and Environment*, Vol. 15 (1): 145–64.

Jenkins, O.H. (2003) 'Photography and travel brochures: the circle of representation', *Tourism Geographies*, Vol. 5 (3): 305–28.

Yuksel, A. and Akgul, O. (2007) 'Postcards as affective image makers: an idle agent in destination marketing', *Tourism Management*, Vol. 28 (3): 714–25.

Theming of tourist places is discussed in:

Mair, H. (2009) 'Searching for a new enterprise: themed tourism and the re-making of one small Canadian community', *Tourism Geographies: An International Journal of Tourism Space, Place and Environment*, Vol. 11 (4): 462–83.

Paradis, T.W. (2004) 'Theming, tourism and fantasy city', in Lew, A.A. et al. (eds) *A Companion to Tourism Geography*, Oxford: Blackwell, pp. 195–209.

Shaw, G. and Williams, A.M. (2004) *Tourism and Tourism Spaces*, London: Sage, Chapter 10.

A concise analysis of the development of theme parks as features on the global tourism landscape is provided by:

Lukas, S.A. (2008) *Theme Park*, London: Reaktion Books.

The impact of the Disney product on global culture is extensively explored through a set of national case studies in:

D'Hautserre, A-M. (1999) 'The French mode of social regulation and sustainable tourism development: the case of Disneyland Paris', *Tourism Geographies: An International Journal of Tourism Space, Place and Environment*, Vol. 1 (1): 86–107.

Wasko, J., Phillips, M. and Meehan, E.R. (eds) (2001) *Dazzled by Disney? The Global Disney Audiences Project*, London: Leicester University Press.

8

Theming the urban landscape

KEY CONCEPTS

- Fantasy cities
- Festival markets
- Postmodern consumer
- Reflexivity
- Shopping
- Themed restaurants
- Theming
- Tourist cities
- Urban tourism



More online for Chapter 8 at <http://tourismgeography.com/8>

In the concluding essay to their edited work on *The Tourist City*, Fainstein and Judd (1999a: 261) comment that ‘tourism has been a central component of the economic, social and cultural shift that has left its imprint on the world system of cities in the past two decades’. This simple statement captures the evident truism that cities in the twenty-first century represent important tourist destinations and so any attempt to develop an understanding of the spaces of tourism needs to examine these primary tourist locations. The contemporary significance of urban tourism derives in part from the scale of activity and its diversity – embracing, as it does, several forms of pleasure travel, business and conference tourism, visiting friends and relatives, educational travel and, selectively, religious travel. But more importantly, perhaps, urban tourism has acquired a level of significance through its new-found centrality in the processes of reinvention of cities under post-industrial, postmodern change and the related restructuring of urban economies and societies around consumption. Urban tourism has variously become an essential tool for physical redevelopment of urban space, for economic regeneration and employment creation, for place promotion, for re-imagining cities and helping to create identity in the new global systems. As a consequence of these processes, tourism (and its infrastructure) has become deeply embedded within both the urban fabric and the daily experience of people who live within these places.

However, although the importance of urban tourism is now widely acknowledged, it is a subject that has, until very recently, been an area of relative neglect within tourism studies. This is a recurring introductory theme in most recent texts on the subject (see, *inter alia*: Page, 1995; Law, 2002; Shaw and Williams, 2002; Page and Hall, 2003; Selby, 2004). Common explanations for the tendency to disregard urban tourism include

difficulties entailed in isolating and enumerating tourists from the local urban population which, in turn, create practical problems in measuring urban tourism and identifying its economic, cultural and environmental impacts. In addition, the predisposition in tourism studies to focus on the holiday sector has not encouraged research into key component areas of urban tourism, such as business tourism or the visiting of friends and relatives (Law, 1996, 2002). Neglect may also owe something to the fact that while some cities (such as Paris, Rome and Venice) have a lengthy tradition as destinations for tourists that dates back at least to the Grand Tour (see Chapter 3), the wider patterns of tourism development have often been shaped around a very clear desire on the part of urban populations to *escape* the environments of major industrial cities and conurbations rather than to visit them (Williams, 2003). It is only with the onset of post-industrialism that cities across the urban spectrum have become major objects of the tourist gaze and tourism geography is perhaps still coming to terms with the full implications of this highly contemporary process.

This chapter attempts to distil some of the more important current perspectives on urban tourism by exploring three related areas. The next section examines the changing urban context in order to isolate and explain the wider processes that are reshaping contemporary cities and which help us to appreciate more clearly why tourism has become a prominent component of the post-industrial, postmodern city. This is followed by a discussion of the tourist city which aims to explain how cities function as tourist destinations, while the final section examines how tourism intersects with the new urbanism that is revealed in cities of the twenty-first century.

The urban context

Any understanding of the changing significance of urban tourism must be grounded in a wider awareness of the contemporary urban context and, especially, the emergence of post-industrial and postmodern cities. This transition has exerted a fundamental influence on not only the internal organisation of urban space and the structuring of economic and social relations *within* cities, but also the relationships *between* cities. Four broad, related themes are central to this process: globalisation; economic and social restructuring; the remaking of urban identity; and new political agendas.

Under globalisation, the contemporary mobility of capital, labour, materials and information has directly shaped the development of new global networks of exchange and new transnational systems of production and consumption in ways that are producing an essentially different narrative of urbanism at the start of the twenty-first century. Fainstein and Judd (1999a: 261) describe some of this dynamic in commenting that ‘the present epoch involves a different, more flexible organization of production, higher mobility of both capital and people, heightened competition among places, and greater social and cultural fragmentation’. Social and cultural fragmentation arises particularly from the international migration of labour and helps to produce the characteristically heterogeneous urban populations in postmodern cities that are a particularly visible product of globalisation.

Closely linked to globalisation and highly influential on the development of post-industrial cities has been the process of economic restructuring (Dear and Flusty, 1998). Restructuring has been shaped by two primary phases: a period of significant *deindustrialisation* (from about 1970) in which the traditional forms of manufacturing that shaped the industrial, modern city of the Western world have largely collapsed, to be replaced – under a period of *reindustrialisation* – by new growth sectors in the urban economy shaped around the information economy, new technologies and a significant growth in service industries associated with these activities. This has been central to the transition

from production to consumption as a defining logic of contemporary cities in Europe, North America and Australasia, but has also triggered major reworking in the productive use of space. In particular, the margins of major cities have emerged as dominant areas of new industrial activity. Here firms that new communications technologies have often rendered footloose may capitalise on the lower land cost, the environmental attraction and the enhanced levels of accessibility that peripheral sites often provide, to establish spatially fragmented but functionally linked zones of new (post-Fordist) production. At the same time, older areas of (Fordist) manufacturing fall derelict as traditional production is supplanted by new modes, creating significant opportunities – and indeed a need – for urban regeneration. Soja's (1989, 1995, 2000) detailed analyses of the growth of the new, peripheral developments of technology industries in Los Angeles and the progressive abandonment of older industrial districts in central Los Angeles provides an excellent example of the spatial reorganisation of the urban economy under postmodernity.

However, although the process is driven by an economic imperative, it also has significant social ramifications in the related development of new and similarly fragmented patterns of social space. Globalisation and the post-industrial shift are widely held to have sharpened distinctions and disparities – some of which are economic (e.g., in the gaps between wealth and poverty), while others are socio-cultural (e.g., in the identities of the many minority communities that congregate in modern cities). But these distinctions also become etched in space – in wealthy or poor neighbourhoods, or in the enclaves that are forged by ethnic minorities. This is not, of course, a new characteristic of urban social geography, but it has become much more extensive and more sharply drawn, especially in major cities. In many situations such spatial distinctions are further emphasised through the overt defense of space, either through social practices or active surveillance and policing. Davis's (1990) brilliant dissection of the social landscapes of Los Angeles paints a fascinating picture of this tendency as it is variously revealed in the gated and patrolled communities of the wealthy, the protected 'public' spaces of the municipal cores and even in the 'turfs' of the street gangs that flourish in poor areas such as Watts and South Central and who assert their own, distinctive hold on space.

The third key process in the post-industrial/postmodern transformation of cities has been the active remaking of cities and city identity. This has been partly a response to the decline of old centres of production which created a need to pursue regeneration policies as a means of addressing the economic and social malaise that followed the widespread loss of traditional areas of work, as well as the physical problems of derelict and 'brown-field' land that deindustrialisation usually created. At the same time, there are important links to globalisation as the need to forge new identities and images as a way of enabling post-industrial places to compete effectively in a global context has become a key driver of change. Part of the new relationship between cities under globalisation is that they now need to compete on a world scale for capital investment, labour – and, indeed, tourists – and their ability to compete shapes their scope for future development (Gospodini, 2001; Hall, 2005). In many cities the process of 'manufacturing' new sites of consumption – in regenerated waterfronts, in themed shopping malls, or in state-of-the-art museums, galleries and sports stadia – has significantly affected the visual character of cityscapes and the components that comprise the human setting in contemporary cities. Theming has become a *leitmotif* of postmodern cities but so has the progressive development of a new aesthetic around postmodern urban design that is evident in the eclectic, collage-like mixing of architectural styles and traditions and the rising significance of signs and signifiers as cultural markers in the malls, café quarters and reconstructed waterfronts of the new urban landscape. As we will see in a subsequent section, this trend has had some important implications for the development of urban tourism.

Table 8.1 Essential characteristics of post-industrial/postmodern cities

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- Urban life shaped by processes of consumption rather than production
 - Fragmentation of economic and social space leading to complexity and multi-nodal structures
 - Peripheral nodes of development (edge cities) replace inner urban zones as centres of industrial production and, especially, services
 - Central zones reinvented – especially through regeneration – as new centres of consumption
 - Conventional distinctions around work, leisure, culture and social class become blurred, but other distinctions (e.g., around wealth and ethnicity) become more sharply drawn and often reinforced through mechanisms such as defense of space
 - Urban populations increasingly heterogeneous and tending to form micro social spaces
 - Urban landscapes increasingly shaped around theming of space and the promotion of visual and aesthetic media
 - Urban landscapes characterised by collages (of signs and symbols) and simulacra
-

Sources: Adapted from Soja (1989); Davis (1990); Page and Hall (2003); and Selby (2004)

Finally, the impact of new political agendas after 1980 should be noted, in particular the rise of what has been termed ‘New Right’ politics under the leadership of Ronald Reagan in the USA and Margaret Thatcher in the UK. Judd (1999) and Law (2002) both comment on how the entrepreneurial approaches favoured by both these administrations moved the focus of urban policy away from the social-welfare agendas of the 1970s and placed new emphases on public–private partnerships and the active selling of cities as places for investment as the way forward. This helped to establish a new urban political climate that was highly conducive to the development of tourism (amongst other service sectors) as strategically important in the remaking of cities.

This introductory discussion – of necessity – paints only the briefest of outlines of central themes in the changing urban setting but it provides an essential context in which to develop an understanding of tourism in urban places. Table 8.1 provides a key-point summary of the primary characteristics of urban post-industrialism and postmodernity.

The tourist city

How are the spaces of tourism developed and arranged within cities? The preceding description of the urban context has perhaps tended to treat cities as fairly homogenous – albeit changing – entities, but in practice, of course, cities are often very different places and accommodate tourism in some fundamentally different ways. Fainstein and Gladstone (1999: 25) note that ‘the commodity that urban tourism purveys is the quality of the city itself’, but that quality differs significantly from place to place. It is therefore important to isolate those key differences between cities that influence how tourism may develop.

As an initial starting point, a number of writers have attempted to develop typologies of cities as a basis for explaining contrasting styles and patterns of urban tourism. Page (1995) attempts to differentiate a quite lengthy typology of cities that includes capital cities, metropolitan centres, large historic cities, industrial cities, cultural cities and resorts. However the lack of consistent definition that surrounds several of these labels and the overlap between at least some categories in the typology is a significant limiting factor (Law, 2002). Cities such as London and Paris, for example, are simultaneously capitals, metropolises and historic, industrial and cultural places.

A more useful approach has been proposed by Fainstein and Judd (1999a). They distinguish a three-fold categorisation based around the following:

- Resort cities – which are urban centres that are created expressly for consumption by visitors. Conventional urban seaside resorts would fall in this category, as does Las Vegas, which is considered in more detail below. The resort city is closely related to Mullins' earlier concept of 'tourist urbanisation' in which – on the basis of a series of case studies of Australia's Gold Coast – several defining features of this form of urban development were proposed. These include distinctive spatial and symbolic attributes (that include well-defined tourism enclaves); rapid population growth based around highly flexible systems of production and consumption; and boosterist approaches to planning and management (Mullins, 1991).
- Tourist-historic cities – which are places that lay claim to a distinctive historic and/or cultural identity that tourists may experience and which forms a primary basis to their attraction. Some tourist-historic cities have been tourist destinations for centuries (such as Venice) while others have been transformed into tourist cities through processes of active reconstruction or rediscovery of elements of their urban heritage (such as Boston, USA). An important characteristic of the true tourist-historic city is that since tourist sites and uses tend to be built into the architecture and cultural fabric of the city, tourist space is much more integral to the overall urban structure and tourists become inter-mixed with residents and local workers in ways that are much less typical of the demarcated spaces in resorts.
- Converted cities – which have consciously rebuilt their infrastructures and – most importantly – their identities for the purpose of attracting tourists as a means of supporting new urban economic growth. These places are typically former centres of traditional manufacturing and distribution, and rather like resorts, tourist spaces in the converted city often develop as quite isolated enclaves set within a wider urban environment that may remain comparatively unattractive and sometimes hostile to outsiders. The Inner Harbour redevelopment at Baltimore is an example that is commonly quoted. Occasionally, however, a more seamless integration of tourism into converted cities is achieved, Judd (1999) suggesting, as an example, San Francisco (Plate 8.1) which is widely accessible to tourists and a rare example of a major American city that somehow contrives to function at a human scale.

However, while Fainstein and Judd's typology is valuable in making some important distinctions around how tourism may develop in cities, it is clear that many individual cities will often blend elements of each category within their overall make-up rather than simply conforming to a specific model. For this reason it is often more helpful to recognise that most tourist cities are actually comprised of distinctive sub-spaces or functional areas and that the balance between these functions is generally central to defining the nature of the city as a tourist destination. Figure 8.1 represents a development of a model originally proposed by Burtenshaw et al. (1991) and attempts to show how the functional and leisure demands of both residents and tourists interact to define distinctive 'cities' (or zones) within the overall city space. We can therefore start to understand the tourist city as comprising interconnected sets of functions and associated spaces that reflect different needs and interests of visitors, such as historic and cultural heritage, entertainment, nightlife and shopping, although, importantly, these zones of activity are generally well-defined and are distinct from other parts of the city in which tourists seldom – if ever – penetrate (Shaw and Williams, 2002).

By viewing tourism and urban space as a composite construct, we raise two important questions: what is the nature of demand for urban tourism and how is demand reflected in the supply and organisation of facilities and attractions?



Plate 8.1 The downtown financial district of San Francisco (photo by Stephen Williams)

The demand for urban tourism

Cities are probably unique as tourism places in respect to the range of different categories of tourist demand that they attract and accommodate. Law (2002: 55) summarises the main market segments in urban tourism as:

- business travellers;
- conference and exhibition delegates;
- short-break holidaymakers;
- day trippers;
- visiting friends and relatives (VFR);
- long-stay holidaymakers using the city as a gateway or as a short-visit stop on a tour;
- cruise ship passengers (in port cities).

Business travel is an especially important component of urban tourism. On a global scale, business, conference and exhibition travel in 2006 accounted for an estimated 131 million international trips – which represents 16 per cent of the world travel market (UNWTO, 2007). Domestic business travel markets are – in total – considerably larger. Recent data for the UK suggest that the business tourism industry generates over £20 billion annually in direct expenditures and accounts for over 7 million overseas visitors. Annual attendance

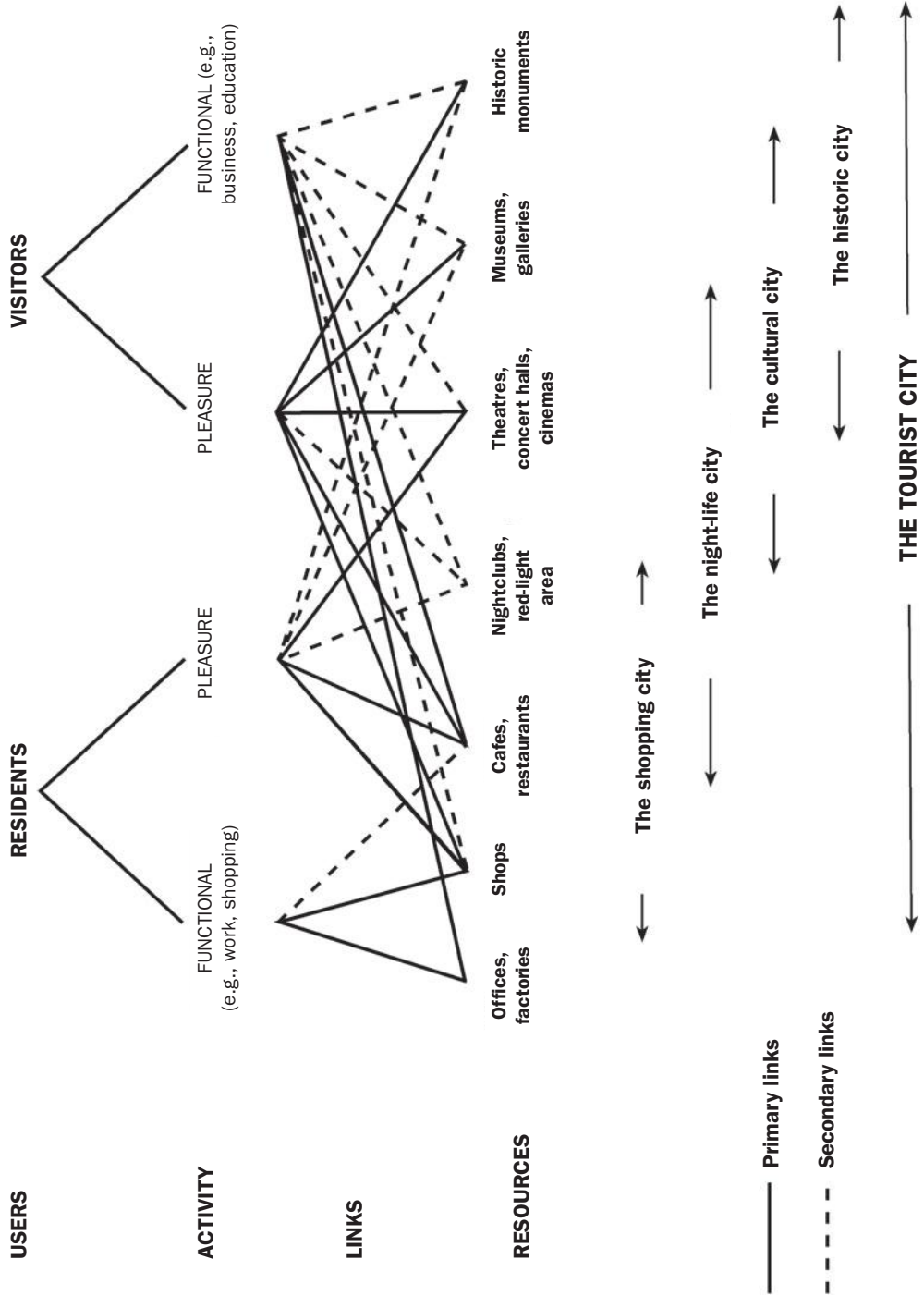


Figure 8.1 Conceptual model of tourist space in the city

figures for UK trade exhibitions exceed 10 million people and more than 80 million travel to attend conferences and meetings (Business Tourism Partnership, 2003, 2005). Similar patterns are evident elsewhere. For example, Law (2002) suggests that in some American cities, the conference and exhibition trade accounts for upwards of 40 per cent of staying visitors, while the largest convention in Las Vegas (an annual computer fair) attracts more than 200,000 visitors (Parker, 1999).

The growth of business travel is a direct consequence of processes of globalisation and new organisational structures around production. The ‘co-ordination of production, supervision of local managers, design of new facilities, meetings with consultants, purchasing of supplies, product servicing and marketing – all require visits from company officials, technicians, or sales personnel’ (Fainstein and Judd, 1999b: 2). This demand for business tourism is associated with a number of key characteristics that are highly beneficial to urban places:

- it is a high quality, high yield sector that is associated with above-average levels of expenditure;
- it is a year-round activity;
- it complements the leisure tourism sectors by supporting much of the infrastructure that underpins other forms of tourism as well as local leisure patterns;
- it is often a key component in tourism-led urban regeneration and because of the high quality of service demanded by most business travellers it creates additional demand for local employment;
- it often stimulates return visits to the same destinations for leisure purposes (Business Tourism Partnership, 2003).

Shaw and Williams (2002) suggest that business travel is generally the dominant sector in urban tourism and will normally bring the highest levels of per capita expenditure. However, in most cities, day trippers – although commonly disregarded in tourism studies and seldom enumerated with any degree of accuracy – will always be the most numerous group. In England in 2005, for example, an estimated 674 million tourist day visits were made to inland towns and cities for activities such as eating out, leisure shopping, entertainment and VFR (Natural England, 2006). Short-break forms of urban tourism have also emerged as a key area of demand. These forms of travel capitalise not only on the growing number of attractions that contemporary cities offer, but in key destination areas such as Europe, short-break city travel has also benefited from enhanced levels of connectivity between major cities via new high-speed rail links and budget airline services, as well as the competitive rates for hotel accommodation at weekends when high-paying business travellers are much less in evidence. In 2001 UK citizens took some 5.2 million short breaks abroad, with city breaks to destinations such as Paris, Amsterdam, Barcelona and Dublin attracting the largest market share (Mintel, 2002).

In practice, of course, much of the demand for urban tourism is multi-purpose (and urban destinations are characteristically multi-functional), so to suggest that people visit for a single, specific reason is usually misleading. Business travellers, for example, will often take in local entertainment and may shop and sightsee as well. By consolidating the various market segments, some sense of the overall scale of demand for urban tourism can be derived. Data on the numbers of urban tourists at specific destinations are notoriously difficult to create, locate and compare with consistency. However Table 8.2 presents an attempt to derive estimated annual levels of visiting to a selection of urban destinations from around the world, and although a breakdown of domestic and foreign visitors is not

Table 8.2 Estimated numbers of tourists visiting a selection of major cities, 2004–06

City	Foreign visitors (millions)	Domestic visitors (millions)	Total (millions)
New York	7.3	36.5	43.8
Las Vegas	–	–	36.0
Paris	14.3	16.7	31.0
London	15.2	11.4	26.6
Sydney	2.5	7.8	10.3
Singapore	–	–	9.7
Melbourne	1.9	7.6	9.5
Amsterdam*	8.2	–	–
Toronto	–	–	4.0
Vienna	7.6	–	–

Source: Compiled, online, from national and city tourist board websites – accessed November 2007

* Figure quoted for Amsterdam is bed nights, all other figures are headcount

provided for all destinations, the data still help to illustrate the importance of the urban tourism sector.

The supply of urban tourism

According to Law (2002) the attraction base to a city is a key factor in stimulating demand for urban tourism and the spatial arrangement of attractions is also a primary variable that helps to define tourist space and create local geographies of tourism. However, the supply of urban tourism is not grounded just in the incidence of attractions, since these do not sit in isolation but contribute to a more broadly defined tourism ‘product’. The urban tourism product will vary from place to place but will normally comprise a blend of tangible facilities, goods and services (such as accommodation, entertainment and cultural facilities) together with intangible elements (such as a sense of place and a place identity). There is, therefore, an important distinction to be drawn between the presence of attractions and the *attractiveness* of a city since the latter quality is not necessarily dependent on the existence of the former. A city may be an attractive destination by virtue of the qualities of – say – its built environment or its local cultures, rather than through the possession of famous landmarks or ‘must-see’ tourist sites. It is also important to recognise that urban tourism attractions are not fixed entities and although some are purpose-built to serve that function, others that may not have been designed as attractions per se will acquire this role through shifts in public interest and taste.

This relationship between tourism and urban places has been conceptualised by Jansen-Verbeke (1986). She argues that the essential elements that comprise the basis for urban tourism may be grouped under three headings:

- primary elements that comprise place-specific attractions and facilities (labelled ‘activity places’) and the broader environments in which the activity places are located (labelled ‘leisure settings’);
- secondary elements (such as accommodation and retailing);
- tertiary elements (such as parking, information and signage).

However, while this framework has a real value in helping to map the basis to urban tourism, the diversity of tourist demand and the differing motives for which visitors come

to cities also tends to make this typology problematic. Put simply, elements that Jansen-Verbeke proposes as ‘secondary’ (such as retail space) will constitute a primary element for some visitors and even some categories that might be assumed to be relatively fixed (such as accommodation) may not necessarily be so. It is, perhaps, an extreme example, but there is no doubt that the truly fantastic, themed hotels of Las Vegas constitute a primary attraction at this resort and are systematically visited and consumed as *attractions* by many of the city’s visitors (Plate 8.2). Figure 8.2 therefore presents a reworking of Jansen-Verbeke’s original model which strives still to capture the essential message about the nature of urban tourist attractions and a primary–secondary relationship, while simultaneously suggesting that the distinction within categories is flexible and contingent on the particular intentions of the visitor.

The conceptual frameworks reviewed above suggest that we may view tourist space in cities as being essentially organised around several broad areas of tourist interest that in turn draw on particular types of facilities, attractions and places. These will include:

- cultures and heritage;
- entertainment and night-life;
- retailing; and
- accommodation.



Plate 8.2 Hotel development in a fantasy city: ‘New York, New York’ hotel and casino on Las Vegas Boulevard (photo by Stephen Williams)

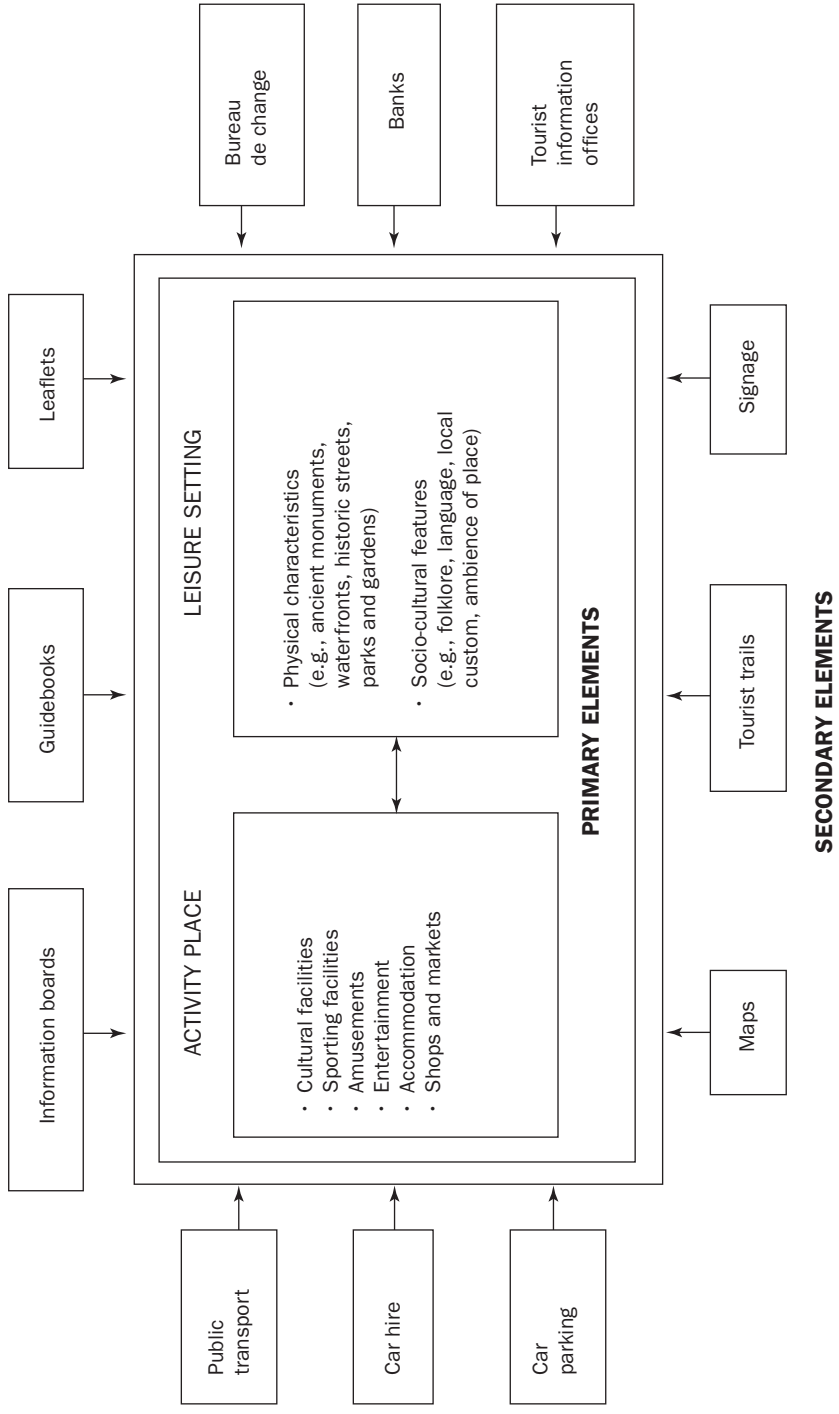


Figure 8.2 Conceptual model of urban tourist attractions

Culture and heritage is, according to Page and Hall (2003), a strong attraction in urban tourism, although the full range of cultural and heritage attractions sometimes defies concise definition. It embraces 'high' cultural forms such as are encountered in major galleries and museum collections or in the aesthetics of civic design and monumental architecture, but it is also captured in the 'popular' cultures of local gastronomy, craft industries, festivals, street music and the architecture of the vernacular. Equally, tourist interest in heritage may be revealed in visits to major historical sites and monuments (such as the Tower of London) or – increasingly – in reconstructed celebrations of the artefacts, places and events that defined vanished ordinary urban lives and are reflected in the new generation of museums of industry and working life or, less directly, in the restored landscapes of factories, mills and docklands. The scale of tourist interest in these facets of urbanism is significant. Bull (1997) states that over two-thirds of all visitors to London identify the historic heritage of the city as a primary attraction and this is emphasised by the prominence of cultural and heritage sites shown in Table 8.3. This lists the major free and paid attractions in London in 2005 and it may be noted that only four attractions fall outside the scope of culture and heritage (Visit Britain, 2006). In spatial terms, cultural and heritage attractions tend to draw visitors to core areas of cities. This is partly a consequence of natural chronologies of urban development that will normally place genuinely old buildings and structures (such as castles or cathedrals) close to the historic points of origin of the settlement, but it also reflects the fact that important civic buildings (such as major galleries and museums) are often given prominent, central locations as an indicator of civic pride and to ensure high levels of accessibility. Figure 8.3 locates the top museums, galleries and historic buildings that are visited by tourists in London and illustrates clearly the importance of the core of the city as a focus for cultural and heritage tourism.

The availability of entertainment and nightlife is also one of the main motivations for people to travel as tourists to urban centres and which, importantly, appeals to a broad spectrum of visitors. For example, one of the factors that has promoted Las Vegas to a position of pre-eminence in the US business convention market is the attraction to delegates of the entertainment and nightlife that is a specialty of the resort (Parker, 1999). Within this category of attractions will be included theatres, cinemas and shows, concert halls, casinos, clubs, bars and restaurants. But since these sites also exert a strong local appeal, they become important points of intersection between visitors and residents and although there is always a temptation to view the entertainment and nightlife of a city as

Table 8.3 Visitor levels at major paid and free attractions in London, 2005

<i>Paid attractions</i>	<i>Visitors</i>	<i>Free attractions</i>	<i>Visitors</i>
London Eye	3,250,000	British Museum	4,536,064
Tower of London	1,931,093	National Gallery	4,020,020
Kew Gardens	1,354,928	Tate Modern	3,902,017
Westminster Abbey	1,027,835	Natural History Museum	3,078,346
London Zoo	841,586	Science Museum	2,019,940
St Paul's Cathedral	729,393	Victoria & Albert Museum	1,920,200
Hampton Court Palace	449,957	Tate Britain	1,738,520
Tower Bridge	350,000	National Portrait Gallery	1,539,766
Cabinet War Rooms	311,481	Somerset House	1,200,000
Shakespeare's Globe	269,506	British Library Exhibitions	1,113,114

Source: Visit Britain (2006)



Figure 8.3 Principal cultural and heritage attraction sites in London

being locally derived and embedded in the leisure behaviours of residents, the demand of tourists is often essential to maintaining the viability of this sector. A study of the theatre industry in London by Hughes (1998) noted that over 30 per cent of overseas visitors to London go to the theatre at some point in their visit (emphasising its attraction) and that around 66 per cent of audiences in London's West End theatres were not residents of the city (emphasising the role of visitors in maintaining demand). It is also the case that the growth in theatre attendances in London (which has risen from just over 10 million in 1986 to exceed 12 million in 2006 [SLT, 2007]) has been closely associated with the expansion of tourism.

The entertainment and nightlife sector illustrates well an important synergy between local recreation and tourism, but it also demonstrates the tendency for tourist functions that are actively developed as attractions to cluster within distinct zones and/or on particular streets. The development of London's West End is an excellent example, with its clusters of theatres and cinemas in areas such as Leicester Square, Shaftesbury Avenue, Haymarket and Aldwych (Figure 8.4). Similar patterns are evident in other major cities, such as the development of theatres on New York's Broadway or the 'red-light' activity of Amsterdam's Warmoesstraat. Such patterns develop partly for reasons of accessibility and the functional relationships between businesses operating in the same sectors (which are then reinforced by the behaviour patterns of users who are drawn to what become known areas), but are also commonly shaped by regulatory controls on activities that may frequently trigger anti-social forms of behaviour (Roberts, 2006).

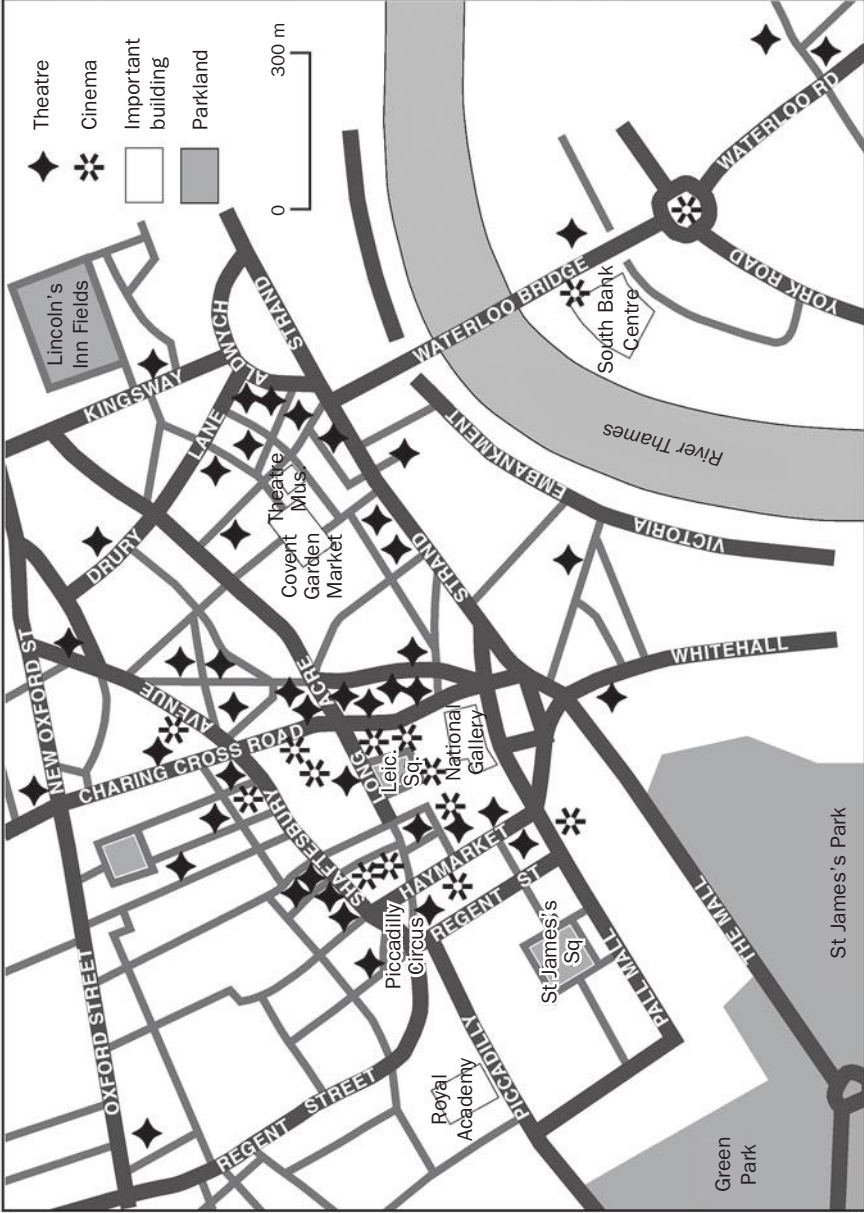


Figure 8.4 Distribution of cinemas and theatres in London's 'West End'

A third area of tourist activity that helps to define and shape the tourist city is retailing. Law (2002) suggests that although tourism and retailing are not immediately associated in most people's minds, the relationship is actually intimate and important. Shopping may not constitute a primary motive for tourist travel (excepting in the day visitor sector where studies suggest that up to a quarter of visits are made for the purpose of shopping [Natural England, 2006]), but it is generally one of the most important activities for tourists at their destination (whether judged by time or expenditure). For this reason tourist space is frequently infused with retail space, and in the most popular sites, retail outlets aimed at tourists will dominate the primary tourist routes. For example, a study of local space around Notre Dame Cathedral in Paris identified a near-continuous line of souvenir, food and other tourist retail units on the main approach to the Cathedral (Pearce, 1998). More widely, the quality of retail provision in cities has been recognised as helping to define the wider attraction of the city as a destination and as we will see in the final section of this chapter, the emergence of new synergies between tourism and retailing, and a general move towards the overt design of new shopping environments around leisure tastes (e.g., in mall development and themed shopping areas) has strengthened this relationship.

The structure of the tourist city is also partly defined by its accommodation sector. The availability of accommodation underpins the urban tourist industry by enabling people to stay in the destination and is critical in sectors such as business tourism where major hotels not only provide rooms for travellers, but may often also provide facilities (such as meeting space) for the actual transaction of business. At the same time, the quality of the accommodation sector also contributes in some fundamental ways to tourist perceptions of the city itself.

Urban tourism is generally dominated by what is termed the 'serviced' accommodation sector which includes hotels (which predominate), guest- or bed and breakfast houses and serviced apartments. In recent years this sector has witnessed some important changes with, in particular, an increased dominance of the urban market by international companies (such as Intercontinental/Holiday Inn, Thistle, Hilton and Marriott) that manage increasingly large hotels. A recent analysis of the London accommodation sector showed a significant contraction in the number of bed spaces in small, private hotels and guest-houses, but a substantial increase in the market-share held by large budget hotel groups such as Premier Travel Inn and Travelodge, alongside smaller (though still significant) growth in capacity in luxury 4- and 5-star hotels. Seventy-three per cent of London hotels contained at least fifty rooms (Visit London, 2007).

As with other key sectors, tourist accommodation maps urban space in some distinctive ways, with a marked tendency towards clustering at preferred locations. Traditional patterns favour quite close proximity between accommodation – especially in hotels – and the attractions that tourists wish to visit. This leads to important areas of hotel development in and around central business districts (with their retailing and entertainment zones) and the historic centres of cities. However, the wider reworking of urban space around zones of regeneration and new transport hubs – especially airports – has encouraged a more dispersed pattern of accommodation to develop with clusters of hotels appearing in regeneration zones (such as waterfronts) and in proximity to transport gateways. This trend is illustrated in Figure 8.5 which maps the distribution of hotel bed spaces across the London boroughs in 2006. This shows that the majority of London hotels are clustered in the three central boroughs of Westminster, Camden, and Kensington and Chelsea (which form a primary zone that has been established for many years), but with a secondary zone

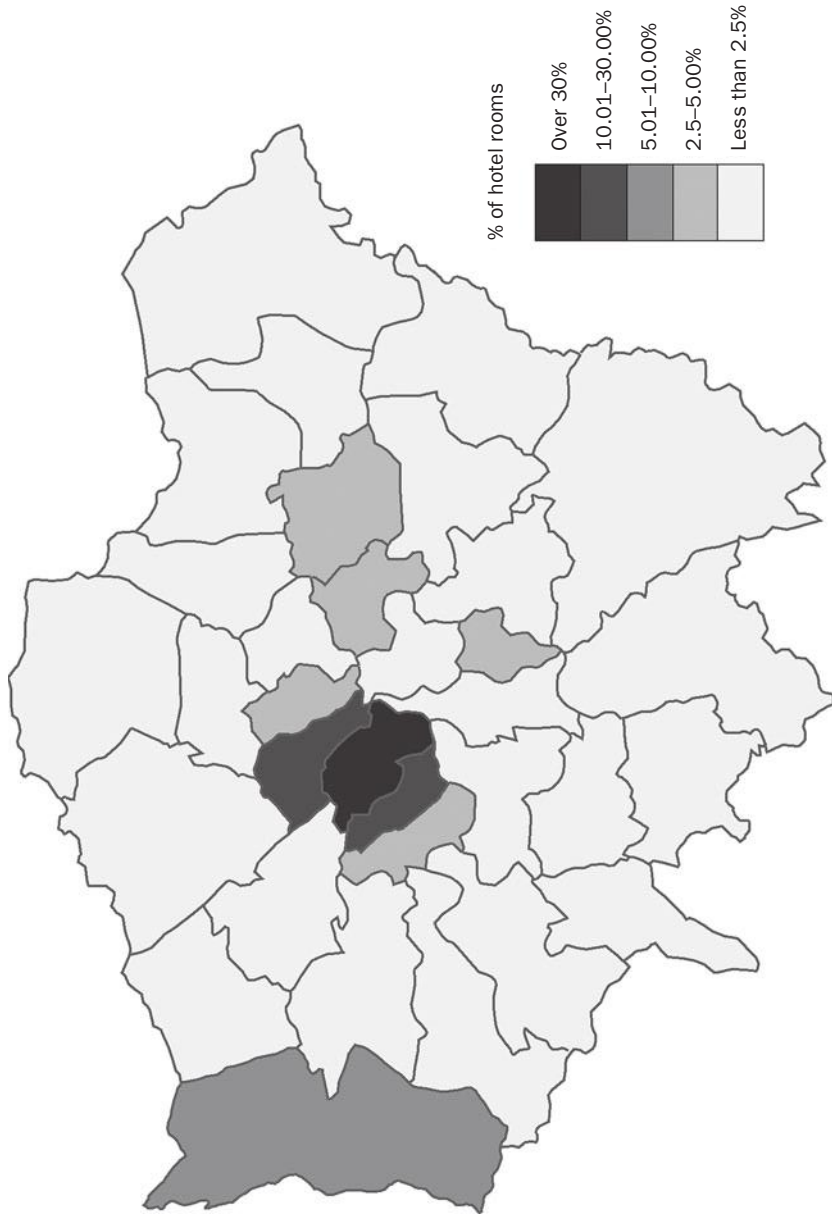


Figure 8.5 Distribution of hotel bed spaces in London boroughs

in the borough of Hillingdon (which includes Heathrow Airport) and some emerging tertiary zones in Southwark, Tower Hamlets and Newham which are related to the development of Canary Wharf, London City airport and the sites for the 2012 Olympic Games.

Tourism and the new urban order

Whereas tourism to cities was, until very recently, generally super-imposed on existing spatial, economic and social patterns, in the post-industrial, postmodern city it has emerged as much more central to the organisation of the new urban spaces and their associated structures. This final section therefore explores some of the key intersections between the changing urban context (as discussed at the start of this chapter) and the emerging patterns of urban tourism (as set out in the preceding section). For convenience the discussion is organised around seven major themes or ideas that strive to capture the fundamental nature of the change as it affects urban tourism. Although each theme is considered separately, it is important to recognise that the processes that are described are, in practice, intimately interrelated.

New spatial opportunities

The reworking of urban space under postmodernity creates new opportunities for tourism. The spatial reorganisation of postmodern cities is commonly shaped by a number of key processes, including:

- increased prominence of consumption as a ‘driver’ in the urban economy and in which leisure and tourism are critical arenas for the conspicuous display of consumption;
- fragmentation of social and economic spaces that creates diversity and often renders new levels of intrinsic interest to the postmodern urban landscape;
- redevelopment of urban cores around new functional relationships which include a strong emphasis on leisure and tourism consumption, for example, in the development of cultural and cafe quarters or entertainment districts;
- creation of new centres of development in the outer suburbs and the urban periphery that may contain themed shopping malls with integral leisure spaces, new urban ‘villages’, transport hubs (such as airports and linked hotel developments), theme parks and sometimes major sporting stadia;
- regeneration (and reinvention) of former industrial zones within inner urban districts which is typically framed around themes of urban heritage and may feature landmark projects such as convention centres, modern museums and galleries and major hotels, as well as areas of gentrification.

Each of these processes enables existing forms of recreation and tourism to develop in novel and exciting ways and new sectors of activity to emerge. Within the restructuring of urban space, regeneration has emerged as an especially important policy area, not least because it affects such large numbers of former industrial cities. Regeneration is simultaneously a process of physical redevelopment of redundant space to meet new

needs, but it is also an intellectual and aesthetic process – a means of rethinking urban space and how the people who live in, or choose to visit the city relate to that space. Wakefield (2007) makes the point that throughout the industrial era, the presence of industry was often a source of civic pride and identity, whereas today the label ‘industrial city’ more readily denotes a set of negative images. Regeneration is, therefore, very much about reshaping image alongside the physical changes to the urban fabric.

Tourism is an important component of urban regeneration, partly because there is perhaps an implicit assumption on the part of urban developers that by creating regeneration schemes that are capable of attracting tourists, cities will also be capable of attracting other investment as well as permanent residents. It thus becomes a litmus test of what Hagermann (2007) terms a ‘livable city’. Additionally, though, tourism has become a favoured component in urban regeneration because it is widely perceived as creating important new economic linkages. It promotes new firm formation (because of low barriers to entry to the sector); it brings income through tourist expenditures and, as a labour-intensive service industry, it creates new jobs (Robinson, 1999). It is also seen as a means of opening-up areas of the city for new use by both visitors and residents, especially waterfronts and former docklands, which are always prominent zones of regeneration wherever they occur but which in their former state were usually ‘no-go’ areas for all except those who lived and worked in these zones.

In general these positive attributes are held to outweigh some of the negative aspects that have been associated with tourism-led regeneration. These include:

- doubts over whether actual returns on investment necessarily reach assumed levels (which is a common criticism of major sports stadia development);
- concerns over the quality of jobs and security of employment in tourism;
- issues of social equity (as regeneration schemes often reflect the aspirations of urban elites and disregard the interests of ordinary local people);
- doubts about the extent to which the economic benefits actually diffuse from the enclaves of regeneration into the wider urban environment (McCarthy, 2002; Shaw and Williams, 2002).

However, such concerns have done little to diminish the appetite for regeneration on the part of urban government.

Although the nature of regeneration varies in detail from place to place, recurring themes and tendencies are evident. Typical components of urban regeneration will include physical and environmental improvement; the creation of new zones of employment and housing; enhancement in transport infrastructure; and – in order to attract visitors – the development of new facilities and attractions together with image building and place promotion policies (Page and Hall, 2003). This has led to the creation of what Judd (1999: 39) has described as a remarkably standardised package of key components: ‘atrium hotels, festival markets, convention centres, restored historic neighbourhoods, domed stadia, aquariums [and] redeveloped waterfronts’. Figure 8.6 and Plate 8.3 illustrate one example, the Brindley Plaza redevelopment in Birmingham (UK) that deploys virtually all these elements, together with a major concert hall, theatres, retailing, restaurants, public houses (bars) and residential apartments. It is strongly reflective of the importance of arts and cultural activities as catalysts for urban change (Roberts, 2006) and has been a hugely successful project (Williams, 2003).

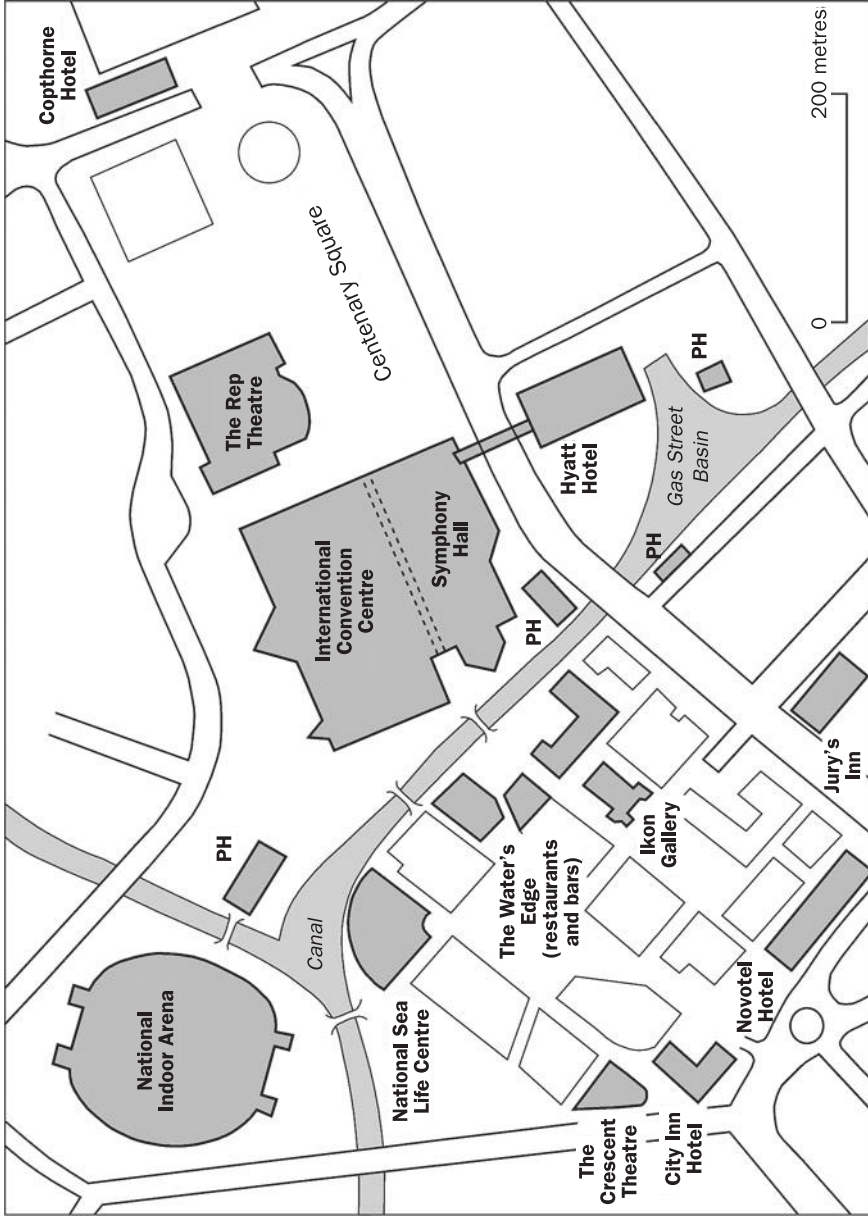


Figure 8.6 Brindley Plaza urban regeneration project, Birmingham, UK



Plate 8.3 Urban regeneration based on leisure and tourism in the inner city: Brindley Plaza, Birmingham, UK (photo by Stephen Williams)

New urban images

Urban regeneration connects very closely to the wider process of image making and place promotion, both of which have emerged as central planks of entrepreneurial governance in Western cities (Bradley et al., 2002) and reveal strong links to tourism. An important part of this process (and an area of change that intersects directly with urban tourism) is the development of landmark facilities and, particularly, the promotion of hallmark events, both of which form a part of the wider development of the city as a spectacle (Law, 2002; Shaw and Williams, 2002). Hall (2005) suggests that hallmark events can trigger an appeal and an associated impact at a range of geographical scales from the international to the local and may cover a broad range of categories. They may be artistic, cultural, religious, commercial, sporting, or political in nature and may variously be configured as exhibitions, festivals, tournaments or celebrations. However, although diverse in focus they tend to share a number of common characteristics. These include:

- a tendency to be based on spectacle (i.e., something that is worth seeing and experiencing for its own intrinsic qualities);
- a strong capacity to attract visitors;
- an ability to confer a level of status on the city;
- an ability to raise awareness of the city in the wider world and influence, in a positive direction, the images of the place that are held by outsiders.

Major sporting events such as the Olympic Games, the World Cup (soccer) or the Superbowl (American football) are examples of hallmark events that catch the eye and which – in the case of the Olympics, at least – will trigger the construction of landmark facilities in new stadia. But other sectors are equally capable of generating hallmark events that exert significant impacts on levels of urban tourism. For example, the exhibition of the Chinese Terracotta Army at London's British Museum in 2007/8 was expected to attract more than 800,000 visitors and some 1.7 million people visited the Treasures of Tutankhamun exhibition at the same venue in 1972.

Hallmark events are an important facet of urban tourism not simply because of the numbers of visitors that special events attract, but also because they may support the development of tourism in diverse situations. Hence, in cities with an established tourism industry (such as London) hallmark events (such as the Terracotta Army exhibition and, especially, the Olympic Games in 2012) help to reinforce the city's position as a major destination. But as Law (2002) notes, hallmark events may also serve to raise the image of cities that lack a tourist tradition and 'pump-prime' a new industry that might not otherwise become established. For example, in the 1980s a number of British industrial cities (including Liverpool, Glasgow and Stoke-on-Trent) hosted national and international garden festivals as part of a regenerative, image-building strategy (Holden, 1989). In this way, events and their infrastructure become a part of the cultural capital of places.

New urban aesthetics

A third key area of change relates to aesthetics and public taste. The visual and aesthetic character of the postmodern urban landscape promotes the consumption of sights and symbols as tourist activity and leads to an embedding of tourism in daily urban life. In terms of visual and aesthetic qualities, Relph (1987) draws some fundamental points of contrast between, on the one hand, the hard lines, the unity, the sense of order, the functional efficiency and the sheer physical scale of the modernist urban project and, on the other, the disordered, intimate, variegated 'quaintspaces' (with their conscious connections to the vernacular and their collages of signs and symbols) that characterise the postmodern cityscape. The essential point is that the many forms of tourism that are grounded in the enjoyment of places will generally connect much more effectively with the latter than with the former. Selby (2004: 44) comments that the 'built environment of the post-modern city is characterised by a deliberate attempt to refer to the emotions, experiences and sense of place of inhabitants' but in the process, of course, that attempt inevitably creates spaces and places that attract the attention of tourists.

There is, therefore, a reciprocal relationship here. Most forms of tourism are generally dependent on the creation of spaces and places with high environmental quality and tourist demand thus exerts a wider benefit in helping to make cities attractive as places in which to live permanently. At the same time, the local demands for amenity that reflect the aesthetics and tastes of the local population create demands for space that service not just local needs and interests, but some of those of the visitor too. If, as writers such as Urry (2000) and Franklin (2004) assert, we live in a world in which populations are quintessentially mobile and in which the experiences of travel and tourism become infused into daily lives (in areas such as dress, eating habits, entertainment choices, media consumption or – more fundamentally – the ways in which we shape and direct our various gazes and outlooks) important new synergies between local leisure and tourism serve only to enhance further the appeal of cities as tourist destinations. In other words, the aesthetics

of consumption that shape local practice also directly influence the consumption of those same sites and experiences by tourists.

Social and cultural heterogeneity

This tendency is revealed in the way in which the characteristic social and cultural heterogeneity of postmodern cities enhances the appeal of places to tourists. ‘Others’ readily become central objects of the tourist gaze and ethnicity can quickly become a commodified tourist attraction (Hall, 2005). Ethnic dress, cuisine, music, rituals or customs may all form attractive elements for tourists and will often provide essential local ‘colour’ in sub-areas of city space. In American cities, ‘Chinatowns’ and ‘Little Italys’ have, for example, become commonplace.

However, as with all forms of commodification the process is selective. Hall (2005) observes that ethnicity is often commodified as a heritage product, but this implies that where there is no tradition in the relationship between host communities and ethnic minorities, the value of ethnicity as a tourist attraction may be diminished. Thus, for example, the extended relationship between China and cities on the west coast of the USA such as San Francisco, has ensured that Chinese communities are well-established and form an integral part of the local urban population. ‘Chinatown’ in San Francisco is, therefore, much visited by tourists and celebrated as a part of the city’s heritage, whereas the enclaves of low-paid, contemporary migrants from places such as Vietnam and the Philippines in the same city are widely disregarded.

New synergies

Postmodernity promotes new synergies between tourism, leisure and daily life that blur distinctions and lead to new forms of ostensibly familiar areas of interaction. Central to several of these emerging synergies is the notion that what were once routine functions of urban life can be reworked in ways that render them simultaneously as entertainment. Hannigan (1998) discusses several examples of such relationships in detail, including ‘shoppertainment’ and ‘eatertainment’.

The combination of shopping with entertainment is not a new idea. Hannigan (1998) notes that large department stores in American cities in the early twentieth century commonly sought to enhance their attraction by providing in-store entertainment – such as orchestras in their tea rooms. Nava’s (1997) study of London stores before the First World War also shows that major shops such as Selfridges routinely made reference in their advertising to the ways in which shopping at the store might be considered as a recreation and an essential component of any visit to London. What is different now is that the blending of shopping, leisure and tourism has become much more central to defining the character of urban space, its functionality and the way it is perceived.

This is most evident in the growth of themed shopping malls where trend-setting projects such as the West Edmonton Mall in Canada and Mall of America in the USA have developed a model that, according to Hannigan (1998: 91) ‘explicitly and ostentatiously sets out to bring the world of the theme park to the environment of the shopping centre’, and which thousands of developments across the urban world have since sought to replicate, albeit normally on a smaller scale. Similarly, the rising popularity of festival markets reveals an alternative approach to blending retailing with leisure and tourism. Pioneered in the USA by a developer named James Rouse, festival markets have become a common



Plate 8.4 'Pier 39': a festival market developed from disused wharfs on the waterfront of San Francisco (photo by Stephen Williams)

feature in reinvented downtown districts and zones of regeneration with a strong tourism dimension. The market brings together small independent retailers and supporting infrastructures such as restaurants and street entertainment, to form an attractive, postmodern version of a very traditional form of retailing. As with themed malls, the success of the early festival markets at sites such as Boston's Faneuil Hall and New York's South Street Seaport, spawned hundreds of imitative schemes elsewhere – such as London's Covent Garden, Sydney's Darling Harbour, Liverpool's Albert Dock and San Francisco's Pier 39 (Plate 8.4).

The concept of 'eatertainment' also collapses boundaries between eating and play, and although this, too, is not an innovation, the scale and extent of the development of synergies between eating and entertainment in the postmodern city is worthy of note. Hannigan (1998: 94) examines the rise of themed restaurants (such as Hard Rock Cafe and Planet Hollywood – which he describes as a 'combination of amusement park, diner, souvenir stand and museum') as exemplars of the trend, but the universal integration of restaurants, cafes and bars into remade downtowns, cultural quarters and zones of regeneration signals the importance of the function to both resident urban populations and the tourists who visit.

Reflexive consumerism

The reflexivity of the postmodern consumer enables urban space to be constructed in multiple ways that favour tourism. Hannigan (1998: 67) characterises the postmodern consumer as ‘elusive – a free soul who darts in and out of arenas of consumption which are fluid and non-totalizing . . . constructing individual identity from multiple images and symbols [and] subverting the market rather than being seduced by it’. In other words, as reflexive individuals, many urban tourists are not necessarily the passive recipients of tourist experiences that are made for their consumption by others, but through their agency they are often actively involved in shaping their consumption of tourist places. Individuals carry knowledge, experience and perhaps memories that help to structure and inform their understanding of places and their meanings, but because people understand the world around them in qualitatively different ways, tourism places or products are experienced at different levels and in contrasting ways by different people (Selby, 2004). Thus, as Rojek and Urry (1997) explain, the same sites are subject to multiple readings by different audiences.

This has a number of interesting implications for urban tourism. First, the reflexivity of the postmodern tourist means that while the urban place promoters and image makers may promulgate a set of preferred sites and experiences for visitors, the tourists themselves may negotiate their own readings of the urban landscape and create individualised geographies of tourism that fashion new and unexpected intersections with local communities. Consequently, tourism practices become progressively more embedded in daily urban life and the presence of tourists becomes an acknowledged and unremarkable fact. Second, the effectiveness of some of the urban regeneration schemes discussed earlier – especially those that showcase former urban industries and transport zones such as waterfronts – is in part dependent on the broadening of tourist tastes and interests that the postmodern, reflexive tourist is likely to reveal. The reflexivity of the postmodern tourist thus enables many of the contemporary urban tourist spaces to ‘work’ as attractions. Many contemporary sites of urban tourism are representational, imitative and inauthentic, yet the reflexivity of the subject still permits those sites and experiences to be enjoyed, while acknowledging simultaneously their artificiality.

Fantasy cities

Many of these trends come together to create new ‘fantasy cities’ that directly support urban tourism. The concept of the ‘fantasy city’ originates in the work of Hannigan (1998) and was initially coined to reflect some key processes in the remaking of downtown areas of American cities as new centres of leisure-based consumption based around themed, entertainment districts and flagship projects such as resort-hotels and convention centres. However, as Page and Hall (2003) observe, with the rapid growth of the consumer society under conditions of postmodernity (and with the increased role of leisure and tourism as cultural capital and as markers of social distinction), the themes and trends that Hannigan describes have become widely diffused across the urban environment and therefore applicable in a range of new leisure and tourism settings.

Six central features define the fantasy city:

- It is ‘theme-o-centric’ by which it is meant that the key elements (such as attractions, retail provision or entertainment) conform to a scripted theme (or set of themes).
- It is ‘branded’, such that the place and its products are actively defined and sold.

- It provides round-the-clock activity by conscious blending of a range of functions and attractions that deploy complementary diurnal ranges.
- It is ‘modular’, mixing an array of standard components (such as cinemas, themed restaurants, leisure retailing) in differing configurations to produce contrasting character to the area.
- It is ‘solipsistic’, which means the fantasy city zone is focused entirely around its own activity and is functionally isolated from surrounding zones.
- It is postmodern in so far as it is normally constructed around technologies of simulation, virtual reality and spectacle that is contained within an overall landscape that deploys eclectic and unreal blending of style, genres and periods (Hannigan, 1998).

Hannigan (1998: 7) also posits the interesting view that the emergence of fantasy cities in the USA is an end-product of the tension between the American middle-class desire for experience and their parallel reluctance to take risks – especially those involving contact with the urban underclass. He describes how American downtowns are being progressively converted into ‘glittering, protected playgrounds for middle-class consumers’, environments in which public space is actually replaced by private spaces, with the surveillance and policing that is necessary to protect that privacy. This resonates with Davis’s (1990) descriptions of the fractured and defended spaces of postmodern Los Angeles and is also reflected in Fainstein and Judd’s (1999b: 12) observation that the construction of tourism enclaves (such as fantasy cities) is a typical way of allaying the sense of threat that most postmodern cities contain. Fantasy city, with its themed environments and simulacra, taps into the postmodern preoccupation with acquiring experiences that might otherwise be unattainable (e.g., by virtue of geography, accessibility, cost or historical disappearance [Hannigan, 1998]), but without the risks that actual travel to real places would entail.

In most urban places, fantasy cities exist – where they exist at all – in micro-level enclaves. However, there is one exception where it may be reasonably argued that the entire logic of the city is shaped by fantasy – Las Vegas. To draw this discussion of tourism and the new urban order to a close, therefore, Case Study 8.1 presents a summary analysis of the development and changing character of Las Vegas as an urban tourism destination which demonstrates in a particularly well-developed manner, several of the themes that have been presented in the final section of this chapter.

MORE ONLINE: Case Study 8.1 Las Vegas: creating a fantasy tourist city

Summary

Cities are primary tourist destinations and today large urban places accommodate an almost unrivalled range of tourist attractions and supporting infrastructures. Tourism has been widely adopted as a key ingredient in the process of remaking cities as post-industrial places shaped around consumption (rather than traditional forms of production), while images of cities as places to visit have become fundamental to the wider promotion of these places in global systems of urban competition and integration. Moreover, under processes of postmodern change, the contemporary development of cities is extending significantly the opportunities for tourism development, producing new spaces of tourism and new synergies between tourism and daily urban life. In this way, tourism is evermore embedded in the urban experience in new and influential ways. Tourism has thus become

a part of the new urban order by both drawing on and reinforcing trends and new directions in urban development.

Discussion questions

- 1 Why has the emergence of postmodern cities favoured the development of urban tourism?
- 2 Critically assess the value of Fainstein and Judd's (1999a) categorisation of tourist cities.
- 3 What are the primary mechanisms that promote the development of distinctive tourism zones within cities?
- 4 Why has tourism development become such a conspicuous component in urban regeneration?
- 5 To what extent has tourism become an embedded aspect of contemporary urban life?
- 6 Will more urban places develop into fantasy cities in the style of Las Vegas?

Further reading

There are several excellent texts that provide detailed discussions of urban tourism and any of the following will provide a good starting point for further reading:

Judd, D.R. and Fainstein, S.S. (eds) (1999) *The Tourist City*, New Haven: Yale University Press.

Law, C.M. (2002) *Urban Tourism: the Visitor Economy and the Growth of Large Cities*, London: Continuum.

Hallyar, B. and Griffin, T. (2008) *City Spaces – Tourist Places*, Oxford: Butterworth-Heinemann.

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9

The past as a foreign country: heritage as tourism

KEY CONCEPTS

- **Authenticity**
- **Dark tourism**
- **Democratisation**
- **Heritage**
- **Heritage 'scapes'**
- **Heritage tourism**
- **High and low culture**
- **Identity**
- **Nostalgia**
- **Political economy**
- **Romantic Movement/Romanticism**
- **Roots tourism/ancestral tourism**
- **Service class**
- **Tangible and intangible heritage**



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The notion of the past as a 'foreign country' is derived from the title of David Lowenthal's examination of the relationships between societies and their history (Lowenthal, 1985). His purview includes an insightful interpretation of heritage tourism, but also extends well beyond the way in which people use the consumption of history to shape leisure practices. The foreign country metaphor, however, is especially relevant in examining the role of heritage attractions as contemporary spaces of tourism. As we have seen throughout this book, tourism is often essentially concerned with the exploration or experience of the 'foreign', and Lowenthal's book reminds us that foreignness has a temporal as well as the more familiar geographical dimension. Hence the spaces that we explore as tourists are often those that represent versions of the past rather than the present, but which are still places in which we may derive and enjoy many of the experiences that we acquire through contemporary foreign travel – for example, the sense of the exotic, or of the familiar that is also subtly different.

This chapter is arranged into five linked discussions that review, in sequence: the concept of heritage and heritage tourism; the contemporary significance of heritage; the evolving character of heritage; the heritage tourism market; and, finally, the problematic relationship between heritage and authenticity.

The concept of heritage and heritage tourism

Prentice (1994: 11) notes that in a literal sense, heritage is an ‘inheritance’ or legacy that is passed from one generation to the next, though he also notes that in the context of heritage tourism it has acquired a much looser usage. Graham et al. (2000) note that while the term was once used only to describe a legal inheritance an individual received in a will, it has now been expanded to include almost any form of intergenerational exchange or relationship. Underpinning the concept, however, is the notion that heritage possesses a real or symbolic value and this encourages Timothy and Boyd (2003: 2) to define heritage as those ‘elements of the past that society wishes to keep’. In developing this definition, the same authors propose an interesting conceptual framework in which they argue that the sites, objects and artefacts that form the basis to heritage exist initially as part of a world of physical and social facts (in other words a ‘phenomenal’ environment), but only become part of a ‘behavioural’ environment when those sites and artefacts are perceived by society to have a value or a utilitarian function. In other words, heritage is a socio-cultural construct.

This approach has some significant implications. In particular it emphasises the fact that the identification of heritage is a selective process in which complex value judgments are made to filter those elements of heritage that are to be retained from those deemed no longer important. Graham et al. (2000) argue that heritage is a product of the way in which we choose to use the past and as in Johnson’s conceptualisation of circuits of culture (Johnson, 1986), heritage may be viewed as a product of the interplay between processes of production, regulation and consumption in which heritage emerges as a means of cultural representation. Heritage must therefore be seen as a socially produced, negotiated entity, but because the meanings that society will attach to heritage places on objects will change from one cultural period to the next, heritage is seldom to be seen as a fixed entity. Thus, Lowenthal (1985:12) argues that how we present and interpret history and heritage tells us more about who we are today than what the past was actually like: ‘Some preservers [of the past] believe that they can save the real past by preventing it from being made over. But we cannot avoid remaking our heritage, for every act of recognition alters what survives. We can use the past fruitfully only when we realize that to inherit is also to transform.’ These are critical characteristics that should not be overlooked in trying to understand how tourism relates to heritage.

Although there is an implicit relationship between heritage and history (in which heritage might be seen as a means of consumption of the different readings of the past that history provides), the widening range of environments or contexts in which heritage is now identified certainly dilutes that relationship. Attempts at differentiating the forms of heritage have, for example, proposed basic distinctions between natural, built or cultural forms of heritage (Poria et al., 2003) and between tangible immovable heritage (such as landscapes and buildings), tangible movable heritage (such as museum objects), and intangible heritage (such as a song or cuisine) (Timothy and Boyd, 2003).

It is important to recognise that heritage resources are not simply confined to a relatively narrow set of places or artefacts that have a conspicuous historic significance or character, but may be applied to a much wider range of settings or practices where a historic dimension, while inevitably present, is not necessarily overt. The heritage that is expressed in the use of traditional dress or cuisine, for example, typically extends beyond museumised forms of heritage. Figure 9.1 represents this idea in a simple, diagrammatic form.

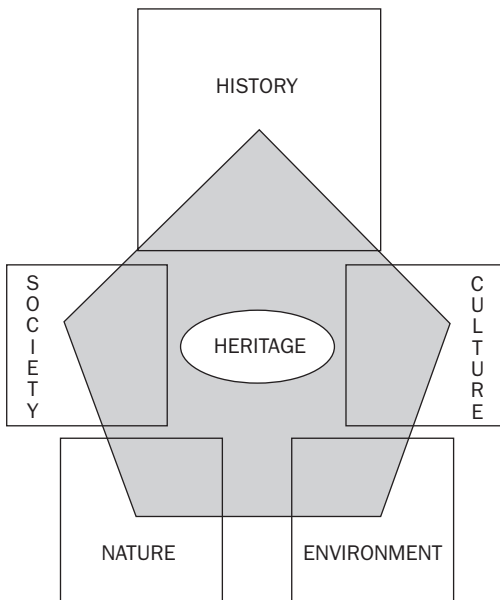


Figure 9.1 Heritage relationships

The diversity and imageability of heritage resources also means that heritage tourism naturally and easily intersects with other forms of tourism. Richards (1996) demonstrates the many close relations between heritage and cultural tourism, but similar intersections exist with urban tourism (given the prominence of built heritage and collections of heritage artefacts in towns and cities), rural tourism (given the increasing interest in nostalgic reconstructions of a rural ‘other’), and even with ecotourism (in relation to the heritage values attached to wildlife and the wider environments of protected areas, such as national parks or other special landscapes).

Intersections between heritage and other common forms of tourism raise interesting questions relating to what may define the core of heritage tourism. Poria et al. (2003) argue that at any heritage site, several categories of tourist will be encountered. Some are tourists who are unaware of the heritage attributes of the site while others will be aware of the heritage but were motivated to visit by other attributes of the location. In both of these situations, it is argued, simple presence at a site does not infer any participation in heritage tourism and these visitors should not be truly considered as ‘heritage tourists’. Instead, the authors suggest that the real core of heritage tourism is expressed by visitors who are motivated by the presence of heritage attributes and, especially, tourists for whom the attributes are perceived to be a part of their own heritage and which therefore acquire a special level of meaning and significance.

Although this definition of heritage tourists implies a rather narrower view than is commonly applied to heritage tourism, it serves a valuable purpose in emphasising that heritage tourism should be considered as much a product of demand as it is a reflection of supply. From this position, if engagement with heritage is to be considered as a reflexive response that is expressed as an identity affirmation at the level of the individual (or groups of individuals) (see Chapter 8), heritage tourism becomes an expression of multiple histories and heritage sites will acquire multiple meanings given the contrasting dispositions of the individuals that are drawn to them. Put simply, different people will apply different meanings and significance to the same heritage sites or objects. So

not only will social ‘readings’ of heritage evolve through time, but heritage sites are also simultaneously subject to differing interpretations.

The contemporary significance of heritage

It is perhaps worth emphasising that although heritage tourism is now a conspicuous aspect of contemporary travel, it is not a modern innovation. Prentice (1994) observes that historic sites have been popular destinations for tourists and sightseers for a lot longer than ‘heritage’ has been a recognised term. This tendency is variously evident in many of the practices of early Roman tourists to Greece and in the seventeenth century European Grand Tour (see Chapter 3). Franklin (2004) also makes the point that the definition and development of heritage is intimately bound up in the emergence of modern nation states, in which national institutions and common (or acceptable) practices form identifiable ‘heritage’ that provide associated opportunities for collective assertion and celebration of national identity. By visiting key sites and observing certain spectacles (like national or independence days), citizens reinforce their collective membership in a country (or sub-country group), and may assert political values of preferred political institutions. So the origins of modern heritage have long been deeply embedded in the nation state. What has changed in recent years is the scale of the attractions that are exerted by heritage places and the ways in which an ever-widening range of heritage sites and experiences have been entered onto the tourist map.

Numerous authors have conceptualised our modern fascination with the past as the basis for why heritage has come to be so significant for contemporary societies and central to so many leisure and tourist practices (see, *inter alia*: Boniface and Fowler, 1993; Fowler, 1992; Franklin, 2004; Graham et al., 2000; Hewison, 1987; Lowenthal, 1985; Prentice, 1993, 1994; Walsh, 1992; Urry, 1990). For the purposes of this chapter, these discussions are summarised under five linked headings: human nature; nostalgia; aesthetics; identity; and politics.

Human disposition

As human beings, we possess a particularly strong trait: knowledge of our past; and we are likewise disposed (albeit in varying degrees) to an instinctive interest in that past. Who we are and where we come from matters to most people. Lowenthal (1985) provides a detailed exposition of the myriad ways in which our pasts inform the present. He writes of our awareness of the past as being essential to our well-being and as integral both to our imaginations and to our sense of identity. A sense of the past provides a reassuring sense of continuity and, when necessary, a means of escape from aspects of the present we deem temporarily unacceptable. The past endows us with the traditions that act as benchmarks or points of anchorage and it fires the imagination.

Learning about one’s personal roots is a popular basis for various forms of tourism, from specific genealogical research trips to a known ancestor’s home to more general diaspora tourism experiences by, for example, African Americans to West Africa (Boone et al., 2013) and overseas Chinese to China (Lew and Wong, 2005). Such trips have the potential to provide deep, existential and authentic experiences for roots seekers, though they can also lead to disappointments when the experience does not live up to the image. Even at a more subtle level, young Americans, Canadians and Australians are far more likely to visit Europe (especially the UK) than other parts of the world due to their cultural

heritage affinities, and greater perceived sense of comfort and reduced culture shock that this engenders.

The argument here is that although we may not consciously recognise these attributes, there is a subconscious acknowledgement that predisposes us to nurture a latent interest in both our personal past and our shared social past, or at least aspects thereof. Hence, in a world in which people have more time and disposable income to travel, exploration of the past through visiting heritage attractions might reasonably be considered as a natural and expected practice and one that will grow as the opportunities to engage with heritage are themselves expanded. Moreover, partly because of this natural disposition, the fascination with the past has become integral to contemporary life. It is reflected in the media, in hobby-based activities that centre on the collection of all kinds of memorabilia, in entertainment and in many sectors of education (Fowler, 1992). We tend, therefore, to live in a world in which past and present are blended in subtle and often complex ways.

Nostalgia and a sense of loss

A second explanation for the contemporary popularity of heritage attractions emphasises the role of nostalgia and what Urry (1990) terms a 'sense of loss'. This is a line of reasoning that has been strongly influenced by Hewison's (1987) critique of heritage in the UK and which suggests that processes of deindustrialisation created a profound sense of dislocation between people and the ways of life to which they were accustomed. In many communities, both urban and rural, the decades after the Second World War have been a period of acute change in which many traditional areas of work, the technologies that supported those activities and the social structures that bound people together in working communities, were dismantled and ultimately destroyed by a combination of economic globalisation and the rise of neoliberal political agendas. In addition, the emergence of new centres of political and economic influence in areas such as East Asia, has diminished the position of formerly dominant nation states as places of political, economic and strategic influence. These processes, it is suggested, help to construct a nostalgic gaze on the past as a golden era. By visiting heritage sites that either capture and reflect periods in which European countries were truly dominant, or which convey a sense of the traditions of the past (such as former centres of industry), people find a temporary reconnection with a past that they know cannot be retrieved, but which may, in a sense, be revisited and perhaps relived in spirit. This is, of course, a socially constructed gaze that is highly selective. The unappealing aspects of the past are filtered out, so that the memories or feelings that remain are essentially positive and reassuring, but in certain sectors of heritage tourism it is powerfully influential.

In the modern context the concept of nostalgia is interesting. The term originated as a description of a form of physical illness that was observed amongst groups of explorers, especially in the very uncertain periods of global exploration in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Today we call it 'homesickness' and we know that it is prompted by the fears and discomforts that some people encounter when they are removed from the security of the familiar and the known. Hewison (1987) suggests that the modern tendency to nostalgia becomes prevalent at times of anxiety, discontent or disappointment and so part of the appeal of heritage may be read as a form of resistance to the alienating and impersonal aspects of life in the twenty-first century. Walsh (1992: 116) comments that 'the expansion of heritage during the late 1970s and 1980s was . . . [in part] . . . a response to the perceived need for a past during a period when the rigours of

(post)modern life eroded a sense of history and rootedness'. The observable desire in many communities to capture and conserve aspects of the past that may still remain (or even to remake as replicas things that have already been lost) may be seen as a part of that response.

Romantic aesthetics

There is an influential relationship between some aspects of heritage and aesthetics, particularly emanating from the nineteenth-century Romantic Movement in which nature was idealised as a pure alternative to the ills of the Industrial Revolution. Franklin (2004: 180) comments that 'the authors of Romanticism were also, in part, the authors of heritage', while Rojek (1993b: 145) observes that in the nineteenth-century Romantic Movement we find 'evidence of a strong aesthetic and ideological association with the past as a place of peace and splendour'. That belief still underpins aspects of the nostalgic tourist gaze. The aesthetics of Romanticism also directly shaped what Graham et al. (2000: 14) describe as the 'deification of nature' that led directly to national parks becoming key components in the natural heritage of most countries today.

Franklin (2004) also draws attention to a Romanticism-based aesthetic in what he terms the 'anti-modern consumerism' response to the modernism that dominated social life in the 1950s and 1960s, for example in fashion, domestic interiors, consumer goods, housing design, transportation and urban planning. However, as Franklin notes, 'the relentless procession of new things, new developments, new lifestyles and change . . . engendered a feeling of loss and rootlessness' (2004: 183). As a response, moods and tastes have gradually swung backwards, with a new premium being placed on traditional styles and forms of production – to whole foods, real ale and handmade products, or housing that is imitative of vernacular rather than modernist styles and public spaces that are themed around a traditional past. Franklin labels this trend as 'heritage consumerism' and it is now hugely influential.

Identity, resistance and authenticity

The fourth group of explanations for the popularity of heritage relate to what may be broadly termed as 'identity, resistance and authenticity'. Here there is a clear connection to the work of MacCannell (1973, 1989), who (as we have seen in Chapter 6) argues that one of the primary motives for modern tourism is the experience of immersion into the real, authentic lives of others (pre-modern, traditional societies) as an antidote to the modern inauthenticity of the tourist's own day-to-day life. Some sectors of heritage tourism, especially those attractions that present the heritage of pre- and early industrial communities may reflect this tendency. However, whether visitors are actually seeking the authenticity of other lives, or whether they are simply curious about how their near-ancestors may have lived, is a point of debate.

Although the relationship between heritage and authenticity can be problematic at times (see below), there are more ambiguous links with notions of identity. This operates at a number of geographic scales:

- At a national level where, for example, a country's flag, landmark historic buildings, or the emblems and trappings of traditional leaders (such as kings) are all heritage elements that are widely used and recognised as symbols of national identity (Palmer, 2000).

- At a regional and local level, where similar processes are widely used to assert the distinctiveness of particular communities or cultural groups (Hale, 2001; Pritchard and Morgan, 2001; Halewood and Hannam, 2001). For some writers, a strong communal sense of identity is actually fundamental to the formation of heritage and its subsequent development as a tourism resource (Ballesteros and Ramirez, 2007).
- At an individual level, where heritage is also used to assert personal identity.

According to Walsh (1992), for example, the rising levels of consumption of heritage is a key part of the acquisition of new cultural capital by the emerging service classes in the post-industrial economy and provides important markers of what Bourdieu (1984) recognises as distinction and taste.

When viewed in this way, heritage as an expression of identity becomes closely connected to forms of resistance. For example, Urry (1990) suggests that heritage sites are often important locally, since by conserving such places local people find an important way to *signify* their distinct locality. Ashworth and Tunbridge (2004: 210) develop this point by noting that there is often an assumption that since ‘history is necessarily unique to a specific place and people, its transformation into heritage should produce a unique product reflecting and promoting a unique place or group identity’. Thus the development of heritage attractions can be interpreted, at least in part, as a form of resistance against the homogenising tendencies of globalisation.

New political economies

Heritage as a product or commodity provides a foundation for the final group of factors that have been proposed to explain their growth in contemporary tourism. This relates to the perceived importance (or value) of heritage tourism in the post-industrial political economy.

First, the emergence of neoliberal, conservative politics during the early 1980s in the US, Britain and some other parts of Europe created a new political climate in which market economics widely replaced government-supported programmes. As a result, historic resources (along with other cultural and environmental resources) were required to find alternative sources to government funding. This placed new expectations and requirements on historical societies and conservation organisations to promote their sites and raise revenue directly from visitors. This created a new imperative to raise awareness and stimulate demand by developing accessible and often commodified heritage experiences.

The use of the past as a strategic element in place promotion and urban regeneration has also become a ubiquitous feature of post-industrial development, especially in urban areas. Franklin (2004) writes of how, in the UK, the early years of Margaret Thatcher’s administration (between 1979 and *circa* 1985) were a period of acute neoliberal economic restructuring that plunged many towns and cities into deep recession and triggered a frantic scramble to find new forms of enterprise. (Similar processes were to be seen in the US under the Reagan administration.) Urban heritage schemes emerged as an almost universal form of urban investment, capitalising on the potential of abandoned urban spaces to form new places of attraction in, for example, waterfront docks, factories and mills, and railway and canal networks. These have brought rising numbers of tourists to some of the most unlikely destinations, such as the industrial cities of northern England or the northeastern US, as heritage became an economic resource to be developed and promoted as a product (Graham et al., 2000).

Brief mention should be made here of the impact of environmental politics. Modern environmentalism has its origins in the late nineteenth century and became initially evident in areas such as landscape conservation through the early development of the national parks in the US and the formation of the National Trust in Britain. For much of the twentieth century, environmentalism seldom occupied the political centre ground, but since the early 1970s, with the emergence of the 'green' movement in Europe and especially since the Brundtland Commission report of 1987, new levels of concern around sustainable development and the environmental impacts of human activity have emerged. This has raised public awareness of the vulnerability of the environment in general and refocused concerns around issues such as conservation. While the politics of sustainability and conservation are not necessarily directed towards heritage issues per se, the natural synergies between environmental conservation, sustainable forms of development and historic preservation makes heritage a natural beneficiary of the political and public interest in broader definitions of sustainable development.

The evolving character of heritage

Part of the reason why heritage has been widely adopted as a component of urban regeneration and place promotion is that heritage has evolved in ways that have extended its appeal to market segments that were formerly excluded. As has been noted previously, heritage is a negotiated reality; it is a social construction that evolves through time and which is simultaneously capable of representing a plurality of heritages.

Central to this process has been the dissolution of the hegemony of 'high' culture and the promotion of popular and alternative cultures as a basis to heritage. Prior to the 1960s, 'high' culture (which is broadly centred on the arts, literature, history and music) was clearly differentiated from popular (or 'low') culture that centred on areas such as popular entertainment and most sports. High culture possessed an aura that was reinforced by academics and through performances by professional elites to audiences with the 'refined' capability to recognise their intrinsic qualities. Franklin (2004: 186) writes that 'culture was absolute, invariable and off-limits to all but those in a position to nurture it through specialised and expensive dedication'.

All this changed with the cultural revolution that occurred in much of Western world in the 1960s, and the subsequent onset of the post-industrial economy. The 1960s, in particular, saw the powerful emergence of popular culture (especially youth cultures that centred on fashion, the media, and popular music) and the tacit, and eventually enthusiastic, acceptance of these new cultural forms by those who still see themselves as arbiters of taste. The Beatles, for example, who were initially reviled by an establishment that objected to their long hair and their working-class, Liverpudlian personas, were soon to be awarded national honours and a performance for the Queen.

An important part of the 'democratisation' of culture was a diversification in the production of cultural artefacts and a multiplication in the number of producers. The number of television and radio stations, newspaper and magazine titles, and the incidence and extent of advertising, for example, all increased enormously between 1960 and 1980. This occurred through a growing awareness of the fact that modern society contains multiple audiences with distinctive tastes and preferences. As we move clearly into the epoch of post-industrialism and postmodernity, that recognition becomes fundamental to the emergence of many new forms of heritage.

Until this transition, the identification of ‘heritage’ reflected the ideologies of people or organisations with power and influence. It was commonly remarked that ‘history is written by the winners’ and hence, part of the geography of heritage is shaped around symbolic sites of power, such as castles, cathedrals, stately homes or the seats of government. These are places that generally reflect the hegemony of ‘high’ cultural forms, and while this tendency still persists, it has now been supplemented and modified by the newer, postmodern predisposition to explore alternative histories and cultures that were previously excluded, such as those of working people, of minority groups, and of women. In so doing, distinctions between ‘high’ and ‘popular’ culture in terms of meanings and significance become much less influential and entirely different geographies of heritage are created around new attractions and locations, as what Timothy and Boyd (2003) describe as ‘excluded pasts’ are rediscovered.

These transformations are revealed not just in the thematic range and geographical locations of new heritage attractions, but also in the evolving character of many of the established places of historic heritage. For example, the museum sector (which is a key-stone in the traditional presentation of heritage) has seen some important shifts in style and emphasis since the 1970s. Not only has the number of registered museums risen dramatically since 1980, but Urry (1990) describes how there has also been:

- a marked broadening in the range of objects that are now deemed worthy of preservation and presentation;
- a shift towards the concept of the living, working museum, as an alternative to the reverential, hushed aura of conventional museums;
- an extension of the business of presenting objects of interest for the public gaze beyond the confines of museums themselves and into other types of space, such as the Hard Rock cafes with their displays of memorabilia (as described previously).

These developments are designed to make these formerly elite spaces accessible to middle classes, while also extending the scope and nature of heritage attractions, as well as their potential markets.

Dark tourism

One other facet of the evolving character of heritage tourism that is worth noting is the rising of what Lennon and Foley (2000) have labelled as ‘dark tourism’. Dark tourism refers to the attraction to tourists of visits to sites associated with death and human disaster, such as wars, genocide, assassinations, terrorist attacks and major accidents. The concept applies particularly to events that have occurred within living memory and which have attracted significant media attention. Stone and Sharpley (2008) note that this is not a new phenomenon as there is a lengthy tradition of travel and tourism to sites associated with death and disaster. However, the scale of activity and the widening range of locations that are now visited are significant, including battlefields and other war sites, military and civilian cemeteries, former prisons and death camps, places associated with celebrity deaths, sites of large-scale natural disasters, and places associated with ghosts and the afterlife.

The large number of sites that are associated with untimely death, disasters and other catastrophes makes any system of classification problematic, but a number of writers (for example, Miles, 2002; Sharpley, 2005) have suggested there are different

levels (or shades) of dark tourism. In broad terms these relate to the intensity and proximity of experience, in which proximity is both spatial and temporal. Hence, for example, a visit to the former concentration camp at Auschwitz is likely to be a much more intense (or darker) experience than a visit to the US Holocaust Memorial Museum in Washington, because the former is the site at which people actually died whereas the latter is a place at which these events are commemorated (Miles, 2002). The analysis by Lennon and Foley (2000) of sites associated with the assassination of US President John F. Kennedy reveals some similar contrasts between the more detached memorialising in the Kennedy Museum in the JFK Library in Boston and the more immediate impacts of the 6th Floor Museum in Dallas, which contains the room from which the fatal shots were allegedly fired. Temporal proximity is also important and Lennon and Foley (2000) suggest that it is only with the passage of time that sites associated with tragedy become accessible to the tourists and after a due period for grief, the paying of respects and commemoration has elapsed.

But why would increasing numbers of tourists want to visit sites associated with human suffering? Dark tourism is a complex amalgam of motives, some of which are grounded in basic human instincts, such as the morbid curiosities that routinely draw sightseers and rubber-neckers to the scenes of accidents (Rojek, 1993a). Educational, commemorative, reverential and even entertainment purposes are also layered motivations in shaping behaviour patterns to such sites.

Lennon and Foley (2000) argue that the rise of dark tourism is a part of the postmodern condition in which the regular infusion by global media into daily life brings a constant flow of images of conflict, death and disaster. This produces a desire on the part of people to validate for themselves the events that they have seen reported, by visiting the sites in question. There is a very real power associated with 'being there' and seeing for oneself the places at which momentous events have transpired. In a world that is shaped by mobility, such opportunities are becoming more commonplace. In many instances, too, such sentiments become closely aligned with a sense of pilgrimage. Pilgrimage is often associated with the deaths of individuals or groups that acquire a religious or ideological significance that transcends the event and provides a meaning for the pilgrims (Lennon and Foley, 2000). These actions form part of the commemoration of death in many societies and are easily transformed into common tourist practices such as visiting the graves (and sometimes the sites of death) of celebrities. Examples include the tomb of the American rock singer Jim Morrison (who is buried in the Pere Lachaise cemetery in Paris), the roadside at Cholame, California (where iconic American actor James Dean met his death in a road accident) and Elm Street in Dallas (where John F. Kennedy was assassinated).

MORE ONLINE: Case Study 9.1 Railway heritage in Britain

The heritage tourism market

The nature of heritage attractions is an essential ingredient in defining the 'supply side' of the heritage tourism market. However, as the preceding discussion demonstrates, this sector has been becoming progressively more diverse as the heritage has evolved from the narrow confines of 'high' cultural forms to embrace the much broader realms of 'popular' culture. In this way, the supply of heritage attractions that have been recognised for centuries are now supplemented by emerging attractions that reflect the creation or rediscovery of 'new' heritages.

In an attempt to develop a clearer understanding of the nature and diversity of heritage attractions, Prentice (1994) developed an outline typology that summarises a wide range

of attractions that are grouped under twenty-three headings that described categories such as ‘towns and townscapes’, ‘religious attractions’, ‘stately and ancestral homes’ and ‘socio-cultural attractions’. The list of attractions that Prentice provides is comprehensive, but the typology is perhaps limited by the absence of any overarching organising criteria or a clear sense of the connectivity that creates heritage.

To try to address these deficiencies, Figure 9.2 develops a more structured arrangement to deliver the same ends. This figure proposes that heritage is fundamentally the product of the interplay between the environment (in its both natural and non-natural states), people, and the spaces and places that people create through their interactions with their environments and with each other. From these key variables it is possible to define a series of different heritage contexts which are here described as ‘scapes’. Five such ‘scapes’ are proposed:

- ‘Landscapes’ – comprise the heritage of the natural environment or, more likely, areas that although modified by human activity, retain an outwardly natural character.
- ‘BUILTSCAPES’ – comprise the heritage of buildings and the built environment as a physical entity.
- ‘WORKSCAPES’ – comprise the heritage associated with the world of work.
- ‘TECHNOSCAPES’ – comprise the heritage associated with technology, science and invention.
- ‘PEOPLESAPES’ – capture the heritage that is expressed by people in their social, cultural or political lives.

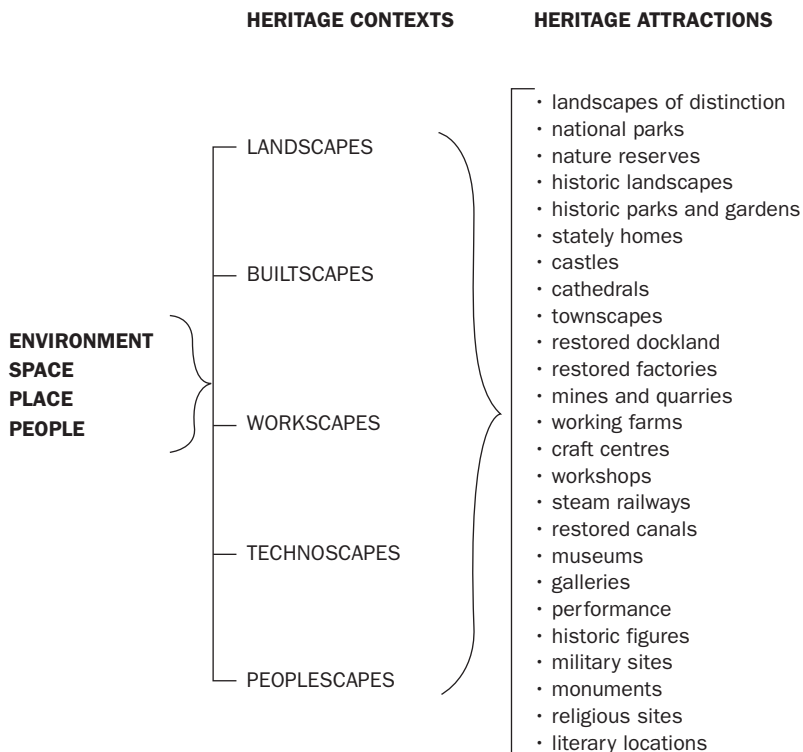


Figure 9.2 Typology of heritage attractions

The categories are not, of course, necessarily discrete, but the framework suggests that either directly or, more probably, through a process of interplay between ‘scapes’, a pattern of heritage attractions may be identified, much as proposed by Prentice (1994). In Figure 9.2 these are ‘mapped’ (in general terms) against the ‘scapes’ that most directly shape their character, although the process cannot, of course, be exact.

Timothy and Boyd (2003) suggest that within the range of heritage attractions, particular categories assume a raised level of significance. Their discussion highlights:

- museums and galleries;
- the living culture that is expressed in festivals, ceremonies and performances;
- industrial heritage as a celebration of former productive processes, their societies and technologies;
- archaeological sites, some of which have long been a focus of the tourist gaze at sites (such as the pyramids at Giza), others of which are reflective of more recent discoveries;
- literary sites that are either connected with the real lives of writers (e.g., Shakespeare’s association with Stratford-upon-Avon), and those that provide the settings of their stories (e.g., Beatrix Potter’s Lake District; see Squire, 1993).

To these might be added other key attractions that include religious sites, places associated with historic figures, military sites, monuments and, especially, historic buildings and townscapes. Plate 9.1 shows part of Le Mont St Michel in eastern Brittany, one of the most visited heritage attractions in France and where the appeal is based primarily on the dramatic setting and the remarkable character of its built environment.

It is important to remember that heritage is sometimes spatially contingent, that is, it is shaped by its geographic context, which is variable from place to place. For example, in the eastern US, heritage sites are mainly reflective of the colonial era and the period of the War of American Independence, whereas in the western US, heritage sites reflect the pioneering world of the American frontier, the Spanish and, belatedly, the Native Americans (see Plate 9.2).

The heritage tourism market is widely identified as a major growth sector within the overall growth of tourism itself, although precise measurements are difficult to attain. Timothy and Boyd (2003), for example, provide sample data on the growth of visitors to designated national, natural and cultural heritage sites in the US that show a rise from 286.5 million visits in 1980 to nearly 430 million in 2000 – an increase of exactly 50 per cent. Between the mid-1970s and mid-2000s, Britain has acquired over 1,000 new registered museums, an additional 210,000 listed buildings (i.e., buildings designated as being of architectural importance), over 5,000 new conservation areas and a further 5,400 scheduled ancient monuments (English Heritage, 2008).

The observed tendency has been for heritage sites to attract higher educated, middle-class professionals, what Urry (1994a) calls the ‘service class’, based on their employment in white collar service industry positions. The characteristics of this market have been used to connect heritage tourism with motives that centre on education and the pursuit of knowledge. For example, a study by Prentice and Andersen (2007) of visitor motivations to a pre-industrial heritage museum in Denmark identified a desire ‘to understand how people used to live’ as a primary purpose in shaping the visit. However, interestingly, the motive that was identified as being of almost equal significance was the wish ‘to find somewhere to visit whilst in the area’ in other words, to relax and see additional



Plate 9.1 The heritage appeal of historic townscapes: part of Le Mont St Michel, France (photo by Stephen Williams)

interesting sights. Work reported by Chen (1998) and Richards (2001) drew essentially similar conclusions, namely, that heritage tourism is primarily shaped by a pursuit of knowledge, but is often grounded in common leisure motives of relaxation and sightseeing.

However, given the multiple meanings that heritage has acquired, explanation of patterns of tourist visiting to heritage sites needs to reflect a wider range of motives than education and sightseeing. Poria et al. (2006b) draw attention to the impacts of several of these wider factors. First, they note the importance of individual needs to understand the self through visiting sites that have connections to personal development or which, more simply, are reflective of one's interests. This is closely related, second, to interests in genealogy (discussed above). As the incidences of diasporas in the world population multiply, so does the tendency for people to spend leisure time in seeking out their roots and locating ancestral homes – a practice that McCain and Ray (2003) term 'legacy tourism'. Third, heritage tourism is sometimes motivated by a desire to engage with the sacred and to pay homage at sites that act as memorials to key events or influential individuals. Tourists who engage in dark tourism, for example, are engaging in heritage tourism in ways that are not simply explained in relation to recreation and leisure, but



Plate 9.2 Alternative heritage: the Spanish mission church at San Xavier del Bac, Arizona (photo by Stephen Williams)

which draw on some more fundamental motives. Fourth, there are ‘must see’ locations, places which have iconographic or symbolic importance that demands the attention of even the most loosely engaged tourist: the Parthenon in Greece, the pyramids in Egypt, or the Taj Mahal in India, for example.

When these broader motives are placed alongside the emergence of newer forms of heritage attraction that do not conform to the traditional notions of heritage as ‘high’ culture, does the visitor base become broader and more diverse? Although it is outwardly a reasonable expectation that visitors to newer styles of heritage attraction might draw more heavily on sectors of the population that are generally under-represented at traditional heritage attractions, evidence to confirm this expectation is at best fragmentary and often contradictory. Prentice (1993), for example, noted a slight tendency for heritage sites that are based on industry and some of the technologies of industry (such as railway or canal museums) to attract higher levels than normal of visitors from lower socio-economic groups. This market is perhaps drawn to these sites because they have direct experience of sites of production and transportation, either through their own work or because it is a part of their ‘personal’ heritage as working people.

However, despite a few cases that found similar visitorship at other UK sites (e.g., Bristol City Council, 2005), the dominant tourist segment to both new and old style heritage attractions tends to be white, educated, professionals. The development of new

types of attraction has been clearly responsible for a significant overall growth in the market, but whether it has been as influential in diversifying the profile of heritage visitors is still being debated.

MORE ONLINE: Case Study 9.2 Heritage attractions of England

Heritage and authenticity

One of the many lines of argument that are advanced to explain rising levels of public interest in heritage tourism relates to perceptions of heritage destinations as real (or authentic). As such, they provide an antidote to some of the patently unreal places that people encounter elsewhere, such as in the theme parks and ‘fantasy cities’ that were discussed in Chapters 7 and 8. In many heritage contexts, therefore, authenticity is held to be an essential attribute. People desire to see the original objects or to visit the actual places at which famous events transpired. In the burgeoning areas of living museums and places that offer heritage ‘experiences’, visitors carry some expectation that those experiences are, at least to some degree, realistic, accurate and authentic. Degrees of authenticity, however, are difficult to measure and in heritage tourism the concept of authenticity can be deeply problematic.

To try to understand the issues that surround historic authenticity more fully, three key questions are worth addressing. First, is authenticity an attainable attribute in heritage tourism? The easy answer to this question is probably ‘no’. Lowenthal (1985) and Herbert (2001), for example, both observe that there is no such thing as an authentic past. Heritage and, for that matter history, are created and re-created from surviving memories, records, artefacts and sites and, like culture, are actively invented, remade and periodically reorganised (Chhabra et al., 2003). Memories, however, change and are historically conditioned, as well as being inherently revisionist and selective (Herbert, 2001). Similarly, Fowler (1992) argues that ‘living history’ is an impossible concept and any attempt to realise it is bound to produce a fraud. We can replicate the look of history but not the meanings, emotions and contemporary experiences of the people of the time. This is often reinforced by the way that heritage is managed. For example, the removal of objects and artefacts from their original cultural milieu and their placement in museums or heritage centres, necessarily alters some of their meanings and symbolic significance.

We also need to remember that the production of authenticity is often dependent on the nature of its reproduction. For example, when events are played out by indigenous people according to received traditions, there is a tendency to ascribe a higher level of authenticity to that performance over a re-enactment (however realistically) by actors or performers. But we still may not escape the fact that authenticity is often a relative construct because it is a subjective quality that is formed by cultural influences and modified through experience. Timothy and Boyd (2003) make the important point that the meanings of heritage sites and objects are seldom attributes of the object or site itself, but are a product of the way the object is presented and the background of the person doing the viewing.

So rather than viewing authenticity as being necessarily an absolute condition, these debates suggest a more nuanced reading in which alternative authenticities at tourist

sites may be recognised. This idea has been developed by Bruner (1994) into a four-part typology of heritage that distinguishes:

1. original authenticity – in which the actual objects or sites are presented in an essentially unaltered form or context (in so far as that is actually possible);
2. authorised authenticity – in which expert verification authenticates the heritage sites or objects;
3. perfect reproduction – in which places or objects, while not original, are presented in ways that are as complete, flawless and as historically accurate as knowledge permits;
4. authentic reproduction – which although based on elements that are faked or copied, provides the outward appearance of originality and produces a credible representation or a believable experience for the visitor.

A second key question is: how do practices of heritage tourism affect authenticity? Part of the debate around heritage tourism and authenticity turns on the extent to which visitors at heritage sites are truly interested in historical or scientific evidence, or the acquisition of deep levels of knowledge, or whether they are mostly after an experience that stimulates ‘authentic’ reactions: nostalgia, excitement, curiosity or a sense of awe, but without being objectively authentic. In many of the latter contexts, staged authenticities clearly fit the bill (MacCannell, 1973). However, staged authenticities that aim simply to provide ‘experience’ risk the creation of what Timothy and Boyd (2003) label as ‘distorted pasts’. Several forms of distortion are identified, including invented, sanitised and unknown pasts.

Invented pasts relate to a tendency for tourists to seek out places or experiences that are imagined rather than real. This is a common feature of literary forms of heritage tourism in which fiction that is located in real places produces a blurring of the real and the invented. Nevertheless, tourism encourages visitors to immerse themselves in settings in which creative works are located or where fictional characters are supposed to have resided. The fact that these are often imagined settings does not necessarily matter to the visitor for, as Herbert (2001) correctly recognises, although literary places have acquired meaning from an imaginary world, they still exert a level of real meaning for the visitor. The Lakeland of Beatrix Potter’s ‘Peter Rabbit’ (and friends) is a good exemplar of how landscapes of the imagination can become real objects of the heritage tourist’s gaze.

Invented pasts are also often sanitised or idealised, with the unappealing elements of the original excised to produce an experience that will be acceptable to the sensibilities of modern mass leisure visitors. Industrial and folk museums are an interesting case in point as they tend to project an image of these communities as essentially clean, picturesque, fragrant, well-ordered and harmonious. But this often strikes a false chord since as the authors note, ‘representations of conflict, anti-social behaviour, death, disease, divorce, orphanages and starvation are notably absent’ (Timothy and Boyd, 2003: 251). Waitt (2000), reporting a study of a waterfront heritage development in the shadow of the Sydney Harbour Bridge in Australia (known as The Rocks), reached a similar conclusion. He noted how the commodified heritage experiences at The Rocks were routinely accepted as ‘authentic’ by a majority of the visitors, yet the Eurocentric narratives of the place completely over-wrote alternative narratives of the indigenous people who had also occupied the site, or the themes of poverty, illness, death and conflict that were very much a part of the real history of the place.

Ultimately, the past will always contain elements that are unknown and cannot be recovered, so that any representation of the past is distorted because true authenticity is unattainable. Modern people cannot possibly understand precisely the lives of people in history or know every detail of how they lived, thought, acted, or viewed their world. This leads to the third key question: are high levels of authenticity actually important in heritage tourism? Urry (1990) argues that although heritage tourism is often distorted, presenting largely visual representations that invite the tourist to imagine the real lives and events that are wrapped around the objects or places of interest, it still serves a valuable purpose in allowing people to gain a sense of the past in ways that they are otherwise unlikely to achieve. Schouten (1995) argues that most visitors to historic sites are looking for an experience that is grounded in the past but may not be truly reflective of that past. In this respect, true authenticity is often less important than a perceived authenticity that is consistent with a nostalgia for often imagined pasts (Chhabra et al., 2003; Waitt, 2000).

There is, of course, a level at which heritage tourism is essentially entertainment, a spectacle to be consumed by people with time to fill and curiosities to assuage. This is a context in which authenticity is a secondary consideration, at best. But heritage tourism (as is true of most forms of tourism) is also an expression of power relations and the way that heritage is conserved, presented and interpreted ultimately reflects the ideologies of groups that possess power and influence, which can include the tourists themselves. Where the exercise of such power leads to a partial view of the history from which heritage is created (and in which, for example, the narratives of minority groups are effectively expunged from the record), then the *ina*uthenticity of that view matters greatly, not least to those citizens whose heritage is being disregarded.

Summary

Since at least the 1970s, heritage has been one of the primary interests that shape many of the spaces of tourism. Interest in the past is informed by a complex combination of innate curiosity, nostalgia, aesthetics, identity and resistance, as well as by quests for a temporary escape from the perceived intensities of modernity, or for an authenticity that is believed to lie within the past. As demand for heritage tourism has become more embedded in daily life, so the range of sites that offer different heritage experiences has extended, eroding the hegemony of 'high' cultural forms of heritage and allowing other forms of popular culture to shape parts of the heritage tourism industry. Through this process new heritage destinations have emerged that have brought tourism to new locations (such as former centres of heavy industry). At the same time, however, the widening range of heritage attractions has raised intriguing questions about whose heritage is being presented and to what extent any representations of history can be truly authentic.

Discussion questions

- 1 In light of the diverse range of locations and environments that now constitute heritage places, how meaningful is it to attempt to identify 'heritage' tourism as a distinctive component in the contemporary tourist industry?
- 2 Why has heritage tourism become so popular in post-industrial societies?
- 3 Who are the 'heritage tourists' and why is the profile of heritage visitors so often skewed towards higher educated 'service' sector segments?

- 4 How has the relationship between heritage and popular cultural forms helped to reshape geographies of contemporary heritage tourism?
- 5 To what extent is authenticity an essential requirement for heritage tourism sites?

Further reading

Although published over twenty years ago, the outstanding discussion of the relationships between societies and their histories remains:

Lowenthal, D. (1985) *The Past is a Foreign Country*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

More recent discussions that explore similar themes are provided in:

Fowler, P.J. (1992) *The Past in Contemporary Society: Then, Now*, London: Routledge.

Graham, B., Ashworth, G.J. and Tunbridge, J.E. (2000) *A Geography of Heritage*, London: Arnold.

Detailed examinations of relationships between heritage and tourism are to be found in:

Boniface, P. and Fowler, P.J. (1993) *Heritage and Tourism in the 'Global Village'*, London: Routledge.

Herbert, D.T. (ed.) (1995) *Heritage, Tourism and Society*, London: Mansell.

Prentice, R. (1993) *Tourism and Heritage Attractions*, London: Routledge.

Timothy, D.J. and Boyd, S.W. (2003) *Heritage Tourism*, Harlow: Prentice Hall.

Useful short discussions of heritage within texts that explore a wider range of tourism issues can be found in:

Franklin, A. (2004) *Tourism: An Introduction*, London: Sage.

Lew, A.A., Hall, C.M. and Williams, A.M. (eds) (2014) *The Wiley-Blackwell Companion to Tourism Geography*, Oxford: Blackwell.

Urry, J. (1990) *The Tourist Gaze: Leisure and Travel in Contemporary Societies*, London: Sage.

Urry, J. and Larson, J. (2011) *The Tourist Gaze 3.0*, London: Sage.

For a highly readable critique of heritage attractions relating to 'dark' tourism, see:

Lennon, J. and Foley, M. (2000) *Dark Tourism: The Attraction of Death and Disaster*, London: Continuum.

Sharpley, R. and Stone, P.R. (eds) (2009) *The Darker Side of Travel: The Theory and Practice of Dark Tourism*, Bristol, UK: Channel View.

10

Nature, risk and geographic exploration in tourism

KEY CONCEPTS

- Adventure tourism
- Ecotourism
- Managing uncertainty
- Nature-based tourism
- Peak experience/flow experience
- Psychocentric/allocentric
- Slum tourism
- Terra incognita
- Tourism incognita
- Tourism marketing
- Tourist motivation
- Unguided/self-guided tourism
- Volunteer tourism/voluntourism
- Wilderness



More online for Chapter 10 at <http://tourismgeography.com/10>

Nature-based tourism

The natural world offers a great diversity of attractions that stimulate human interest to visit and experience. Among these are the seashores (Chapter 2), health spas and springs, recreation and religious experiences, and scientific insights (Meyer-Arendt, 2004). Each of these has a long tradition with distinct nuances that reflect the history, culture, values and economies of different times and places. This chapter examines the Romantic attraction of nature as a response to modernity, and how this is reflected in tourist experiences of the natural world. This is followed by an exploration of the balance between risk and opportunity, as exemplified through ecotourism and adventure tourism.

The allure of the natural environment has long roots in the history of modern tourism starting with the age of Enlightenment and its associated scientific rationalism, and the dawning of the Industrial Revolution. Philosophically, modern science objectified nature for utilitarian and economic goals. While this approach resulted in great advancements in science, business and society, it also resulted in unprecedented levels of exploitation and degradation of natural resources, as well as pollution and squalor in the newly expanding industrial cities of the nineteenth century. The Romantic Movement responded to the

separation of nature from human emotional experiences by embracing an ideal image of a natural world that is untouched and unoccupied by humans – a world that was becoming increasingly smaller through the mechanisms of industrialisation.

Prior to the Industrial Revolution and the Romantic response, natural landscapes that were devoid of human presence were places of fear (Nicolson, 1962; Tuan, 1979; Honour, 1981). A wilderness was a ‘wild’ place, not suitable or safe for people. After the start of the Industrial Revolution, however, these environments quickly became objects of awe and admiration, exhibited in art and literature, at first in Europe and then moving to North America. Inspirational works of Romantic artists inspired tourists to seek out pristine nature-based destinations and experiences, often utilising industrial era railways and steamships to escape their urban environments for rural ones (Butler, 1985). In North America, New York’s Catskill Mountains and Niagara Falls were among the first natural destinations for the region’s expanding urban populations.

As American settlement expanded across the continent, artists and writers discovered a new Eden in the vast open space and spectacular landscapes of the mountain west – and tourists followed closely on their heels (Demars, 1990; Sears, 1989). The newly established national parks in the late 1800s and early 1900s, including Yellowstone (the world’s first national park), Yosemite, and the Grand Canyon were created in part to protect them from commercialisation in response to the increasing numbers of tourists (Nash, 1967; Pyne, 1998). According to Meyer-Ardent (2004: 426):

The Grand Canyon National Park, Yosemite National Park, and Yellowstone National Park represented the coliseums and cathedrals of the New World and gave rise to a new form of nature-based tourism that not only continues to this day but has also been exported across the globe through the development of national parks and nature reserves.

American Indians

At this same time, American Indians, who had recently been pushed to the most remote regions of the western US, also became major tourist attractions. In the minds of the majority of Americans and Europeans in the nineteenth century, American Indians were the ‘Noble Savage’: dignified, stoic, reserved, honourable, hospitable and truthful, and free of the sins of civilisation – an image that closely reflected the perceived finer qualities of civilised European high culture (Billington, 1981). To Romantics, Native Americans were put on a pedestal, epitomising humankind as it once existed in a ‘pure state’. Paradoxically, this occurred at the same time that they were increasingly being deprived of their traditional lands and cultures. From the Romantic perspective, however, American Indians were inseparable from the natural environments they occupied.

These images were not only engrained in artistic representations of the American west, but were also heavily marketed by railroad companies for tourists in the eastern US. Tourism became an important part of the business plan for railroad companies seeking ticket and tour revenues, as well as investors and settlers for railroad owned lands. In the early 1900s, the Santa Fe Railroad began to promote the attractions of the American Southwest as a means of creating a distinct identity for itself, as well as boosting travel along its rail line. Famous painters and illustrators were commissioned to produce posters and calendar art that were widely distributed throughout the country (Jett, 1990). The Santa Fe Railroad Indian was a ‘prototype of preindustrial society. Simplicity. Freedom.

Nobility. This was the life and culture that inhabited Santa Fe's "friendly" oasis of the desert Southwest' (McLuhan, 1985: 19). Today these images continue to draw large numbers of tourists to the Indian lands of the western US (Lew, 1998). For international tourists, the American Southwest holds a special allure as it has come to symbolise all that makes the US different from the Old World. Germans appear to be especially fascinated by the Southwest and its American Indian inhabitants. The French and Japanese are also frequent visitors to Southwestern reservations.

Cohen (1979, 1988) notes that the desire to see and experience traditional cultures is closely associated with industrialised societies. Whether or not individual Native Americans can possibly live up to the expectations and stereotypes forced upon them may be irrelevant (Lew and Kennedy, 2002). Some tourists, upon visiting a reservation, are disappointed to find that the idealised Noble Savage is less primitive and less noble than they had envisioned. Many more tourists, however, will do their best to make sure that their expectations are actually fulfilled, and that their time and money were not wasted. At the very least, the experience of encountering Native American culture in what has come to be its natural environment engenders a sense of authenticity and a perception of another world, which is a deeply engrained motivation for travel and tourism.

MORE ONLINE: Case Study 10.1 Pueblo Indian tourism in the American Southwest

Nature experiences

The experience of nature, more so than many urban tourist attractions, is often a fully embodied experience. While the visual gaze is still significant, so are the smells of the forest, the sounds of flowing water, the feeling of the wind and the physical exertion of a steep terrain (Edensor, 2000b; Crouch and Desforges, 2003; Dann and Jacobsen, 2003; Molz, 2010). Nature encounters can also be emotional experiences, including 'biophilic' attachments to personally special natural sites and landscapes (Kellert and Wilson, 1993) and 'flow' experiences of timelessness and oneness with nature (Csikszentmihalyi, 1990).

Hill, Curtin and Gough (2014) summarised four ways in which tourists encounter nature, based on research in Australia's Daintree Rainforest, Mexico's Baja California and Spain's Andalusia. These include:

1. *Sensory interactions*, which include often multi-sensoral seeing, walking through, hearing, smelling and touching nature.
2. *Affective or emotional responses*, which they categorise into five fundamental forms, including (i) a peak experience of wonder and awe, (ii) empathy and oneness with the environment being experienced, (iii) feelings of complete immersion in nature and separation from their urban world, (iv) a sense of being vulnerable, which can also include fear of wildlife and the unknown, and (v) degrees of excitement, from a peaceful and meditative calmness to a heightened sense of arousal in, for example, encountering wild animals.
3. *Subjective and inter-subjective performativity*, which can result in very different responses to the same environment by different individuals, reflecting past experiences and how different people express their self-identities through their responsive performance.



Plate 10.1 An ecocamp platform cabin on the Kinabatangan River provides an intimate encounter with the rainforest of northern Borneo (photo by Alan A. Lew)

4. *Spatio-temporal mobilities*, which describes how nature-based tourists navigate and adjust their speed, time, direction and path based on their familiarity, comfort levels, regulatory regime (including tour guides) and motivations.

People are drawn to nature-based tourism experiences because ‘encountering both the plant and animal components of ecosystems is sensually and emotionally absorbing, potentially spiritually uplifting, and allows time out from daily routines to enable contemplation and reflection’ (Hill et al., 2014: 18). There is also a degree of risk in encountering nature, because no matter how well we may know it, there are always elements of the unknown involved. Encounters with the unknown, however, may be among the most meaningful of tourism experiences.

Tourism incognita

In the Age of Exploration (sixteenth and seventeenth centuries), prior to the Industrial Revolution, European cartographers marked the yet-to-be-explored places on maps with the Latin, *terra incognita* (land unknown). As the outlines of most of the land areas on the planet eventually were explored and recorded, the concept of *terra incognita* gradually changed from a physical reference to a metaphorical one that applied to all that is unknown. For geographers, the term changed from being applied to vast continental and ocean areas to the many nuances of the unknown that lie within the context of specific places, cultures and peoples. The traditional concept of unexplored and unmapped territories still exists, but is mostly relegated to the most remote and isolated places on the planet, including the plants and animals under the sea (*mare incognitum*). The more common *terrae incognitae* of today exist between and behind the public face of our everyday world,

including in the back rooms of social outcasts, the secret geographies of the underground economy, and the private lives of most individuals.

In 1947, the geographer John Kirkland Wright opened his presidential address to the Association of American Geographers with the words:

Terra Incognita: these words stir the imagination. Through the ages men have been drawn to unknown regions by Siren voices, echoes of which ring in our ears today when on modern maps we see spaces labelled 'unexplored,' rivers shown by broken lines, islands marked 'existence doubtful.'

(Wright, 1947: 1)

The world's *terrae incognitae* have always held an important role in the traveller's motivation and experiences of place. Even today, when travel and tourism trips are usually taken to known places, there is a lot that we do not know and that is waiting to be explored and experienced in those destinations (Lew, 2011). This unknown element is rich in imagination and plays a crucial role in the motivation to visit new destinations, as well as in returns to our favourite haunts. In any place, there will always be geographies and experiences that lie beyond the past experiences of any one individual, as well as that of the larger tourist mob. These are the unknown lands of today's tourists that continue to hold opportunities for the same *terra incognita* experiences of the age of exploration and discovery.

Lew and McKercher (2006) have suggested that the tourism geography of a place consists of:

- *Terra cognita*: These are places and spaces that are known to tourists, or at least to the mass tourism industry. They include spaces that are intended almost exclusively for tourists, such as hotels and theme parks, as well as spaces that are shared by tourists and non-tourists, such as shopping districts and festival sites. These are also the places that are most often listed in tourist guide books.
- *Terra intimidus*: These are also known places, but they are avoided by most tourists due to their reputation for danger (usually due to crime), risk (usually in the form of bodily harm), or considerable discomfort (either physical or psychological). They are intimidating places, though small numbers of niche tourists may be attracted to them primarily due to the risk element.
- *Terra incognita*: These are places and regions that are unknown to tourists. Some may have potentially attractive value for tourists, while other have no such potential. Woodside and Sherrell (1977) applied the concept of 'inept sites' to unknown places that have tourism potential, and the concept of 'inert sites' to those that tourists have no special need to know about. (In their framework, *terra cognita* consisted of 'evoked sites'.) Most destinations, and most of the world, consist primarily of *terrae incognitae* from the perspective of the individual tourist.

While many tourists focus on the all-inclusive known experience when they consider and purchase travel experiences, it is equally important to make room for the unknown and the unexpected. I argue that it is even vital to enter *terra incognita* to have a full and deep experience and appreciation of a destination. To do so requires an openness to risk, to serendipity, to personal transformation. It requires that tourists physically encounter the geographic realm of tourism *incognita*. This is a geography that those who market tourism attractions and destinations usually encounter in only a peripheral way, but which

they need to be more aware of. Opportunities for tourism incognita encompass both terra incognita and terra initimidus, and involve taking risks and overcoming the barrier of fear to experience something other than the known world of mass tourism.

Tourism risks and opportunities

Most of the success of modern tourism marketing is in alleviating the uncertainty of travel through the production of hypermodern models of efficiency, predictability and control (Ritzer and Liska, 1997). Tourists are assumed to want efficiency because they have limited time and money and seek to get the highest return for each dollar and hour of their trip. They are assumed to want predictability because an unexpected negative event (such as being charged more than expected or not receiving expected services) can ruin a holiday experience. And they are assumed to want a controlled experience because that is the only way to absolutely ensure efficiency and predictability.

This is seen in many of the world's most popular tourist attractions and destinations, including theme parks and cruise ships and the hotels and casinos of Las Vegas and Macau. The success of this form of marketing has become pervasive and synonymous with modern life, where it is now seen in shopping malls, chain and local restaurants, and a variety of other entertaining public and semi-public spaces (Paradis, 2004).

These tourism businesses are built on a broad social desire to avoid risk. Douglas (1992) has suggested that culture is created based on perceptions of danger and efforts to reduce the stress of risk. Her cultural theory of risk maintains that people associate social and natural disruptions and harm with the transgression of social norms. Control is exerted through rules that are either defined by social institutions or embedded in more nebulous expectations of individual self-control. In this way, the tourism economy creates environments that range from absolute control (cruise ships and Disney parks), to more open, yet still almost always structured, alternative tourisms (Lew, 2012).

The major fear associated with the unknown is a lack of certainty (Williams, 2011). For tourism, the uncertainty barrier is frequently based in a lack of knowledge or a state of imperfect knowledge (both of which are incomplete and erroneous) about the destination place. Thus a flourishing tourism publication industry (guide books, maps and magazines), and tour service industry (travel agents, visitor centres, tour companies and tour guides) has grown to address the knowledge needs of tourist.

But is this what tourists really want? If efficiency, predictability and control were the primary experiential goals of leisure time, then people would be much more satisfied staying at home and watching television. That is, of course, what some people prefer, and variations in risk tolerance among tourists has long been recognised. Some seek the safety of familiar places and guided experiences, while others are more inclined to seek risk, often defined as novelty and exploration (Basala and Klenosky 2001; Lepp and Gibson 2003; Lew 1987). Indeed, every destination in the world has been assigned its psychocentric–allocentric value based on Plog's (1974) model of tourist motivations, which is grounded in this simplistic dualism.

Tourist motivations, however, are extremely complex, as are tourism destinations. Both tourists and destinations encompass a vast array of knowns and unknowns, of safety and risk, and of desire and revulsion. The marketing of attractions and destinations is the selection of a few place images from the context of all possible place images to appeal to the broadest population of potential tourists. Similarly, models of tourist motivation focus on select tourist characteristics from all of the possible human motivations that influence decision making and behaviour. Most tourism marketing aims to create

a ‘positive’ image of efficiency, predictability and control. Few of them market risk, uncertainty and the unknown (i.e., tourism incognita). This is because people tend to be more averse to risk, and will usually prefer a sure and known experience that has lower ultimate rewards over a riskier yet potentially much more rewarding opportunity (Tversky and Kahneman, 1974).

Safety is absolute in tourism marketing. However, risk also plays an important role. The very act of seeking experiences beyond the day-to-day routine involves some risk. However, it is also quite common for tourists to seek insight, surprise, exhilaration and thrill while on their holiday vacation (Jeong and Park, 1997; Lee and Crompton, 1992). Adventure tourism, in general, and amusement rides (such as bungee jumping and houses of horror), in particular, promise thrilling and heart pounding experiences. However, while these may appear risky and participants may show facial expressions of fear, they all exist within the safety of a formal, controlled industrial structure (Kane and Tucker, 2004). Similarly, so-called ‘exotic’ destinations promise adventures into geographical incognita, but again within the context of safety (Minca, 2000). Safety is fundamental in building trust in the tourism industry, and trust is necessary to convince tourists to spend their money.

This all makes logical sense, and it is so taken for granted that few seriously consider any alternative to the dominant model of safety first. What would the marketing of tourism incognita look like? How can tourists be encouraged to explore terra intimidus and terra incognita? Does tourism incognita exist in our contemporary world, either within or beyond the tourism economy?

Experiencing tourism cognita and tourism incognita

Tourism incognita consists of those places that offer the opposite of the known and safe in tourism (Table 10.1). They are places that are either completely unknown (terra incognita), or are associated with danger and avoidance (terra intimidus) by most tourists. As such, they are closely associated with the concept of risk. Williams (2011) explains how the concept of risk in the touristic experience is both socially constructed and individually defined. Different societies draw the line between which actions or places are risky and which are not.

For example, it has been suggested that societies and cultures that are more fatalistic are willing to take more risk when they view the outcome as out of their control, whereas those where more responsibility is placed on the individual would have a lower threshold of risk (Douglas, 1992). In addition, cultures and individuals who place greater trust in

Table 10.1. Cognitive experiences in tourism

<i>Tourism cognita</i>	<i>Tourism incognita</i>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Iconic/mass tourism • Planned/predictable • Safe/familiar/easy • Passive/educational • Staged/contrived • Front region • Role conformity • ‘Psychocentric’ • ‘Evoked and inert’ sites 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Individual/unique • Unplanned/serendipity • Risk/exotic/challenge • Adventure/exciting • Authentic • Back region • Role transformation • ‘Allocentric’ • ‘Inept’ sites

Source: Based on Lew (1987)

science may have higher thresholds for the evaluation of risk and safety where technology serves as a mediating factor (Beck, 1992). And individuals from impoverished economies may be more open to risk experiences that hold a promise of a better life for themselves or their children (Lyng, 1990). Thus, each culture will have distinct geographic boundaries of terra cognita and the realms beyond.

At the individual level, psychologists have repeatedly shown that teenagers tend to be less risk aware than younger and older humans, and that women tend to be more risk averse than men (Jianakoplos and Bernasek, 2007). Exceptions to both of these general patterns are common, due to variations in inborn personality traits and life experiences, which results in variations in emotional, intuitive and impulsive behaviour. Such behaviours have been recognised as important factors in driving purchase decisions (Arroba, 1977). For example, brand names, especially luxury brands, build their higher pricing on the emotional value of ownership, as opposed to functional values. Tourism, being almost entirely aspirational rather than practical, lends itself to emotional and impulsive consumer behaviour.

Because it is largely unknown, tourism incognita exists more in the imagination than in the reality of tourist experience. As such, it is rife with marketing opportunities to create the promise of special, unique and authentic attractions for tourists. Tourism cognita (the known tourist world) is almost entirely structured, staged and contrived, and driven by economic relationships between hosts and guests. This geographic setting is often referred to as inauthentic and placeless (Relph, 1976), and lacking in deep, emotional and meaningful experiences, though there are exceptions. Tourism incognita, on the other hand, is not structured, is largely random, and is emotionally and sometimes physically challenging. Such geographic spaces offer enormous opportunities for existential experiences that can be highly individual and can be life changing. If anything, they can at least make for good stories upon returning home. It is these types of tourist experiences that are remembered long beyond most mass journeys in tourism cognita.

Determinants of tourism incognita

Recognising that differences in tourism incognitae vary considerably from one country to another, from one social group to another, and from one person to another, it is still fairly easy to identify the general geographic realms of a destination place that are known and those that are unknown or avoided by the majority of mass tourists. Surveys can be done to assess the geographic knowledge that tourists have of places, much of which is influenced by experiential knowledge (Poria, et al., 2006a). And surveys can be done to assess tourist perceptions of attraction and fear of different places in a destination (Wong and Yeh, 2008). Such studies reflect the geographic cognitive mapping that people hold of a place (Smith, et al., 2009).

Based on such cognitive mapping, it is possible to create tours that venture into the mostly feared and unknown. Some forms of alternative tourism have made attempts to do this, especially with regard to the terra intimidus part of tourism incognita. These risk tourism products promise the opportunities to experience thrills and insights through ventures into tourism incognita and include:

- *Adventure tourism.* Adventure tourism usually takes place in outdoor environments and involves physical challenges that result in thrill experiences. White water rafting, scuba diving and mountain trekking are among of the more common forms of

adventure tourism. Active tourism, which includes some participation in a sport activity, and extreme tourism, which has a very high level of risk of some kind, are similar to adventure tourism in their overall objectives (Lew, 2011). Because of their physical demands and often high costs, these experiences take people into places that are terra incognita to the majority of the world's population.

- *Volunteer tourism.* Volunteer tourism usually involves someone from a more developed country paying to do community development work in a lesser developed country (Lyon and Wearing, 2008). These are often associated with non-profit groups, including religious organisations, environmental advocates and scientific and museum societies (McGehee, 2002). Volunteer tourism (or 'voluntourism') is a form of immersive tourism which, like adventure tourism and educational tourism, has the tourist completely engaged in the destination community (Crossley, 2012). What all of these share in common is the promise of entering the back region of a place, and to possibly alleviate the guilt associated with the ills of mass tourism by at least seeming to do some good (Keese, 2011). However, most tourists are not interested in volunteer tourism, at least not for their entire holiday, and these tours can also be highly structured in their presentation.
- *Slum tourism.* Slum tourism is another back region experience, taking tourists into areas of a city that were traditionally considered too dangerous due to high rates of crime and poverty, as well as poor public health. Examples include garbage tours and poverty tours (Dürr, 2012). These have become especially popular, and controversial, in India and Brazil (Frenzel and Koens, 2012), and they raise many ethical issues about the relationship of the society's underclass to the wealthy class from which most tourists derive. Slum tourism is a form of reality tourism, which takes tourists out of their leisure enclave and exposes them to the real world. More so than adventure and volunteer tourism, which may consume the entire vacation experience, slum tourism is usually a half-day quick dip into terra incognita and back out again, with the promise of giving the tourist some insights, while possibly getting their hearts pumping a bit faster, as well.
- *Other forms of alternative tourism.* Volunteer tourism and slum tourism fall under the general category of alternative tourism, which can also include most ecotourism experiences, aboriginal and other ethnic tourisms, disaster tourism, religious tourism and pilgrimages, and industrial tourism (Goatcher and Brunnsden, 2011). Many of these are attempts to bring tourists into the more benign regions of tourism incognita, where they may not have gone in the past. Examples include a homestay in a small rural village, visiting a working farm or ranch, and taking a tour of a working mine. These are alternatives to traditional mass tourism, with the purposeful goal of transcending the commercial superficiality that is often associated with mass tourism, and giving tourists more authentic and meaningful experiences (Lyon and Wearing, 2008). In that sense, tourism incognita might be defined as any place in which tourists would experience something outside of the mass tourism economy. Many alternative tourism products are successful in achieving their narrowly defined goals within the confines of the mass tourism industrial complex.
- *Unplanned and unguided tourism.* Unguided tourism generally refers to any type of tourism that does not rely on an intermediary guide of some kind, whether these are people, books, or other information sources. It is reflected in the German concept of 'wanderlust', Cohen's (1972) definition of the 'drifter' tourist, as well as in the Chinese philosopher Lao-Tzu saying that 'A good traveller has no fixed plans and is not intent on arriving.' There are degrees of unguiding, just as there are degrees of

being guided, and many tourists slip into and out of guided and unguided states at different points during a trip (Zillinger, 2007). Another form of unguided travel turns place exploration into a game, the rules of which force one to experience places in new ways. The goal is to be simultaneously structured and open, guided and random, and ultimately to transcend the structure for a more existentially authentic experience of place. An example would be to walk through a town taking the second left turn, then second right, then second left turn as each is encountered. (See also the alternative place guides of *Mission: Explore* [2011], which describes its goal as ‘to experience the world in new ways by doing vitally important random and warped challenges’.)

- *Free and easy packages and self-guided tourism.* Departing somewhat from the examples above are free and easy tour packages which usually consist of transportation to a destination, accommodations and possibly some meals at the destination. A half-day introductory tour (often a city tour) is sometimes included. The tourists are then left to themselves to fill in other activities, some of which are guided tours and others of which are self-guided explorations. Self-guided travel is similar to the free and easy package, except that the transportation and accommodations are booked directly by the traveller, rather than being bought in a package from a travel agency. Self-guided walking and driving tours are another way of doing this, though they usually only focus on one specific, and tested, route with key attractions clearly demarcated. In comparison to the examples above, the tourist is given a much broader range of decision making and taking individual actions, and opportunities for unplanned stops and experiences are significantly increased (Hwang and Fesenmaier, 2011; Zillinger, 2007). As such, they also take on a much greater risk and responsibility for the outcomes of decisions as to whether or not to enter terra incognita. If an experience is bad, then they only have themselves to blame; but if it is exceptionally good, then it could be an experience of a lifetime.

With the possible example of unguided drifter tourism, though even that is open to debate, all of these forms of tourism are ultimately structured in the tourism economy and are extensions of that economy into tourism incognita. This is because they are professionally guided (either in person or on paper) and mostly insured against any harm to tourists. As such, they still surround the tourist in a contrived and staged bubble that must be transcended to bring about a true existential experience. But they are probably doing a better job at this than are traditional mass tourism products.

Many of the tourism incognita (or risk tourism) products described above appear to be self-reflective and aware of their challenge in providing tourists with opportunities for an authentic encounter with terra intimidus and terra incognita, while at the same time keeping them safe. Keeping their products from becoming too commercialised and mass tourism-oriented can be economically difficult in the face of insurance and legal concerns, as well as the tourism industry’s common desire to please the lowest risk levels of the market.

Encounters with nature and natural environments provide the most common setting for peak tourism incognita experiences. Most nature-based tourism encounters today may be broadly classified under ecotourism and adventure tourism. Further insight into these two highly widespread and embodied experiences (see Chapter 11) is therefore warranted.

Ecotourism

The risks attached to a simple equation of alternative tourism with sustainability may be illustrated by a closer look at what is arguably the most prominent, and controversial, of the so-called alternatives: ecotourism. Fennell (1999: 43) defined ecotourism as ‘natural resource-based tourism that focuses primarily on experiencing and learning about nature and which is ethically managed to be low impact, non-consumptive and locally-oriented’. Ecotourism thus strives to minimise negative impacts on the environment and local people, increase awareness and understanding of natural areas and their related cultural systems, and contribute to the conservation and management of those areas and systems (Wallace and Pierce, 1996).

According to Page and Dowling (2002), ecotourism has become one of the fastest growing sectors of the global tourism industry, with some UNWTO estimates suggesting that as much as 20 per cent of the world market is based around ecotourism. Outwardly this estimate appears generously high, but it is probably a consequence of the fact that there are many different forms and definitions of ecotourism, each of which reflects the core values mentioned to varying degrees. One way to think of this is in terms of distinctions between so-called ‘hard’ and ‘soft’ forms of ecotourism:

- Hard ecotourism emphasises intense, personal and prolonged encounters with nature, that generally occur in undisturbed settings and where local communities offer none of the conventional trappings of modern tourism. Participants are usually highly committed environmentalists seeking what Cohen (1979) might categorise as ‘existential’ experience.
- Soft ecotourism centres on short-term exposure to nature where the experience is often one component in a range of other tourist activities and experiences, and where visits tend to be mediated by guides and facilitated by higher quality facilities (accommodations, transportation). Participants in soft forms of ecotourism are less likely to be environmental activists.

This subdivision is helpful in developing a critique of ecotourism (and other alternative forms of tourism) as an intrinsically sustainable, low impact form of tourism. The concept of ‘soft’ ecotourism, in particular, captures a style of travel that a number of writers have characterised as mass tourism in a different guise (Wheeller, 1994). Many of the assumptions about the ethical superiority of ecotourism are often misplaced when it is mostly used as a marketing label to represent traditional tourism products in an outwardly new way. This is often referred to as ‘greenwashing’.

Butler (1994) suggested that the many types of alternative tourism, including ecotourism, represent the pioneering (early) stages of an emerging mass tourism – in Butler’s words, ‘the thin end of the wedge’. In this way, alternative tourism becomes a mechanism for constructing new geographies of travel that will often evolve into mass travel, along with its associated impacts. Alternative tourisms, often centred on the exotic and the distant, are initially experimental and low impact in character because these are the first tourists and tourism entrepreneurs to ‘discover’ the destination. As these small-scale forms of ecotourism develop into a larger enterprise, there is a heightened risk that the economic benefits of tourism, which may have initially accrued locally, will quickly be lost as large-scale travel companies from outside the local area take up the new business opportunities (Page and Dowling, 2002).

But even in the more specialist areas of ‘hard’ ecotourism, it is difficult to escape the conclusion that tourism promotes change and that much of this change is not necessarily beneficial. Wall (1997) sees many forms of ecotourism as instigating change in areas that previously were seldom visited and which thus place new demands on host communities and their environments. Similarly, Butler (1991) argues that it is difficult for even the most low-key forms of ecotourism to avoid creating impacts and while some have noted that ecotourism may promote local identities and pride (Khan, 1997), those forms of ecotourism that involve deep immersion by participants in the places they are visiting means that alternative tourism often penetrates far deeper into the personal lives of residents than the more aloof forms of mass tourism. Ecotourism impacts, therefore, may similarly generate a range of deeper environmental, economic, social and cultural impacts.

These criticisms suggest two important conclusions. First, although alternative forms of tourism outwardly appear as environment-friendly and sustainable, the reality can often be rather different. Second, alternative tourism – while perhaps embracing many principles of sustainability, does not in itself provide a model for sustainable forms of mass tourism, and it is not a potential replacement for mass tourism. This is because its small scale lacks the physical capacity, logistics and organisation to meet the growing levels of demand, it lacks the economic scale that has become so important to many national, regional and local economies, and the style of alternative tourism fails to match the tastes and preferences of many millions of holidaymakers and travellers worldwide.

So, while there are aspects of alternative tourism that certainly provide lessons in how to forge sustainable relationships between tourism and the environment, alternative tourism is not a natural and sustainable replacement for the supposedly problematic mass forms of travel. Solutions to the challenges of sustainability, therefore, need to be forged within the context of mass tourism. That suggests that if a beneficial symbiotic relationship between tourism and the environment is to be maintained, careful management and planning of tourism’s development, whether guided by sustainable principles or not, must be a central component in the future growth and success of tourism.

Adventure tourism

Adventure tourism covers a very broad range of air, water and land activities and there is no clear consensus on its precise definition. At its core lies a focus on recreational activities that rely on features of the natural terrain (Buckley, 2007), and it often, though not exclusively, centres on unusual, remote, exotic or wilderness destinations (Page et al., 2005). It is generally characterised by higher levels of sensory stimulation involving physically challenging, experiential components (Pomfret, 2006). Most definitions of adventure tourism also include varying degrees of skill proficiency and risk and uncertainty about the outcome (Weber, 2001). Typical adventure tourism activities include rock climbing, caving, trekking, white-water rafting, off-road driving and cycling, sky diving, scuba diving, hang gliding and bungee jumping, although precise delimitation of what is and what is not adventure tourism is problematic.

What is clear is that adventure tourism is an important area of growth in global tourism markets and a particularly strong component in the tourism product of some countries, such as Nepal and New Zealand, which have acquired a particular distinction of centres of adventure tourism (Bentley and Page, 2001). The Adventure Travel Trade Association (2010) estimates that the global market for adventure travel is in the order of 150 million

tourist trips per year, spending US\$89 billion (in 2009), and comprising about 26 per cent of the international travel population. It is particularly strong in North America where there is a lengthy tradition of adventurous forms of outdoor recreation; however, it is steadily growing throughout all regions of the world.

The expansion of this sector is reflective of both a shift in popular taste as well as key developments in the organisational structure of adventure tourism. Page et al. (2005) argue that the contemporary appeal of adventure tourism is a reflection of new, global levels of tourist engagement with active sports and recreation in natural settings, combined with a desire for escape from the complexity and commercialism of postmodern urban society. Beedie and Hudson (2003) underscore the importance of structural changes in adventure tourism, particularly (1) the proliferation of new marketing structures and online promotional activity around adventure tourism, (2) the application of new technologies in adventure settings that have helped to make some adventure activities accessible to less skilled and formerly excluded populations, and (3) the development of expert systems in many adventure tourism sectors to which tourists are happy to defer control, such as trained and certified mountain guides (Beedie, 2003).

Integral to these processes has been a progressive merger of travel, tourism and outdoor recreation. The growth of adventure tourism is shaped by a blending of adventurous forms of common recreational activities. These new forms often start out as the domains of specialist practitioners, but with touristic modes of engagement (such as being packages and commodified), they make formerly exclusive practices become accessible to a wider clientele. This process leads directly to new ways of representing and using adventure activities and spaces.

For example, the development of a traditional pursuit such as rural recreational walking takes on a new guise when set in an exotic location as the more adventurous 'trekking'. Meanwhile conventional forms of cycling have metamorphosed into the adventure sport of mountain biking through the migration of the activity into off-road settings and the related technological development of the mountain bike (see Beedie and Hudson, 2003). Through such mechanisms, new spaces of tourism are opened by the spatial patterns of demand revealed by new activities, as well as through the penetration, by tourists, of the terrain of the specialists (Pomfret, 2006).

An important attribute of the adventure tourism sector is, however, its diversity of activities, and this is evident in both the range of pursuits that might constitute a basis for adventure tourism and the varying motivations and expectations of participants. The issue of diversity has been conceptualised in terms of a spectrum of activities that range across a scale from 'hard' adventure to 'soft' forms of adventure tourism. The critical factors that serve to distinguish these forms of adventure tourism include their levels of risk, their technical challenge, and the levels of skill and endurance required of participants (Beedie and Hudson, 2003). Thus, 'hard' adventure tourism possesses high levels of perceived and actual risks, poses significant physical and technical challenges, and requires developed skills, whereas 'soft' activities present much lower levels of actual risk (although there may still be a perceived risk on the part of some participants) and are much less demanding in terms of levels of endurance, technical challenge and skill. Typical 'hard' spectrum activities include rock climbing, white-water kayaking, hang gliding and sky diving, while 'soft' spectrum activity encompass hiking, horseback riding, cycling (but not mountain biking) and wildlife safaris (ATTA 2010).

In the market for adventure tourism, 'soft' activities tend to exert the broadest appeal and are often structured similarly to mass tourism (with packaged tours being sold worldwide to comparatively large groups of mixed ages, abilities and interests). On

the other hand, ‘hard’ activities exert a more selective appeal as defined within niche specialty markets (see Buckley, 2007). Studies of the market profiles of adventure tourists generally reveal a preponderance of people aged between thirty-five and fifty, with high levels of educational attainment and relatively large disposable incomes (ATTA 2010). Men are normally more numerous than women in most adventure tourism settings (Millington, 2001; Mintel, 2003c). However, such generalisations are not valid across all sectors, especially within certain ‘hard’ spectrum activities (such as mountain biking) that attract a much younger clientele that exhibit higher levels of desire for thrill seeking and are often better equipped in physical terms to meet the challenge of some of these extreme sports.

This raises interesting questions relating to the motivations and rewards that tourists expect to gain from adventure experiences. Figure 10.1 develops a simple conceptual framework that attempts to map the factors that shape the processes through which adventure tourism is experienced or consumed. It proposes a circular relationship in which motivation, experience and outcomes provide primary determinants. In addition, a range of factors that are labelled as ‘externalities’ (on the basis that they are outside the

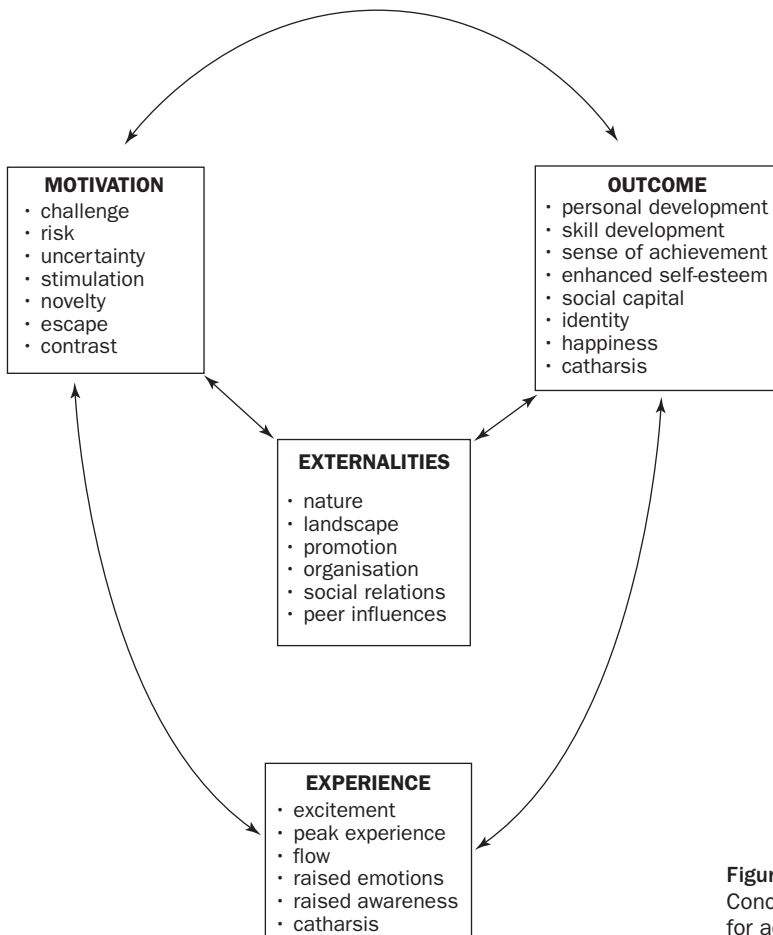


Figure 10.1
Conceptual framework
for adventure tourism

framework of the individual, embodied attributes of motivation, experience and outcome) are seen as providing a context that mediates the influence and character of the primary factors. Thus, for example, the consumption of adventure tourism might variously reflect the influence of nature and landscapes, or of promotional and advertising media, or the expectations or inducements that arise from social relations. All of these may exert both push and pull effects on the final outcome.

The model attempts to capture core attributes that are generally held to define adventure tourism. Hence, primary motivations are constructed normatively around the notions of challenge, risk and uncertainty that typically define 'adventure'. But it recognises also that individuals will commonly be seeking varying levels of novelty, escape, stimulation and, especially, a sense of contrast to their routine, daily experiences. While actually engaged in the adventure activity, the model anticipates individuals will be susceptible to raised levels of mental and emotional awareness (concentration, fear, excitement, exhilaration), and may also experience what are termed 'flow' and 'peak experience'. The concept of peak experience derives from the work of Maslow (1967). It refers to the forms of elation that participants derive from complete mastery of a situation and is closely aligned with the concept of 'flow'. Csikszentmihalyi (1992: 4) explains that flow is 'the state in which people are so involved in an activity that nothing else seems to matter; the experience is so enjoyable that people will do it for the sheer sake of doing it' (cited in Pomfret, 2006). To 'go with the flow' implies total immersion in the experience, a state in which actions become almost effortless and normal awareness of time and space becomes suspended.

However the activity itself is experienced, there will be outcomes. The model posits an essentially positive set of outcomes, in terms of attributes such as catharsis, enhancement of self-esteem through mastery of the challenge, skill development, personal or social development, acquisition of social capital, and perhaps a reaffirmation (or even a reworking) of identity. (Of course, a bad experience may trigger countervailing outcomes based around notions of failure, loss of esteem and others.) The motivations and expectations that the individual holds toward adventure tourism will be modified in light of the outcomes they experience. As Beedie and Hudson (2003) note, as participants gain experience, their competencies increase and the risks and challenges posed by a specific activity (or activity space) diminish. Hence for adventure tourists to acquire a recurring sense of achievement, the 'bar' needs to be raised successively higher, by moving to new places and to confronting more challenging goals.

There are two further observations that are implicit within this model and which are worth highlighting. First, adventure tourism is essentially a subjective experience. The model proposes that primary motivations lie in attributes such as exposure to challenges, risks and uncertainties, yet these are relative rather than absolute conditions that are constructed at the level of the individual. What is risky and uncertain for one person will be considered as entirely straightforward by another. Most forms of tourism entail some element of adventure, and for many people any encounter with a foreign 'other' may be seen as challenging, risky or uncertain and will produce heightened levels of emotional awareness and arousal. This is partly why the range of adventure tourism settings is so broad. Participants in many of the 'soft' spectrum activities may find the sense of adventure in, for example, camping out in woods or riding a horse for the first time is every bit as challenging as that which faces the mountaineer or the white-water rafter. So 'adventure tourism' cannot be simply demarcated as a discrete and distinctive area of consumption, since the concept of 'adventure' is actually an integral part of many of the spaces of

tourism. Our understanding of how these spaces work as tourist destinations needs to be reminded regularly of this fact.

Second, adventure tourism is a strongly embodied experience that shapes fundamental relationships to our identities. It will be immediately evident from Figure 10.1 that most of the attributes summarised in it are embodied in their nature, primarily as mental constructs or responses. Moreover, most adventure tourism activities engage the body in direct, kinesthetic and tactile ways. That, in itself, is part of the attraction to many participants. Through the earlier discussion of consumption and identity, we can see that identity is not simply a singular thing, but is essentially a pattern of behaviour or conduct that we choose to reveal through our performances in various roles. This is strongly evident in many forms of adventure tourism. Kane and Zink (2004) draw on Stebbins' (1982) concept of 'serious leisure' to make this point.

The essence of their argument is that practitioners of serious leisure reveal a level of commitment to a recreational activity that is sufficiently strong so as to define their sense of belonging to, and acceptance within, the ethos of a defined cultural group. Membership in that culture becomes a primary signifier of the person's identity and their stratification in their leisure worlds. For many exponents of adventure tourism, especially towards the 'hard' end of the spectrum, the same characteristics clearly apply. Bourdieu (1984) argues that people gravitate towards the social fields that offer the greatest potential for acquiring cultural capital. Adventure tourism often entails significant investment (in skills, expertise, effort and courage) and for many adventure tourists this investment translates directly into raised levels of cultural capital that assures both status and identity.

Summary

The natural world has long been a major part of the terra incognita of human imagination. In pre-industrial times it was a place of mystery and danger. With the Industrial Revolution's subjugation of natural resources, and the subsequent rise of Romanticism, it became a place of inspiration and idealism. These views are also applied to traditional peoples who continue to be closely associated with, if not inseparable from, natural landscapes. To this day, much of nature still resides in the mind's realm of terra incognita.

Terra incognita is a geographical realm that has both a physical and an emotional presence. It exists beyond the liminal edge of the known and the mundane. As such, it is a realm of danger, imagination and euphoria (Lavoilette, 2011). As much as we may fear it, we are drawn to terrae incognitae because they offer opportunities for creativity and self-discovery and identity formation. Terrae incognitae exist for every physical being on our planet because each exists in only one geographically absolute location at any point in time. There are many ways to explore terrae incognitae virtually, through photos, videos, books and news sources, and of course, the Internet. Tourism, however, has probably become the single most widespread manner in which people across this planet are physically overcoming the limits of geographic location and directly exploring terrae incognitae.

Ecotourism and adventure tourism, in their broader definitions, are two of the most significant ways that tourists encounter the natural world as a direct experience. By participating in the many activities associated with each of these forms of nature-based

touring, tourists take on the role of explorers and adventurers, creating and performing self-identities, though of course in a far safer environment in most instances.

Discussion questions

- 1 How was the nineteenth- and early twentieth-century image of the American west shaped by the industrialisation of the US and Europe?
- 2 In what ways is the image of traditional peoples, like American Indians, inseparable from the natural environments that they are associated with?
- 3 What role does risk play in tourist motivations and experiences?
- 4 Can every nature-based tourist experience be readily classified as either 'soft' or 'hard' ecotourism?
- 5 In what ways does adventure tourism differ from ecotourism?
- 6 How important is identity through the different ways that tourists encounter the natural world?

Further reading

Walking is probably the most common way that people encounter nature. Insight into this practice is provided here:

Edensor, T. (2000a) 'Walking in the British countryside: reflexivity, embodied practices and ways of escape', *Body and Society*, Vol. 6 (3/4): 81–106.

While a lot of tourist behaviour is highly structured, randomness also plays a significant role. This paper is one of the few that examine unplanned tourist behaviour:

Hwang, Y.-H. and Fesenmaier, D. (2011) 'Unplanned tourist attraction visits by travellers', *Tourism Geographies*, Vol. 13 (3): 398–416.

Volunteer tourism is said to be among the more rapidly growing specialty tourism areas, in part because it offers opportunities for tourists to enter into back regions where the unexpected can occur:

Keese, J.R. (2011) 'The geography of volunteer tourism: place matters', *Tourism Geographies*, Vol. 13 (2): 257–79.

Extreme sports are at the edge of adventure travel and tourism, as discussed in this recent book:

Lavoilette, P. (2011) *Extreme Landscapes of Leisure: Not a Hap-hazardous Sport*, Surrey: Ashgate.

Arguably, all tourism has some elements of identity, freedom and status, but perhaps this is even more so in adventure tourism, as is discussed in this paper:

Kane, M.J. and Tucker, H. (2004) 'Adventure tourism: the freedom to play with reality', *Tourist Studies*, Vol. 4 (3): 217–34.

Making life random is not easy. This geography website provides structured guidelines for making experiences with places unstructured – if that makes sense:

Mission: Explore (2011) 'About us', Mission: Explore, online at: <http://missionexplore.net/aboutus>.

This is an introduction to a special journal issue on slum tourism, a form of risk tourism that has been growing in popularity in recent years:

Frenzel, F. and Koens, K. (2012) 'Slum tourism: developments in a young field of interdisciplinary tourism research', *Tourism Geographies*, Vol. 14 (2): 195–212.

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Risk aversion is a major factor shaping tourist motivation, behaviour and experience, which is confirmed and explained in this study of young adult travellers:

Lepp, A. and Gibson, H. (2003) 'Tourist roles, perceived risk and international tourism', *Annals of Tourism Research*, Vol. 30 (3): 606–24.

The diversity of adjectival, niche tourisms is continuously growing as creative marketers come up with ever increasing nuances to define modern experiences, as this list demonstrates:

Lew, A.A. (2012) 'Adjectival, specialty and niche tourisms', Hubpages, online at <http://alew.hubpages.com/hub/Adjectival-Tourism>.

11

Consumption, identity and specialty tourisms

KEY CONCEPTS

- Biographical narrative
- Collective identity
- Conspicuous consumption
- Consumption
- Cultural turn
- Disembodied subjectivity
- Embodied experience
- Everyday life
- Identity
- Lifestyle
- Liminality
- Modernity
- Narrative of self
- Performance
- Place making
- Postmodern identity
- Reflexive
- Relational space
- Renegotiated identity
- Representations of space
- Self-actualisation
- Sex tourism
- The 'other'
- Tourist space
- Wine tourism



More online for Chapter 11 at <http://tourismgeography.com/11>

To conclude this section of the book, this chapter offers a short excursion into the comparatively new territories in human geography that relate to consumption, identity and the body as they intersect with tourism. Interest in processes of consumption has developed significantly in geography since 1970s, partly through an increasing awareness of culturally informed understandings of geographical patterns (the so-called 'cultural turn' in geography), but also as a reflection of a wider realisation that in the contemporary world 'an understanding of the processes of consumption is central to debates about the

relationship between society and space' (Jackson and Thrift, 1995: 204). If, as it is generally asserted, we have progressed (or are progressing) from a modern-industrial to a postmodern/post-industrial basis to life, then the influence of consumption cannot be ignored. This is because this shift includes a change from production to consumption as the organising logic of economic and social space. Jayne (2006: 1) captures this when he writes that 'consumption is understood to be a means and a motor of economic and social change, an active constituent in the construction of space and place, and as playing a vital role in constituting our identities and lifestyles'.

Closely related to this has been a greater awareness of the role of the physical body in consumptions. The human body is seen as a socially constituted space and a site of embodied forms of consumption. This area of work focuses attention on the myriad ways through which the body becomes inscribed with social meanings that reflect notions of self-identity (e.g., through dress, adornment, eating habits and personal grooming) and which through the medium of performance (as well as appearance) projects those meanings onto geographical spaces and onto others who share those spaces.

The discussion that follows explores how human identities can be shaped around patterns of consumption and through embodied forms of practice that both reinforces and projects those identities to others. Tourism is especially revealing as one of the primary ways that these processes occur. Tourism has become an influential form of consumption in our post-industrial/postmodern society, and an important medium through which we express identity, both through the styles of tourism that we embrace and the performances that we deliver as tourists. Two examples of emerging areas of tourist activity, adventure tourism and wine tourism, are examined to illustrate the wider themes of the chapter.

Consumption

What is consumption? In simple terms we may think of the process of consumption as the acquisition and use of goods and services that meet real or perceived needs. In its most narrow definition, the act of consuming uses a good or service in such a way that the item is no longer available for others to consume: the consumption of a meal, or of a non-renewable mineral resource, for example. But critically, the term has been adopted to capture a much wider concept in which a whole range of social, cultural and environmental situations are 'consumed' as experiences. Jayne (2006: 5) writes that 'as such, consumption is not just about goods that are manufactured and sold, but increasingly it is about ideas, services and knowledge – places, shopping, eating, fashions, leisure and recreation, sights and sounds can all be *consumed*'. Thus, consumption is not purely confined to an act of purchase and its immediate consequence, but is an on-going process that both prefigures the purchase itself and influences future actions that we make as consumers. Consumption is, therefore, a part of daily life, rather than an activity that is self-contained and bounded by place and time.

For the purposes of this discussion, two primary influences of consumption are worth acknowledging: first, its role in shaping space and the nature of place; and, second, its influence on personal lifestyle and identity. In developing an understanding of how space and place are shaped by consumption, the works of Lefebvre (1991) and Soja (1996) are particularly useful. Their ideas on spatial practices and the representation of space envisage three key constructs:

1. How space is imagined and represented by groups (such as architects, planners, transport engineers and developers);

2. How spatial practice is seen in the production of actual places and their configurations (e.g., in the pattern of homes, streets, shopping precincts and open spaces), and which may be seen as the 'concrete' product of imagination;
3. How space is perceived, which relates to the actual lived experiences of people using those spaces, and through which they are given meaning and value.

Consumption intersects with each of these in some important ways. It underpins much of the development of spectacle sites in the modern city, such as the development of high-class department stores and shopping arcades in cities such as London and Paris in the early decades of the twentieth century (Nava, 1997) and themed shopping centres at the start of the twenty-first century. It is similarly evident as a driver for change in the widespread adoption of 'festival' settings found in retail, entertainment, office and leisure districts in regenerated, post-industrial and gentrified cities (Jackson and Thrift, 1995). Consumption is the basis of contemporary place promotion strategies and creating place images.

'Official' place-makers (usually, the architects, planners and land developers) imagine spaces and create them as physical entities that are imbued with a plethora of 'signs' and symbols that indicate their intended purpose and function. But it is also clear that because people view space and place from different positions and motivations, the way they actually consume a place will reinforce its identities or subvert it. Shopping malls, for example, have been widely studied as spaces of consumption that blend retail, leisure and entertainment in novel and enticing ways that result in the consumption of the place as an integrated experience (Clammer, 1992; Goss, 1993; Langman, 1992; Shields, 1992; Williams, 2003). But it is also clear that the spaces of malls and other contemporary retail environments (such as festival markets) are perceived differently by different users. Hence, the consumption of retail environments as leisure spaces by tourists is different to that of locals for whom they are more functional spaces. These are different again from their consumption by 'mall rats' who colonise shopping centres as social spaces to window shop (but seldom buy), to socialise with others, and to stroll and gaze in the style of the 'flaneur' (Paterson, 2006).

Designers create spaces to have functions, values or attributes that are intended to produce a particular style of consumption for particular market segments. However, through the processes of consumption, the meanings, values and roles that those spaces acquire for users may be different from the purchasing experiences that the designer had intended. Hence, shopping spaces become social spaces for idle teenagers; spaces of attraction and gaze for tourists; places of employment, and so forth. In this way, the process of consuming space will alter its intended meanings and functions through the divergent ways that the space is seen and used by consumers.

The second area influenced by patterns of consumption relate to our wider lifestyles and the connection between lifestyle and personal identity. In this area of critical thinking, the work of Bourdieu (1984) has been enormously influential. His primary argument is that through acts of consumption, social groups are able to form and maintain distinctive identities. As (post)modern consumers, we are confronted with a range of products and services. We choose from this range predicated on distinctions that we draw between alternative products. By choosing one product in preference to another, we exercise our judgment of taste. The exercise of taste is, so the argument runs, an expression of our social class, our background and our identity (Paterson, 2006). These are shaped by what Bourdieu terms our 'habitus', which is how we are socialised into a lifestyle or way of life.

Paterson (2006: 41) defines lifestyle as 'a set of positional markers that define a social group and that mark difference from other groups with different lifestyles, through the use

and display of consumer goods and cultural goods'. In a related vein, Lury (1996) writes of what she terms 'positional consumption' in which commodities are purchased and used to mark the social position by consumers, as they seek to define their position in relation to others. This draws on a much older argument that was first proposed in 1924 around what Veblen (1994) termed 'social emulation'. This was a practice by which the *nouveau riche* adopted the styles of consumption of higher classes as a way of elevating their social standing. This is seen in tourism in the development and changing social tone of early resorts (see Chapters 2 and 3) and contemporary time-share resorts that allow people to buy a piece of luxury travel. However it is conceptualised, the significance of consumption is that through it we affirm our identities: we define ourselves by what we buy and by the meanings that we give to the goods and services that we acquire (Jackson and Thrift, 1995).

The common criticism of Bourdieu's ideas is that they are grounded in assumptions that class structures are clearly defined and largely fixed and, especially, that the values and behaviours of the middle class are geared toward emulating those of the upper classes. One of the lessons of postmodernity, however, is that class structures are becoming fluid and ill-defined. Furthermore, post-Fordist patterns of flexible production are creating increased niche products that enhance consumer choice, enabling people to use their consumption patterns to shape multiple and diverse identities (see Featherstone, 1991). Identity is shaped, therefore, less by Bourdieu's structured class groupings and associated lifestyles, which are based on economic capital that enables the acquisition of both cultural and social capital. Instead, postmodern identities are defined by what Paterson (2006: 49) describes as our 'fleeting, capricious, ephemeral' choices as consumers.

This attempt to shift our understanding of consumption and identity from the rather limiting framework of a conventional class structure (whose validity is now questionable) draws our attention to three further attributes of consumption and its relationship with identity that are essential to comprehending these sometimes elusive concepts.

First, the notion that people may adopt multiple and diverse identities reminds us that identity is not a fixed attribute, but may be remade through adjustments to different contexts and patterns of consumption and related lifestyles. This can occur simultaneously, for example, the identities that we adopt in our leisure time may be very different to those that we deploy in a working environment, while the identities that we exhibit with our parents would be different from those that are on display when we interact with our peers. Identity changes also occur sequentially as we progress through our life cycle. Life cycle consumption patterns change mostly through the attainment of different levels of economic capital and the progression into a different social milieu – the patterns of consumption and the identities that people may exhibit as middle-aged professionals, for example, are usually very different from those that they revealed as young students.

Consumption, through its link to identity, may also be used to signal forms of resistance or adherence to non-conventional lifestyles. Jayne (2006: 5) explains that consumption is related to what he terms a 'matrix of identity positions' (such as constructions of class, gender, sexuality, age and ethnicity). Examples that are widely cited include how overt patterns of consumption have helped to map the territories of 'gay' communities in cities such as Cape Town, South Africa and San Francisco, or the way in which youth culture (which is strongly mediated through patterns of consumption) signals diverse forms of resistance to established values and conventions (see, for example, Chatterton and Hollands, 2003).

In addition to consumer identity, consumption also alters the symbolic meanings and values of places and objects. Consumers are not passive recipients of products, but

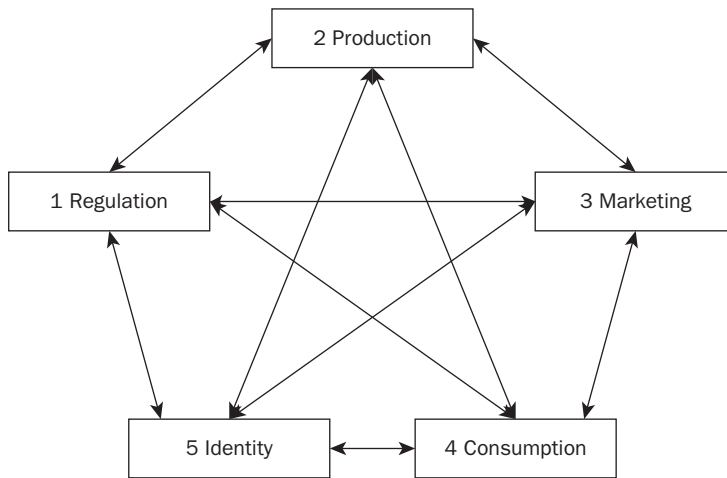


Figure 11.1 Relationships among culture, production, consumption and tourism (based on du Gay, 1997)

may rework the nature, uses and applications of a product to give it new meanings and values (Crang, 2005). Du Gay's (1997) adaptation of Johnson's (1986) circuit of culture (Figure 11.1) provides a useful theoretical insight to this process. This shows how rather than pursuing a presumed linear (and uni-directional) pathway, from regulated production, through marketing representation (such as advertising), to consumption and the creation of an associated identity (as indicated by the numbers in Figure 11.1), the process is actually a set of circuits that are continuously influencing one another and self-regulatory in nature. So when consumers start to apply their own values to a product through their patterns of use, the identity that the product bestows on the consumer will be modified and it will start to acquire a new set of meanings. This, in turn, informs the production process, encouraging the producer to modify the product and represent it in new ways that are expected to resonate with the changing meanings and values of consumers. The consumption of mobile phones provides an effective example of this. These now ubiquitous products started as comparatively exclusive, functional products designed to service the world of business and commerce. However, through the process of consumption and related technological advances, they have been progressively reworked, becoming more affordable and acquiring a vast array of functions as multi-media communication, recording and entertainment devices. As a consequence, mobile phones have acquired diverse value positions, from an indispensable business aid to fashion accessory, for people across varying social and age spectrums.

Identity and modernity

So far in this chapter, the term 'identity' has been used without any qualifications. However, it is a slippery concept that invites closer scrutiny. 'Identity', writes Bauman (1996: 18), 'is a modern invention' and very much a modern preoccupation. Through industrialisation and the associated reorganisation of capital and labour at an increasingly global scale, modernity has effectively dismantled most of the protective frameworks provided by smaller, pre-industrial communities of the past. These have been replaced by much larger, impersonal forms of social organisation. These changes have produced

hitherto unseen levels of personal anonymity and uncertainty in social life (in comparison to that of the more traditional communities in the past). Because self-identities are no longer so firmly structured by social hierarchies and traditional authorities, the modern individual faces the challenge of finding new pathways to self-identity, while simultaneously being presented with a diverse selection of possible selves to choose from (Desforges, 2000).

The issues that surround the questions of who we are and how we maintain that sense of our own identity have been compounded by the migration of at least some elements of Western societies onto the shifting sands of postmodernity. Postmodern societies are continuously engaged in remaking themselves, which requires identities that are adaptable and flexible, rather than fixed and therefore limiting. To quote Bauman (1996: 18), ‘the modern “problem of identity” was how to construct an identity and keep it solid and stable, the post-modern “problem of identity” is how to avoid fixation and keep the options open’. Consequently, identities are increasingly fragmented, fractured and multiple-constructed across different areas of discourse and practice (S. Hall, 1996).

These contextual observations raise interesting questions: first surrounding notions of self-identity and how identities are constructed and understood; and, second (and of particular relevance to the themes of this book) how tourism contributes to the formation of identity. In a landmark study of modernity and self-identity, Giddens (1991) reviews a number of understandings of self-identity and how it is underpinned by social practice. A central tenet of Giddens’ argument is that identity is a reflexive project of the self in which the individual monitors its development over time and bears a high degree of responsibility for its outcome. In other words, and as Stuart Hall (1996: 4) explains, ‘identity is a process of *becoming*, rather than *being*’ (my emphases) in which the choices that we make define who we are and who we become, and each new choice is a reflection in some manner of prior choices. This process comprises what Giddens terms a ‘narrative of the self’ which relates to those stories from our daily lives through which we understand who we are and through which we expect others to understand us. Identity, therefore, becomes something that we make, rather than solely discover within ourselves, and is constituted by the representations that we surround ourselves with, rather than standing apart from them (S. Hall, 1996).

This key conclusion presumes two further processes. First, Giddens suggests that people need to develop and sustain a reflexive understanding of themselves by continuously thinking about and revising their biographical narratives, which reflect both personal histories and future intentions. As we have seen, these narratives are further complicated by the multiple identities that people move through, and the even greater diversity of choices that many have available to them. (This emphasises contemporary understandings of identity as something that is actively and continuously remade through a dynamic changing and reiterative process.) Second, Giddens sets out the concept of ‘self-actualisation’, which is the mechanisms that people employ to imagine and shape the lifestyles through which identities are realised. This implies some ability to exercise control over our emerging selves, including time and money to engage with activities that shape identity (like, perhaps, tourism). The process of self-actualisation also needs to be understood in terms of balancing opportunities against risks. For a major remake in one’s identity, if desirable, ‘the individual has to confront novel hazards as a necessary part of breaking away from established patterns of behaviour’ (Giddens, 1991: 78).

Giddens (1991) makes one further point that is highly relevant to discussions later in this chapter, which is that an important aspect of the reflexivity of the self is its extension



Plate 11.1 Beach performance (dress and behaviour) is different from the non-beach, as seen here on Ipanema Beach in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil (photo by Alan A. Lew)

onto the body. He talks of the body as part of an ‘action system’ rather than merely constituting a passive object. As we will see in a subsequent section, the action systems of the body provide an essential medium through which identity is formed and projected to others. The body is inscribed with an array of encoded ‘messages’ that others may ‘read’, and through embodied practices and performances, we convey messages that strive to project our currently conceived self-identities onto others. The role of the body and other people raises observations that part of the objective of identifying ourselves in particular ways is to forge relationships with others through the creation of collective identities. Desforges (2000), for example, makes this point and the analyses of mountaineering in the discussion of adventure tourism later in this chapter articulate ways in which participants, through embodied performances and the adoption of styles of clothing and appropriate codes of practice, seek to position themselves as ‘belonging’ to the fraternity of mountaineers (see, e.g., Beedie, 2003). However, while there is clearly some validity in these observations, the reflexive formation of self-identities is equally based around constructions of degrees of individual difference rather than similarity. Stuart Hall (1996: 4) is quite clear on this point, noting that identities are ‘more the product of the marking of difference and exclusion, than they are the signs of an identical, naturally-constituted unity’ and that most ‘identities are constructed through difference’.

Consuming tourism and shaping identity

How does tourism intersect with consumption and the shaping of identity? Tourism is a form of consumption, but it is complex because at the heart of the tourist experience it is often the case that no tangible commodity is purchased. Many forms of tourist consumption are predominantly visual and experiential consumptions of images and representations through the tourist gaze (Urry, 1990), although as Paterson (2006) notes, to enable visual consumption usually entails the direct consumption of a wider range of tangible, supporting goods and services (such as food and transport). Tourism is also

an example of ‘conspicuous’ consumption, which acts as a social marker (Veblen, 1994; Bourdieu, 1984). However, while the tourist gaze is frequently attracted to the spectacular, it may equally engage with the mundane daily life of others in ways that make tourist practices hard to classify. Links with identity are equally complex. Tourism may help to shape the collective identities of the visitors, but it often undermines local identities; it is a practice through which we may seek to reaffirm our understanding of ourselves, but it also provides settings in which those identities may be challenged and remade. It is clear, therefore, that we may assess the significance of tourism in relation to consumption and identity from multiple positions, but for simplicity, three primary areas of significance are outlined in more detail here: conspicuous consumption, shaping identity and contemporary lifestyles.

First, tourism is a significant form of *conspicuous consumption*. It is simultaneously conspicuous from physical, economic and social perspectives. It is a physically conspicuous process because it entails physical absence from routine settings and engagement with the act of travel. For people who work, such an absence is normally formalised through procedures for approving holiday periods. It is also physically seen in the social settings in which people live, for example, through homes that are temporarily shut up and where neighbours are undertaking routine care and security functions. Returning tourists will often reflect embodied attributes (such as a tanned appearance) while new possessions in the home that were acquired while travelling (such as clothes and souvenirs) may also be used as physical markers of a recent trip.

In economic terms, tourism is frequently an expensive activity (within the context of a household budget), requiring active saving and investment of money to a degree that is not common in other areas of routine expenditure. Tourism is a luxury commodity for many people and by investing substantial amounts of economic capital in its purchase, tourists clearly expect to derive significant levels of social capital and cultural capital in return. The holiday or vacation, particularly if it is in a foreign or exotic destination, is therefore a powerful signifier of identity, status and social aspiration. The narration of the experience to friends, neighbours and relatives (through the sending of postcards, the bestowing of gifts, or the showing of photographs and video of the destination) is an integral component in affirming that assumed status.

Second, linked to the role of tourism as conspicuous consumption is its role in *shaping identity*, whether in affirming an existing one or as a pathway to a new identity. Bruner (1991) cast doubt on the notion that tourism provides a vehicle for self-transformation, arguing that processes of commodification often present tourist experiences in ways that are designed to confirm preconceived expectations and therefore provided little opportunity for travellers to encounter deep differences. Alternatively, Desforges (2000: 930) argues that ‘tourism practices, and the ways in which they are imagined and enacted, become central to the construction of the self’. Tourism is an obvious arena in which people may confront the novel hazards that are sometimes essential to self-discovery, and in which they can play out their narratives of self (Giddens, 1991).

For example, Noy’s (2004: 79) study of young backpackers observes that the trip became a ‘moment constructed as formative and transformative in the stories that the youths tell of their self and their identity’. Although young people navigating the awkward transition from youth to adulthood are perhaps more susceptible than most to articulating transformative experiences through practices such as travel, other studies report similar evidence from older tourists. Desforge’s (2000) study relates an interview with a woman in her sixties who had, through recently adopted patterns of travel to exotic destinations such as Nepal and Peru, constructed an entirely new sense of her self-worth and identity.

In these experiences, the practice of tourism is seen as critical to validating notions of self-change.

The identities that we form as individual tourists may be used both to develop a collective identity (being part of a particular group), and as a means of demonstrating distinctions that separate us from others. The interviews that Noy (2004) conducted with young Israeli backpackers revealed how participation in travel imparted distinctive cultural capital and admitted them to the sub-culture of travellers who assert a collective identity as 'backpackers'. Status within that community is often directly related to the experiences that they have gained through this form of tourism.

Third, tourism acquires further significance through its wider relations with *contemporary lifestyles* and associated patterns and styles of consumption. A central argument in Franklin's (2004) study of contemporary tourism is that tourist practice is now integrally embedded within most aspects of (post)modern living. It is reflected in the popular media; in consumer choices in food (ethnic restaurants) and clothing; it is a recurring theme in social exchanges (socialising with friends); it helps to structure space (recreational shopping) and is increasingly central to the postmodern imagination (as seen in destination advertising). Imagination is a fundamental part of contemporary consumption. Campbell (1995: 118) proposes that 'the essential activity of consumption is not the actual selection, purchase or use of products, but rather the imaginative pleasure-seeking to which the product lends itself'. That quest for pleasure also translates quite quickly into a desire for novelty. The same author writes that 'modern consumption centres on the consumption of novelty' and that 'modern consumers will desire a novel rather than a familiar product because this enables them to believe that its acquisition and use will supply experiences that they will not have encountered to date' (Campbell, 1995: 118), which can contribute to both the accumulation of social capital and the formation of a distinct identity. Tourism is a primary locus for the exercise of the imagination and the experience of novelty.

Tourism and understandings of the body

In the contemporary literature on geographies of consumption and identity, it is now commonplace to find an interest in the body and the embodied nature of human experience. Academic interest in the body derived initially from feminist perspectives (see Butler, 1993) and recognition that the body is socially constituted rather than biologically determined. Gender, for example, is initially based on essential bodily differences between men and women. Gendered social practices, on the other hand, are the routine behaviours and social expectations associated with male and female differences, and which define what has been identified as the performative nature of gender (Nash, 2000). Gender is a performed role, based on the physiology we are endowed with at birth, and modified by dress or otherwise adapting our body (e.g., by slimming or body-building) to serve a wide range of personal or collective purposes and goals. In this sense the body is 'not a fixed essence, but is located in a network of political, socio-economic and geographical relations' (Winchester et al., 2003: 157).

This notion sees the body as a 'relational' space (Thrift, 1996, 1997), which gives significance to the mundane, embodied practices of everyday life that shape the conduct of people towards others and themselves in particular settings. Thrift attempts to show how the performative dimensions of everyday life occur through what he terms 'non-representational theory' or the 'theory of practices'. These provide insights to how our

daily lives are structured, practised and acquire meaning, in ways that representational forms (such as formally written texts) cannot achieve.

These critical insights are directly relevant to tourism and the heightened level of academic interest in how the role of the body shapes the forms and patterns of tourism. In part, these critical positions are a reaction against an emphasis on the disembodied subjectivity of the gazing tourist (Urry, 1990) and the outwardly simple role of 'others' as objects of the tourist gaze (Veijola and Jokinen, 1994; Franklin, 2004). Equally, a realisation has emerged that many forms of tourism are fundamentally sensual in nature, which gives the body a primary role as the space in which those sensuous dimensions of tourism are captured and experienced (Crouch and Desforges, 2003). The body provides our means of connection with the world, thoughts wander and emotions vary, but when you hear, see, smell, touch, taste and sense, you connect more directly with your setting (Veijola and Jokinen, 1994).

Another key change has been the recognition of the performative nature of tourism and that the body is a primary actor in that performance, which exhibits a range of complex motivations, behaviours, beliefs and expectations that are inscribed and revealed by embodied tourism practices. In this sense, tourism space becomes a stage on which tourists perform, improvise or otherwise adapt a series of roles that demonstrate the reflexive nature of identity formation.

The significance of the body in tourism has been recognised from a variety of different perspectives, some of which have been touched on above. To summarise these, three key attributes are examined below. These are, first, the way in which the body relates to *identity*; second, how embodied tourist practices *structure tourist space* and ways of understanding that space; and, third, how embodied practice shapes participation or the *uses of tourism space*.

The body and tourist identity

As we have already seen, identity is strongly aligned to practices of consumption, and the body is the primary medium through which we express those identities that our patterns of consumption help to create. Through our choice of clothing and bodily accessories or hair styles, through our physical behaviour and bodily dispositions, through the management of our bodies (whether as fit and tanned or as pale and out-of-condition), and through the performances that we invoke from our bodies, we make powerful statements about who we believe we are and the values to which we subscribe.

As noted earlier, the body is also a social construction, and as such it maps power and identity in some influential ways (Winchester et al., 2003). Bodies are sites of social resistance, as well as inclusion and exclusion. It was no accident, for example, that the counter-cultural movements of the Californian 'hippies' of the 1960s and 1970s adopted a range of distinctive bodily practices around dress codes, hair styles, and attitudes to sexuality, social nudity and the consumption of drugs and alcohol, as ways of signalling resistance and opposition to mainstream cultural values and the politics of the day. As Edensor (2000b) observes, the body is inscribed with cultural meanings and a platform for social relations.

Nash (2000) makes the telling point that identity cannot exist outside its performance and that performance is intimately linked to the bodily practices through which people make sense of their world and their position within that world. This is highly relevant to understanding tourism spaces because (1) the embodied identities that we adopt on tour distinguish us as tourists (for example, through particular dress codes and body

accessories), and (2) the locations in which our embodied tourist performances occur maps tourist space and the relations that structure that space. Without the tourist body and its associated identity and performance, many tourist spaces become indistinguishable from nontourist spaces.

Significantly, we also deploy different nuanced styles of tourist performance to assert personal identity and distinguish ourselves in relation to others. Even though we share the same space with other tourists, we may not wish to share the exact same identity. Edensor (2000b) provides an example of this in analysing the differing styles and embodied practices that surround touristic walking. Serious recreational walkers (a common practice in Europe) routinely adopt bodily dispositions and accoutrements that are intended to communicate to others a particular set of values and an associated status that marks them as specialists. These typically include walking boots (which are highly symbolic items), walking poles, particular brands of waterproof clothing and the use of backpacks that transmit a form of cultural capital to the onlooker and which becomes a discernible mark of status and membership of a fraternity.

Tourism, however, is not just another context in which we may project onto others our embodied identity and assumed status. Tourist places are also sites at which we may explore or alter our identity. The individual may use tourism to discover, reaffirm or change their identity, with many forms of tourism allowing for active renegotiation of identity through body practices (Crouch and Desforges, 2003). Inglis (2000) argues that vacations are a time to try out alternative views of the self, or perhaps to reconnect with the self that you really are, or believe yourself to be. He writes that the vacationing self may feel 'so good, so fresh and restorative, that it is taken to be the true self one has to be' (Inglis, 2000: 135). Despite the fact that tourist experiences may also be bad, unrefreshing and exhausting, the notion that a holiday holds the potential of self-discovery still resonates powerfully across the spaces of tourism, and especially tourism marketing. For example, promotional campaigns in the UK for holidays to Ireland have exploited sentiments of self-realisation through tourism with images of tourists reflexively discovering their 'own' Ireland (and by extension themselves) through embodied activities such as horseback riding on the strands of the Dingle Peninsula, Gaelic dancing in the 'authentic' space of an Irish pub, or a first encounter with that noted Irish product, Guinness, in a Dublin bar.

The body and tourist space

Connections between the body and the way that we use it to structure and develop shared understandings of tourist space are not immediately evident. Once uncovered, however, they are often revealed as fundamental and highly influential. Work by MacNaghten and Urry (2000) and Edensor (2000b), for example, articulates a powerful relationship between the nature of tourist places and embodied responses or emotions that such places promote. In his critique of recreational walking as a tourist practice, Edensor (2000b) makes the point that the rural spaces in which such activity is concentrated are symbolically constructed as environments of escape, freedom and natural expression that become central to the embodied activity of walking.

Such sentiments are part of a wider response that emerged from the nineteenth-century Romantic Movement and in which the aesthetic appreciation of the countryside (in response to urban industrialisation) spilled over into a popular, embodied engagement with natural landscapes. Initially this occurred through activities such as hiking and camping, and through more exclusive practices such as naturism (nudist camps), that

shaped a particularly intimate relationship between the body and nature (Bell and Holliday, 2000). Later more adventuresome forms of tourism activity (such as surfing, mountain climbing and scuba diving) engage other embodied responses, such as fear and excitement, as nature-based activities (Franklin, 2004). By turning 'natural' spaces in the countryside into sensual spaces imbued with opportunity for reflexive, self-discovery and personal regeneration, the constructions positioned it in opposition to equally embodied constructions of the 'unnatural' spaces of the urban world, which were defined as constrained, restrictive, regimented, unreflexive and sensually limiting.

The tourist's knowledge of tourist space is generally derived through a combination of a cognitive and a bodily understanding that are acquired by moving through space, making contact with people and objects, and through embodied social practices (group behaviours) (Crouch and Desforges, 2003). Our embodied practices are integral to our development of an understanding of the spaces and places we encounter. Edensor (2000b: 82) comments on how simply walking through a rural space helps to underpin understandings of it by providing a medium through which 'we express ourselves physically, simultaneously performing and transmitting meaning, sensually apprehending "nature" and sustaining wider ideologies about nature, and the role of the body in nature'. In the process, the embodied actions of walkers become integral to the construction of tourist space, by inscribing paths and signage in the spaces that walkers visit and, more widely, by identifying the particular kinds of landscape that are suitable for particular kinds of walking.

There are also interesting associations between the body and the construction of some tourism sites (such as beaches and their resorts) as liminal spaces (Shields, 1990). The concept of liminality relates to notions of boundaries, with liminal spaces being variously defined as (1) places of transition, (2) places that lie on the cultural margins, (3) places of ambiguity in which normal social codes and practices are suspended, and (4) places that permit alternative codes and behaviours to surface (see Preston-Whyte, 2004). The transition between home (being an insider) and destination (being an outsider), for example, is a liminal experience (Lew and McKercher, 2002). The beach, and the tourist practices that are associated with it, reveal strong associations with liminality as a space on the cultural margins where normal social codes are suspended through embodied practices. For example, Franklin (2004) draws on a detailed account of how seaside tourism has long been an overtly sexualised space, in which various roles of the body in that setting set its particular tone. This was evident in a common quest, amongst younger people at least, for sexual encounters (especially during college Spring-Break style holidays in North America and elsewhere); in the varying states of exposure or nakedness on the beach; and in the use of bodies and bodily functions as a staple subject of humour in saucy seaside postcards and in the comedic innuendo and lewd jokes at variety shows in resort theatres.

The role of the body in defining the sexualised nature of some tourist spaces reminds us that bodies do not just help to structure and define tourist space, but in certain situations the body becomes a tourism space in its own right. This is most clearly evident in sex tourism, in which an eroticised body of the 'other' (an anonymous male or female) becomes both a primary object of the gaze and, under some circumstances, a site of direct sexual contact and embodied experience. Inglis (2000) makes the point that sex tourism has a much older tradition than might initially be imagined, but in the post-1960s era the general liberalisation of sexual attitudes and behaviours aligned with the development of a global tourism industry. This occurred, especially, as tourists travelled more easily to destinations in the Caribbean and Southeast Asia, which acquired a particular reputation

for these practices, making the sex tourism market a distinctive and locally important sector of activity (see also Oppermann [1999] and Franklin [2004]). These spaces of sex tourism are, of course, strongly gendered and while the sex tourists are predominantly male, this is not an exclusive tendency. What is often referred to as ‘romance tourism’ or ‘female sex tourism’ involves the practices of women who travel to destinations such as the Caribbean, Southeast Asia and parts of Africa to pursue sexual contacts (Pruitt and Lafont, 1995; Momsen, 2005).

Embodied tourist practices

The preceding discussion has included a recurring reference to the role of the body as a nexus for a range of performative tourism practices and the importance of embodied experiences. These are important themes that connect directly to emerging tourism practices, and which, as a result, provide stimuli for the development of new tourism spaces and places. Franklin (2004) noted that rather than pursuing the detached role as an observer of Others, it is increasingly their own bodies that tourists attend to. Holidays revolve around bodily experiences (sunbathing, dancing, drinking, eating, driving, and walking) and, as Crouch and Desforges (2003) observe, part of the motivation of tourism is to immerse oneself in these sensual, bodily experiences. In this way, the embodied experience becomes critical to the overall process of consumption, perhaps even marking its culmination.

However, the significance of embodied forms of tourism is not just in the arena of consumption, it also reflects a historical (though still evolving) relationship between the body, health and nature. The antecedents of the modern preoccupation with body, health and nature lie in the responses to the Enlightenment, including the Romantic Movement that instilled new beliefs in the intrinsic value of natural environments as a source of both spiritual and physical well-being. This encouraged the emergence of a popular outdoor movement, in which activities such as walking and hiking in the open countryside were seen as an essential component in self-improvement (Walker, 1985). This ‘culture of nature’ (MacNaghten and Urry, 2000) continues today: in the use of images of nature in marketing; in the promotion of the natural over the artificial; and in the general valorisation of natural environments. It is partly in this context that tourism is being reshaped. The evidence for this process lies in a wider incidence and importance of a direct (rather than simply visual) consumption of nature through embodied tourist experience or practices, as seen in sectors such as adventure tourism and sport-based tourism centred on activity such as horse riding, climbing, caving, surfing, diving or hang-gliding, as well as in areas of food or wine tourism. The final section of this chapter is an examination of some examples of these newer forms of tourism, and the geographic spaces that they are creating.

Embodied practices in new tourist spaces

There is a widening range of activities that illustrate how consumption, identity and embodied practices come together in tourism to shape the way that spaces are recognised, valorised, used and understood by tourists. The consumption of food is one of these areas. Our choices of the foods we eat on a daily basis and on special occasions define us as individuals (e.g., our ethnicity), as social beings (e.g., our economic class), and as tourists (e.g., our travel style). Wine tourism is examined in the final section of this chapter as an example of these wider processes of change.

Wine tourism

How consumption and embodied practices construct tourist space is seen directly in the expanding area of wine tourism. Recent work in cultural studies has acknowledged how practices around the consumption of food and drink have become fundamental in shaping how we view ourselves as individuals, how we mark our social positions in relation to others, and in so doing, how we position ourselves within our world. Bell and Valentine (1997: 3) write that ‘for most inhabitants of (post)modern Western societies, food has long ceased to be merely sustenance and nutrition. It is packed with social, cultural and symbolic meanings’. Food has become ‘woven into the construction of lifestyle and used as a marker of social position’ and ‘in a world in which self-identity and place-identity are woven through webs of consumption, what we eat (and where and why) signals who we are’.

In many situations, the consumption of food and drink also shapes some of our understanding of the spaces in which our consumption occurs. Regions, for example, are a product of a combination of physical processes (that define the natural landscapes) with cultural processes (that shape how land is occupied and used by people). From this combination of nature and society, powerful place identities are derived, some of which may be expressed through associations with particular types of food and drink that constitute regional specialties. As Bell and Valentine (1997) observe, the concept of wine regions (such as Bordeaux, Burgundy or Champagne in France) provides excellent examples of how the uniqueness of a region may be asserted. Wine is made in particular places where favourable environmental conditions and traditional processes of production have created a distinctive product that is directly associated with the region in question. However, the regional label not only assures the product its identity, it also identifies the spaces of production that, for the wine tourist, become defined spaces of tourism (see Figure 11.2).

Tourism holds an ambiguous relationship with food and drink. On the one hand, the opportunity to experience foreign food and drink is a positive attraction for many tourists and the use of cuisine (and, in particular, national and regional culinary specialties) as a promotional device is widely practised in destination marketing. But on the other hand, as Cohen and Avieli (2004) reveal, actual practices around the consumption of local food and drink in foreign destinations may be beset with a host of tourist anxieties and insecurities, which may limit the authenticity of their consumption. These concerns relate to the conditions under which food and drink are prepared, served and consumed, its taste and palatability, and the extent to which local dishes are acceptable under the visitors’ cultural and religious strictures.

Through the regulated patterns that govern wine production (e.g., the standardised practices of matching named grapes to particular styles of wine and especially the systems of labeling that are used as a quality control process), issues of uncertainty and risk in the consumption of wine by tourists are generally removed. Moreover, the development of wine tourism draws directly on a number of positive synergies between tourism and the consumption of wine. Bruwer (2003: 423) comments that, by its very nature, wine production directly complements tourism. ‘Wine is a beverage that is associated with relaxation, communing with others, complementary to food consumption, learning about new things and hospitality.’ In many contexts, including France and California, wine tourism is organised around wine routes that directly capture touristic notions of travel and discovery, and is generally located in aesthetically pleasing rural settings where the growing requirements of most grapes normally ensures that visitors will be able to enjoy congenial climates (Carmichael, 2005).



Figure 11.2 Primary wine regions of France

There are several definitions of wine tourism, but the one that is perhaps most widely cited is provided by Hall and Macionis (1998: 197) and describes it as the ‘visitation to vineyards, wineries, wine festivals and wine shows, for which grape wine tasting and/or experiencing the attributes of the grape wine region are the prime motivating factors for visitors’. This definition is useful because it highlights several of the complexities that have been identified in the wine tourism experience. Getz and Brown (2006), for example, have suggested that from the tourist perspective the wine tourism ‘product’ comprises three primary elements:

- The wine product – which relates to the actual wines that are tasted or purchased, the wineries and their staff, and special wine events or festivals.
- The destination appeal – which relates to aspects such as climate, scenery, accommodation and information.
- The cultural product – which might comprise the presence of traditional wine villages and their associated societies and cultures, or good local restaurants.

Carmichael (2005), drawing on Jansen-Verbeke’s (1986) ideas of activity places and leisure settings, has developed a similar model of wine tourism that proposes that the activity is a blending of specific experiences associated with the visiting of vineyards and wineries (the activity place) with attributes of the wider tourist environment (the regional

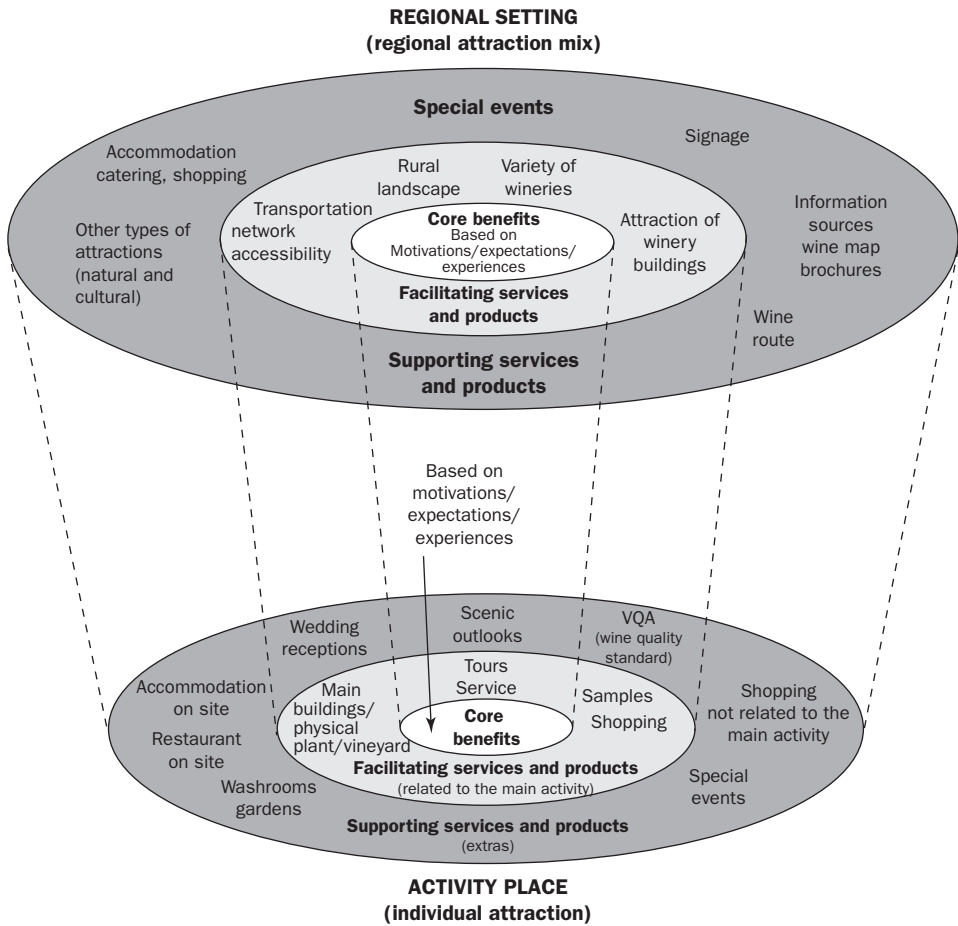


Figure 11.3 Structure of the wine tourism 'product' (Carmichael, 2005)

setting) that enhance and support the core activity (see Figure 11.3). In practice, these key elements will combine in differing ways and different types of tourists will emphasise them according to levels of interest and motivations. Studies of wine tourists and their motivations (see, e.g., Carmichael, 2005; Charters and Ali-Knight, 2002; Getz and Brown, 2006; Sparks, 2007) reveal a segmented market. At one end of the spectrum are located highly motivated and dedicated wine enthusiasts who are using their time as wine tourists to further develop their appreciation and understanding of wine and to augment their private 'cellars' with additional purchases. In contrast, at the other end of the scale are general tourists who are simply curious or are looking for something interesting to fill part of their time as visitors or sightseers in the wider region. However, as work by Carmichael (2005) and Getz and Brown (2006) reveals, even the dedicated wine enthusiast will commonly combine these wider elements of general tourism with their specific interest in wine (albeit as secondary elements), so that the spaces of wine tourism also need to connect to other tourist space for the tourist product to become fully developed.

With regard to the tourists themselves, studies of visitors to wine tourism locations reveal a market that is dominated by well-educated, affluent professional groups – often aged between 35 and 50, and well-versed (if only subconsciously) in the use of

consumption as a means to achieving social position and status. For such people the time spent acquiring demonstrable appreciation, knowledge and expertise in wine, and in communing with others of like-mind, becomes time well-spent in developing their self-image, their positioning relative to others, and their cultural capital. So as with so many areas of tourist practice, wine tourism, for the specialist practitioners at least, is an embodied form of consumption (in both a literal and a theoretical sense) that contributes to their identity.

In these ways, wine tourism (and food tourism in general) is strongly reflective of important wider processes related to tourism and contemporary society. One of these is the commodification and democratisation of experiences, which are more ubiquitous today than ever. Another is the de-differentiation (or blending) of tourism with other forms of leisure and recreation and, more significantly, with the day-to-day lifestyles that many people maintain. Lastly, and perhaps most pertinently from a geographical perspective, the development of food and wine tourism shows us something of how processes of consumption help to map new spaces of tourism and to structure the spatial practices through which those spaces may be understood.

MORE ONLINE: Case Study 11.1 Ethnic food identity and the tourism experience

Summary

Consumption, or the acquisition of goods and services, is a basic process and means by which humans and human societies interact with each other and the broader planet upon which they exist. The tourism economy, more than most others, demonstrates how the consumption of goods and services is fundamentally one of acquiring experiences. This occurs through imaginations, spatial practices and perceptions and meanings, making tourism experiences a major way that personal identities are formed and performed, and integrated into everyday life. Performing tourism is an embodied experience, though some aspects of tourism involve the body more than others, such as food or culinary tourism.

Wine tourism is a form of culinary tourism and an expanding area of contemporary practice that illustrates well both the specific themes of this chapter and several of the broader themes of the book as a whole. Like adventure tourism (Chapter 10), food and wine tourism tells us something about the shifting nature of consumption in tourism and, in particular, of trends that are taking some sectors of tourism away from passive and largely visual consumption of places through a general recourse to rest and relaxation, towards much more active, embodied forms of engagement that bring rewards that are more complex and more diverse than traditional models of tourism allow. Through these newer styles of activity we are able to use tourism practice (and especially the performance of tourism) to make stronger statements about how we see ourselves and how consumption and identity formation through tourism help to position ourselves within our societies.

Discussion questions

- 1 To what extent would you concur with the view that tourism provides a quintessential form of postmodern consumption?
- 2 Why has tourism become central to the contemporary construction of self-identity?
- 3 Using examples from tourism, explain how identity is both exclusive (individual, resistance) and inclusive (social, conforming).

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- 4 Given recent emphases on tourism as embodied practice, how valuable is Urry's concept of the tourist gaze in understanding tourist practice and the structuring of tourist space?
- 5 Deploying examples from wine or food tourism, how has the increased popularity of these activities contributed to the extension of tourist space?

Further reading

The literature on consumption is voluminous, but a useful overview is provided by:

Miller, D. (ed.) (1995) *Acknowledging Consumption: A Review of New Studies*, London: Routledge.
Meethan, K., Anderson, A. and Miles, S. (eds) (2006) *Tourism, Consumption & Representation*, Wallingford: CAB International.

A good, concise, recent discussion is given by:

Paterson, M. (2006) *Consumption and Everyday Life*, Abingdon: Routledge.

Other sources that deal with more specific aspects of consumption include:

Bell, D. and Valentine, G. (1997) *Consuming Geographies: We Are Where We Eat*, London: Routledge.

Crang, P. (2005) 'Consumption and its geographies', in Daniels, P. et al. (eds) *An Introduction to Human Geography: Issues for the 21st Century*, Harlow: Prentice Hall, pp. 359–78.

Everett, S. (2012) 'Production places or consumption spaces? The place-making agency of food tourism in Ireland and Scotland', *Tourism Geographies: An International Journal of Tourism Space, Place and Environment*, Vol. 14 (4): 535–54.

Jayne, M. (2006) *Cities and Consumption*, Abingdon: Routledge.

Identity in the modern world is explored in detail in:

Giddens, A. (1991) *Modernity and Self-identity: Self and Society in the Late Modern Age*, Cambridge: Polity.

Hall, S. and du Gay, P. (1996) *Questions of Cultural Identity*, London: Sage.

Interesting and instructive essays on embodied tourist practice are to be found in:

Crouch, D. and Desforges, L. (2003) 'The sensuous in the tourist encounter: the power of the body in tourist studies', *Tourist Studies*, Vol. 3 (1): 5–22.

Edensor, T. (2000a) 'Walking in the British countryside: reflexivity, embodied practices and ways of escape', *Body and Society*, Vol. 6 (3/4): 81–106.

Franklin, A. (2004) *Tourism: An Introduction*, London: Sage.

Veijola, S. and Jokinen, E. (1994) 'The body in tourism', *Theory, Culture and Society*, Vol. 11 (3): 125–51.



Part V

Applied and future tourism geographies

Throughout this book, up to this section, we have focused on critical human geography perspectives on tourism spaces and places. We hold that contemporary geography thought offers deeper understandings of the multiple ways that tourism structures the modern spaces in which we live, and how people, as individuals and in social units, connect with and utilise tourism to create and display identities and meanings. Production and consumption processes are integral to identity formation (see Figure 10.1), place invention, and the globalisation of tourism practice and performance. As the economic statistics of tourism demonstrated in Chapter 4, tourism has very real physical and livelihood impacts, and career opportunities for tourism geographers tend to be as specialists who understand and manage the analysis and policies that guide tourism development trajectories toward societal goals, which generally relates to quality of life. Definitions of quality of life, however, vary among different segments of a community, perhaps as best seen through the often heated debates between varying political parties. By definition, planners are beyond politics, and in their strictest roles are merely technicians that advise politically elected (in democracies) decision makers (Lew, 2007). In reality, however, planners are people and have values and interests, and are driven by identity issues, influenced by marketing and globalisation processes, and are actually influential subjects in the creation of places.

In the two chapters that comprise this applied tourism geographies section of the book, we first focus on the planning and management of tourism, with particular attention to scales ranging from the nation state, to subnational regional planning, to local community planning for tourism. This book is not about tourism planning. Comprehensive understanding and insights into the official policies and planning for tourism, from the international and global to the local, can be found in Hall and Lew (2009). Instead, Chapter 12 in this section delves into the role of planners, mostly in the government sector, that influence and shape the physical emergence, presence, and possible decline, of tourism development. This is important, because while we place considerable emphasis on the agency of people as tourists (including both visitors and residents of a community) to create tourism spaces and meaning, government policies and the resulting regimes of accumulation that they regulate are an important structural influence that adds to the multiple voices of place expressions.

We should note the subtle difference between ‘tourism planning’ and ‘planning for tourism’. While interchangeable for most purposes, tourism planning more specifically refers to the identification of tourism issues, the formulation of tourism policies, and the adoption and implementation of plans that are focused on the tourism industry and tourism resources. Planning for tourism, on the other hand, is the larger processes of regional and

community planning that also considers tourism phenomenon and implications. Although there are exceptions, mostly in places that are highly dependent on tourism or are hoping to become so, planning for tourism is much more common than tourism planning.

The final chapter of the book is intended to be forward looking, by providing an overview of the world of professional academic geography and several conceptual frameworks and topical areas that have been emerging from annual meetings of professional tourism geographers. These meetings can be quite large, and the ideas presented here only scratch the surface of critical topics that contemporary tourism geographers are interested in. However, they are provided to demonstrate how academic ideas evolve over time to find new, or revisit old, ways to solve contemporary questions and issues of our time.

12

Planning and managing tourism development

KEY CONCEPTS

- **Boosterism**
- **Community-based tourism**
- **Community-oriented planning**
- **Geographic scale**
- **Incremental plans**
- **Industry-oriented planning**
- **Local Agenda 21**
- **Master plans**
- **Physical and spatial planning**
- **Planning system**
- **Public participation/consultation**
- **Rational planning process**
- **Small- and medium-sized enterprises (SMEs)**
- **Supply and demand**
- **Sustainability**
- **Systematic plans**
- **Tame and wicked problems**
- **Tourism planning**



More online for Chapter 12 at <http://tourismgeography.com/12>

Implicit in many perspectives on sustainable tourism, and on tourism development in general, is the view that planning has a key role to play in assuring orderly and appropriate patterns of development and resolving many of the conflicts that such development may generate (Gunn, 1994; Inskeep, 1991). Tourism planning provides a primary mechanism through which government policies for tourism may be implemented (Hall, 2000) and, in its different forms, can be a mechanism for delivering a range of more specific outcomes. These will include:

- the integration of tourism with other economic sectors;
- the direction and control of physical patterns of development;
- the conservation of scarce or important resources;
- the active promotion and marketing of destinations;
- the creation of harmonious social and cultural relations between tourists and local people.

Hall and Lew (2009) argue that tourism planning has the potential to minimise the negative effects, maximise economic returns to the destination and build positive attitudes towards tourism in the host community. Conversely, where effective planning of tourism is absent, there are evident risks that tourism development will become unregulated, formless or haphazard, inefficient and likely to lead directly to a range of negative economic, social and environmental impacts.

Effects of tourism on host communities

The chapters in Parts III and IV reviewed the many different ways that tourism is an integral part of the culture and landscape of our contemporary world. One perspective that was evident is seen in arguments that the tourism economy can be a significant driver of change, shaping political relationships, development choices and cultural evolution. In Chapter 6, in particular, we saw how much of the academic literature on the socio-cultural impacts of tourism tends to emphasise negative perspectives, such as increased incidence of crime, lowering of moral standards, breakdown of family structures and the commercialisation of traditions. Such an emphasis can, however, be misleading, as tourism development has also been shown to foster a range of positive effects, such as a reduction of cultural barriers, increased cross-cultural understanding, and the promotion of pride in a destination's cultural heritage (Jafari, 2001). Popular views of tourism as the 'destroyer' of societies and their cultures are thus too simplistic. Tourism is not a monolithic force, nor does it stand apart from wider processes of development and change. It is both a cause and a consequence of socio-cultural development, and since it comprises a diversity of participants, agencies and institutions with differing motives and goals, its effects are diverse and often unpredictable. This leads to considerable spatial and temporal variation in the nature of relationships between tourism, society and culture and the effects that it creates. However, what is also clear is that, in general, the presence of visitors changes the object of their attention, that is, tourists change the attraction through their very presence. This is a paradox that is common to several dimensions of modern tourism but it underpins many of the concerns that have been voiced over the socio-cultural impacts of tourism.

Empirical studies of the socio-cultural and environmental effects of tourism have highlighted a diversity of possible impacts. Full discussions of these issues may be found within the general tourism literature (see, e.g., Mathieson and Wall, 1982; Murphy, 1985; Ryan, 1991; Richards, 1996; Meethan, 2001; Smith, 2003; Wall and Mathieson, 2006; Hall and Lew, 2009). For purposes of this book, we have framed these to illustrate a cross-section of effects which, for convenience, were grouped under the broad headings of authenticity and commodification, moral drift and changing social values, and new social structures and empowerment.

This chapter examines tourism planning as the primary way in which societies respond at the collective level to the changes that occur in relation to tourism development and growth. The first section explores the basic nature of planning processes and some of the types of planning approaches that have been applied to tourism development. Second, the importance of planning for tourism is explained and some of the main strengths and limitations in both the theory and implementation of tourism plans are highlighted, especially in relation to issues of sustainability. Finally, the differences in approach to tourism planning at national, regional and local levels are examined and illustrated.

Planning and planning processes

‘Planning’ has been defined in various ways, but a common perspective recognises it as an ordered sequence of actions that are designed to realise either a single goal or a set of interrelated goals and objectives. Murphy (1985: 156) writes that ‘planning is concerned with anticipating and regulating change in a system, to promote orderly development so as to increase the social, economic and environmental benefits of the development process’. This conceptualisation implies that planning is (or should be) a process:

- for anticipating and ordering change;
- that is forward looking;
- that seeks optimal solutions to perceived problems;
- that is designed to increase and (ideally) maximise possible developmental benefits, whether they be physical, economic, social or environmental in character;
- that will produce predictable outcomes.

From this broad definition it follows that planning may take on a variety of forms and may be deployed in a great diversity of situations. These include physical and economic development, social policies, service provisions, infrastructure improvements, marketing or business operations and environmental management.

A general model of the planning process

Although there are a diversity of potential applications for planning, the basic nature of the planning process is, in theory, remarkably uniform. Figure 12.1 sets out a standard model of the rational planning process. The principal elements in creating and implementing a plan are envisaged as a series of key stages or steps (UNWTO, 1993). These key

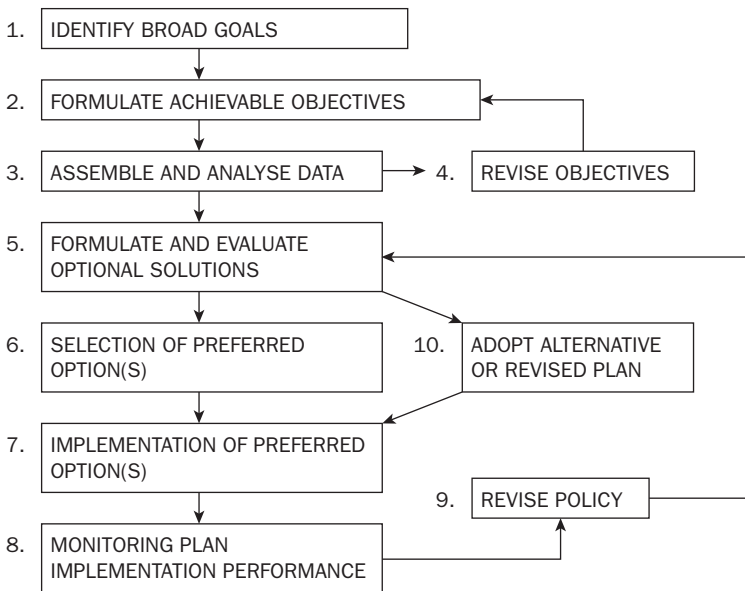


Figure 12.1 Standard model of the rational planning process

stages are essentially self-explanatory, but there are several features of the model to emphasise:

- 1 There is a progression within the planning process from the general to the specific. The process begins with broad goals and refines these to produce specific policies for implementation.
- 2 There is a circularity in the process by which objectives and the options for realising them are open to review and amendment in the light of either background analysis or the performance of the implemented plan.
- 3 The process is dynamic. The general model maps out a set of procedures that allow planning to be adaptive to changing circumstances. This is a quality that is especially important to tourism planning where patterns of demand and supply are often volatile. Flexibility should be a key concept for tourism planners.

It should, of course, be conceded that normative models of this type have attracted some criticism. Hall and Jenkins (1995) make the point that planning, while theoretically informed, actually takes place in real-world settings that are complex and in which there are a host of embedded values, powers and interests that tend to modify or subvert ideal patterns. Lew (2007) notes that the standard planning model assumes an unreasonable level of expert knowledge on the part of the planner and rational behaviour by the planned for. While it may be well suited to 'tame' engineering-type problems, it is poorly suited to more 'wicked' social problems, for which more incremental and social learning approaches may be more suited. However, while acknowledging the validity of these views, the model is still widely used as an ideal sequence, even if its ideals are not always attained in practice.

Types of plan and planning approaches

The general model defines a typical process that may be applied in a wide range of planning contexts. However, within this diversity of contexts, the actual tourism planning approach commonly falls into one of four categories (although these are not mutually exclusive):

- boosterism;
- industry-oriented planning;
- physical and spatial planning;
- community-oriented planning.

This classification is derived from work by Getz (1986) and has been widely deployed in the subsequent literature on tourism planning.

According to Hall (2000), boosterism is arguably the dominant planning approach in tourism development in many destination areas, but whether it is actually planning in a true sense is debatable. Under a boosterist approach the process of planning is generally aligned with the exploitation and commodification of natural or cultural resources of a destination to maximise economic returns for specific business interests. Local resident participation in the planning process is usually minimal, with decisions primarily deferred to government or industry 'experts'. As such, the wider impacts of the planning and development process are accorded little attention as planning is focused on actively boosting the economic success of tourism businesses.

Industry-oriented planning approaches are a more regulated form of boosterism. They still constitute a planning approach that is shaped by business imperatives, but with a stronger focus on the use of planning to achieve efficient and sustainable uses of resources to deliver increased employment and regional development. Marketing and promotional campaigns for the broader tourism industry are conspicuous elements in tourism plans under an industry-oriented approach. Environmental concerns and socio-cultural issues, such as how tourism wealth may be distributed across communities, receive much lower priority in this approach (Burns, 1999).

Physical and spatial planning approaches are grounded in traditional forms of urban planning and its primary concerns for regulating physical development and the proper ordering of land use and associated infrastructures. This form of planning approach is strongly represented in several influential texts on tourism planning (especially Gunn [1994] and portions of Hall and Lew [2009]) and reflects an emphasis that is widely encountered in the work of statutory planning authorities relating to the physical design and layout of tourist areas and the zoning of activity. As a response to the rising tide of concerns around issues of sustainability, physical-spatial approaches have become more attuned to managing the environmental impacts of tourism, but the integration of socio-cultural concerns into this approach is somewhat less evident.

Community-oriented planning approaches have become much more conspicuous in recent years as the emphasis on finding sustainable forms of development has become more widely reflected in both policy and practice. This reflects the growing realisation that local participation is essential to securing sustainable development of tourism and effective management of tourism's environmental impacts. Community involvement is also often the most effective way of resolving socio-cultural tensions between tourists and local people. Thus, in theory, planning that is community oriented can provide essential frameworks for raising local living standards and improving infrastructure for both local people as well as visitors. It can also support development that is aligned with the cultural, social and economic agendas of the local community (McIntosh and Goeldner, 1986).

Within these four contrasting approaches, different types of plans may be developed, including (1) master plans, (2) incremental plans and (3) systematic plans. The master plan approach is arguably the most traditional and also the least suited to most of the needs of tourism. Master plans are comprehensive and definitive statements that provide a framework for guiding development in a community. They usually apply a rational planning approach that examines most areas of government involvement in local communities (referred to as plan elements), including housing, transportation, economic development, land use, public services, and open space/recreation. The plan defines an end-state (or set of goals or targets) towards which public (and perhaps private) agencies are encouraged or required to work. Targets are normally expected to be attainable within set time periods, typically five to ten years. Once set in motion, a master plan is normally left to run its course until its time has elapsed. At the end of the plan period, a new master plan is prepared, a process that can take from six months to two years to complete.

The master plan approach has the advantage of adopting a comprehensive view of development processes, but similar to rational planning in general, has also been widely criticised. Burns (2004), for example, suggests that master plans suffer from being:

- too complex and too demanding of government resources;
- likely to encourage a reductionist, homogenising view of tourism that only reflects the patterns of known market segments;

- undemocratic and over-dependent on expert knowledge at the expense of local participation;
- limited by national political boundaries and therefore increasingly at odds with globalising tendencies and the erosion of national space.

However, again like rational planning in general, such deficiencies have not prevented widespread use of master planning approaches in tourism (see, e.g., Gant and Smith [1992] on national development planning in Tunisia).

As an alternative approach, the natural dynamism in tourism (whereby new tourists and new tourism products and destinations tend to redefine patterns more or less continuously) has encouraged some community planners to move away from a master plan approach and towards the more adaptable forms of incremental (or continuous) planning. Incremental planning accepts that perfect knowledge is unattainable, and unexpected changes may occur at any times. As such, constant plan adjustments are built into the development process. So whereas the comprehensive master plan approach would place an emphasis on Stages 1 and 2 of the general rational planning model (specification of broad goals and objectives), the incremental approach shows a much greater concern for Stages 8–10 (monitoring, revision of policy and objectives, and adoption of revised plans). The incremental approach still assumes rationality, it just focuses on a shorter time horizon. Since one of the primary objectives of tourism planning is to match levels of demand to supply, this capacity to adjust planning programmes as required is a particular advantage.

One of the recurring themes in the tourism planning literature is the need to plan such a diffuse activity comprehensively and in a manner that integrates the planning of tourism with the other sectors in a community and economy with which it has linkages. Given the breadth of those linkages and the diverse impacts that tourism tends to generate, a planning approach that is comprehensive yet allows for the need for regular readjustment in physical development, service delivery and visitor management is clearly advantageous. Such an approach is provided by systems planning.

The systems approach (which originated in the science of cybernetics and ecology but is now applied widely in a range of investigative, managerial and planning contexts) is founded on the recognition of interconnections between elements within the system, such that a change in one factor will produce consequential and predictable changes elsewhere within the system. Thus in order to anticipate (or plan for) change, the structure and workings of the system need to be fully understood and taken into account in any decision making, which may be an unattainable expectation. In a planning context, systems approaches attempt to draw together four key elements: activity, communications, spaces and time. The interdependence between these is mapped to produce patterns of development.

The advantages of a systems approach to planning are that it is comprehensive, flexible, integrative and realistic, as well as being amenable to implementation at a range of geographic scales. On the negative side, a systems approach requires a great deal of information in order to comprehend how the system actually works (Stage 3 of the general model); it is dependent on high levels of expertise on the part of the planners and is, therefore, an expensive option to implement that will often exclude local people from effective participation in planning processes because of its complexity. For these reasons it remains the least widely applied of the three methods described, although as planning techniques become more developed (especially with the development of new big-data methodologies), it may become more prominent.

Tourism and planning

Planning is important in tourism for a wide range of reasons. First, through the ability of physical planning to control development, it provides a structured way to integrate tourist facilities and associated infrastructure over large geographic areas (from neighbourhoods to regions). This geographic dimension becomes more significant as tourism evolves. Initially, most forms of tourism planning are localised and site-specific, reflecting the rather limited horizons that characterise tourism entrepreneurs. But as the spatial range of tourists and tourism development becomes more extensive both locally and globally, planning systems that are capable of coordinating development over regional, national and even international spaces become more necessary.

The tourism industry is inherently fragmented due to its multiplicity of providers and tourist segments. This fragmentation is mirrored in the many different elements that are often required to come together within a tourism plan, including accommodation, attractions, transportation, marketing and a range of human resources (see Figure 12.2). This diversity also makes tourism planning difficult due to diverse, and sometimes conflicting, interests. Given the mixed patterns of ownership and control over tourism elements in most destinations, a planning system that provides both integration and structure to these disparate elements is clearly of value for tourism to achieve its potential (Inskeep, 1991). Planning systems (when applied in a marketing context) also enable the promotion and management of tourism places and their products, once they are formed.

Planning can also be a mechanism for the distribution and redistribution of tourism-related investment and economic benefits. This is a particularly important role for planning given that tourism is an industry of global significance, but one where activity does not fall evenly across different regions and neighbourhoods, and where the spatial patterns of tourist preference are also prone to variation through time. Planning may assist both the development of new tourist places and, where necessary, the economic realignment of established places that previous tourists segments have begun to desert. In addition, the

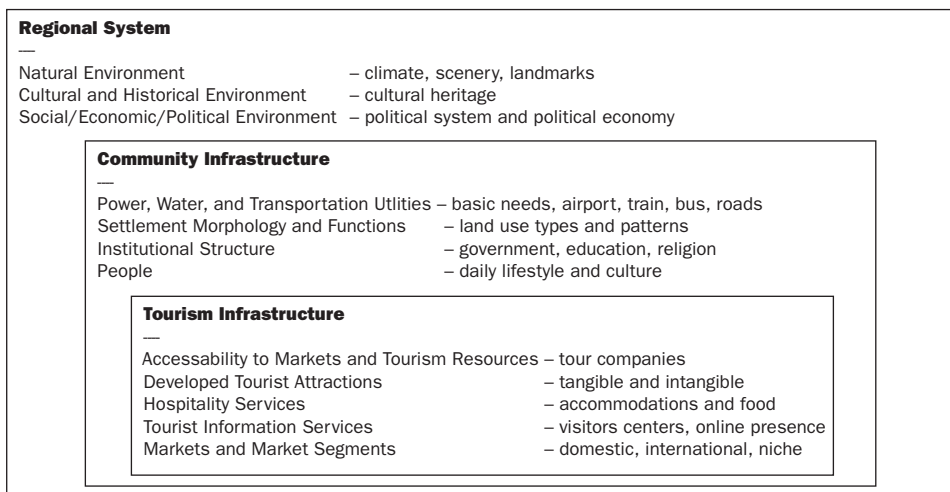


Figure 12.2 Elements of consideration in a tourism plan (based on Lew, 1987; Inskeep, 1991; Hall and Lew, 2009)

integration of tourism into larger community or regional planning systems gives the industry a political significance because while most planning is done by professional planners, actual decision making on policy and budgets is made by politically elected or appointed officials. Therefore, having tourism as a major ‘element’ in a comprehensive master plan provides a measure of status and legitimacy for an activity that has not always been taken seriously as a force for economic and social change.

A common goal of planning is to project likely demand patterns and to then attempt to match supply to those demands. For example, at what point will future tourist growth require or justify additional hotels or resorts? A second goal is in adopting appropriate policies and regulations of new development projects and existing services to maximise resident and visitor satisfaction. There is ample evidence from around the world that unplanned tourist destinations are the ones that are most likely to be associated with negative environmental and social impacts and low levels of visitor and host satisfaction. Effective planning is more likely, though not guaranteed, to enhance the tourism product to the benefit of all. Baidal’s (2004) study of the evolution of tourism planning in Spain highlights both the damaging consequences of unplanned tourism development in the 1960s, as well as the major improvements that accompanied the establishment of stronger tourism planning requirements by the Spanish autonomous regions after 1994.

Finally, as noted in the introduction to this chapter, there are clear links between planning and principles of sustainability. Implicit in the concept of sustainable tourism are a range of interventions aimed not only at conserving the natural and cultural resources on which the industry depends, but also at maximising the benefits of development to local populations. Sustainable tourism strives to balance economic growth, environmental protection and social justice (Coccosis, 1996) and this requires integrative planning (Hall, 2000; Hall and Lew, 2009).

Links between planning and sustainability are especially important at a local scale. This is partly because implementation of the principles of sustainability has become focused at a local level by the widespread adoption of Local Agenda 21 as a framework in which to develop sustainable practices, but also because the requirements for strategic sustainable tourism planning will vary significantly from place to place and are, therefore, best understood in a local context. Local level planning is also more easily informed through public participation and through the involvement of stakeholders – both of which are seen as essential ingredients in delivering sustainable forms of development (Simpson, 2001; Ruhanen, 2004).

Hall (2000: 38) proposes five key areas in which local public participation consultation can help to shape a sustainable planning programme by establishing:

- the values that both local people and visitors attach to the area;
- the aspirations that residents may hold for tourism in their area;
- the fears that local people may harbour around possible tourism impacts and effects;
- the special characteristics that locals may wish to share;
- the aspects of the local area that might detract from the tourist experience.

By considering these criteria, Hall asserts, local destinations are ‘better placed to determine their positioning in the tourism market, product development, infrastructure requirements, development constraints, local needs and preferred futures’ (Hall, 2000: 38).



Plate 12.1 Balancing commercial interests and heritage conservation is a tourism planning task in Old San Juan, Puerto Rico (photo by Alan A. Lew)

Tourism planning in perspective

The diversity of roles and functions set out above leads to problems in defining what are the essential dimensions of tourism planning. Tourism planning, as a concept, has a range of meanings, applications and uses. It encompasses many activities: it addresses (but does not necessarily integrate) physical, social, economic, business and environmental concerns and in so doing it involves diverse groups, agencies and institutions with their own particular agendas. Both public (government) and private (business) sectors can undertake tourism planning, which results in varying forms and degrees of legal enforcement. It can also be undertaken at local, regional, national and international scales (see Hall and Lew [2009] for examples of this). So to talk of ‘tourism planning’ as if it were a single entity is highly misleading. Table 12.1 attempts to reinforce this point by summarising a cross-section of applications that are located within the broad realms of tourism planning.

Apart from ambiguities over what may actually constitute tourism planning, there are issues related to the tendency to only consider short-term perspectives, organisational deficiencies, and problems of implementation. Due to its emphasis on business interests, the adoption of short-term perspectives is a common characteristic in tourism planning (see, for example, Cooper, 1995) and arises for several reasons. First, it is a reflection of the natural rhythm of annual high and low tourist seasons, with the industry adopting a season-by-season focus on its performance. But it is also a consequence of the structure of the industry, which in most destinations is dominated by small- to medium-sized enterprises (SMEs). For financial reasons (a lack of deep investment pockets), this sector tends to adhere strongly to short-term, tactical views of tourism and it is difficult to integrate them into wider, longer-term planning initiatives.

Those planning initiatives may themselves suffer from a range of organisational shortcomings. In many destination areas, the speed of tourism development outstripped the

development of expertise, knowledge and organisational structure needed for effective tourism planning. Studies of tourism planning in some of the emerging global destinations such as New Zealand, the South Pacific islands and China, for example, reveal common problems of inconsistencies in tourism strategies within states and regions; fragmentation in responsibility between different public and private agencies; lack of knowledge of local tourism patterns; and an absence of planners with specialist knowledge of the industry (Craig-Smith and Fagence, 1994; Page and Thorne, 1997). Yet even destinations with well-developed planning structures and a good understanding of tourism markets are not immune from these difficulties. In the UK and US, for example, responsibility for 'planning' tourism falls to a range of agencies, including regional tourist boards (with little or no legal authority), national- and state-level park and public land authorities/agencies, and local government planning departments (which rarely contain tourism experts). As a result, an 'implementation gap' emerges in many localities between what is intended by a tourism plan and what is actually delivered (see Kun et al. [2006] for a discussion of implementation problems in tourism in China).

Table 12.1 Diversity of tourism planning

<i>Planning sector</i>	<i>Typical tourism planning concerns/issues</i>
Physical (land)	Control over land development by both public and private sectors Location and design of facilities Zoning of land uses Development of tourist transportation systems Development of public utilities (power, water, etc.)
Economic	Shaping spatial and sectoral patterns of investment Creation of employment Labour training Redistribution of wealth Distribution of subsidies and incentives
Social/cultural	Social integration/segregation of hosts and visitors Hospitality Authenticity Presentation of heritage/culture Language planning Maintenance of local custom and practice
Environmental	Designation of conservation areas Protection of flora and fauna Protection of historic sites/buildings/environments Regulation of air/water/ground quality Control over pollution Assessment of natural hazards
Business and marketing	Formation of business plans and associated products Promotional strategies Advertising sponsorship Quality testing and product grading Provision of tourist information services

Tourism planning at contrasting geographical scales

One way to understand the range of tourism planning and policy formation is by examining this at different geographic scales, from international, to national, to the local. Tourism planning at the international or supra-national scale of intervention is largely accomplished through policies and treaties that have limited enforcement or application at the local level. These include policy recommendations of organisations such as the World Travel and Tourism Council (an industry association) and the United Nations World Tourism Organization (UNWTO, an international governmental group), and through international treaties (between governments) and standards established by voluntary organisations such as the International Civil Aviation Organization. The United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) is among the most influential of these organisations through its ability to grant, and remove, World Heritage Status for sites around the globe. Such designations can have a major impact, especially in developing economies, on the management practices and visitor numbers at designated sites. While these international planning efforts can have significant influence, they rarely have any legal enforcement at the nation state or local level. Government planning, in particular, is a legally sanctioned authority that normally resides at the level of the nation (though in federal systems, such as the US, Germany, Malaysia and over twenty other countries, that authority is shared with states or provinces). The nation then grants planning authority and enforcement to lower levels of government. This authority allows for, but does not guarantee, a unity and holism that characterises the planning that this chapter is primarily focused on. The following discussion, therefore, focuses on national, regional (subnational) and local approaches to tourism planning.

Before we examine these three scales of tourism planning, three general points are worth noting. First, although we may distinguish various geographic scales of planning intervention in tourism, these should be seen as interconnected rather than separate spheres of development. Such a relationship might be viewed hierarchically, with national policies setting a broad agenda for development that directly shapes regional-level policies, while these in turn form a framework for locally implemented plans. As the scale approaches the local level, so the level of detail in planning proposals is likely to increase, but the overall aims of planning remains complementary and consistent across scales (Figure 12.3).

In practice, however, neat hierarchical arrangements between scales are rarely found. This may be because one of the tiers connecting the scales is missing or only partially developed, or differences in political or institutional agendas at the different levels may frustrate implementation. In some countries (e.g., the US and UK) there is no clearly defined and consistent regional level of planning. Regional tourism strategies devised by the tourist boards (which usually focus more on marketing than traveling) have been limited in their effect due to the absence of legal authority for implementing plans. In addition, concerted attempts to produce regional tourism strategies have been frustrated by the absence of clear policies at the national level. Geographic area is also a factor, with the absence of a regional tier being especially typical in smaller countries where regional subdivisions of the national space may not offer particular advantage.

While some tourism issues are of greater concern at the local scale than at the national scale, as seen in Figure 12.3 and discussed below, others run across all three levels, albeit with varying degrees of emphasis. Economic considerations are one element that may provide a focus of interest at all three scales, as are concerns for infrastructure improvements such as transportation and public utilities.

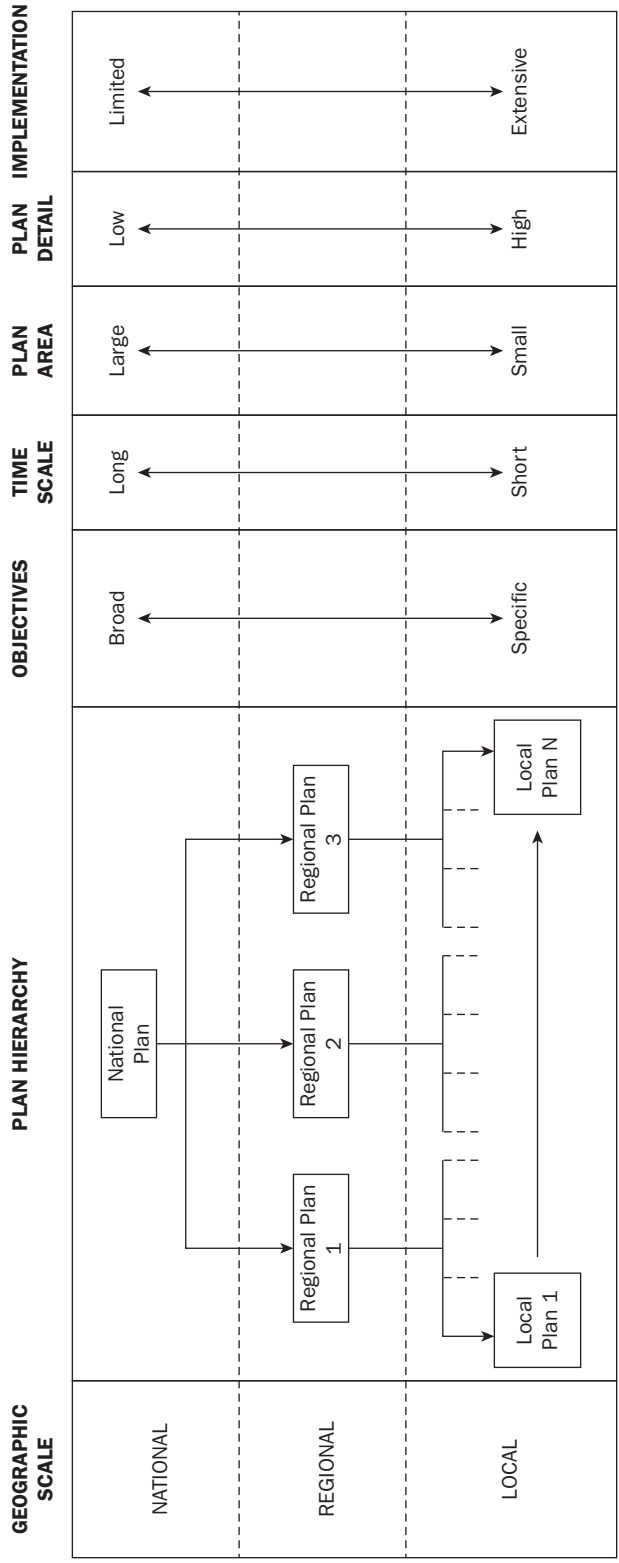


Figure 12.3 A geographic scale planning hierarchy

In addition, there can be significant differences within each level due to widely differing tourism situations that exist from place to place. In some situations, strong national-level policies have been criticised for concealing or failing to address regional disparities (Baidal, 2004), while difficulty around what is sometimes termed as the ‘articulation’ (or coordination) of policy across planning levels has been a recurring theme in many other destination areas (see, e.g., Pigram, 1993; Kun et al., 2006). The following discussion should, therefore, be treated primarily as a generalisation of planning at the different spatial levels, keeping in mind that individual states, regions or localities can vary substantially from the patterns described.

Tourism planning at the national level

The political and practical influence of national-level tourism planning varies markedly between destinations, with some countries taking it seriously (like China and New Zealand), while others do almost no tourism planning at all. Typically, however, national-level tourism plans are general and conceptual in character, seeking to define the primary goals for tourism development and identify general policies and broad strategies to achieve those goals. Within this framework, however, several specific emphases emerge with, in particular, a common concern for economic development issues. This reflects the perception that international tourism can positively affect a country’s balance of payments account (import–export trade balance) and create employment. Consequently, a growing number of nations, especially in the developing world, have positioned tourism centrally within their national economic development plans.

A second common role for national tourism plans is the designation of tourism development or investment regions (see, Alipour [1996] and Tosun and Jenkins [1996] on the case of Turkey). This may be done for any of several reasons:

- (1) to help create programmes to redistribute wealth and to narrow interregional investment disparities by targeting underdeveloped areas and populations;
- (2) to more specifically create employment in regions where unemployment is an issue;
or
- (3) to channel tourism development into zones that possess appropriate attractions and infrastructure and are therefore considered suitable for tourism (creating enclaves that may be better managed). As well as reflecting economic concerns, regional designation may also be guided by environmental factors, in particular a need to protect fragile regions from potentially adverse effects of tourism development.

Strategic marketing is a second major goal for many national-level tourism plans. This is especially prominent for well-developed destinations that possess the expertise and the resources to effectively promote their distinctive set of national tourism products. For example, in countries like the UK and US, the strategic planning of tourism for economic development at the national level is totally absent. Instead, the primary role of national agencies such as the British Tourism Authority (BTA) and the US Travel Association is the marketing of destinations to domestic and, especially, foreign travellers. An example of this is a tourism plan produced for the US through a multiagency, public and private task force under the Office of Travel and Tourism Industries (OTTI) of the US Department of Commerce (2012). That plan seeks coordination among federal (national) agencies to encourage international travel to the US through revised visa processing, collecting better data on visitor markets, introducing technologies to assist non-English speaking visitors,

Table 12.2 *Main determinants of national tourism plans and policies in forty-nine countries (in rank order)*

-
1. To generate foreign revenue and assist balance of payments
 2. To provide employment
 3. To improve regional and local economies
 4. To create awareness of the destination/country
 5. To support environmental conservation
 6. To contribute to and guide infrastructure development
 7. To promote international contact and goodwill
-

Source: Based on Baum (1994)

and establishing a Tourism Policy Council with public and private representatives to implement the plan's recommendations.

The economic development and/or marketing roles of national level plans are reflected across the globe. Table 12.2 summarises findings from a study by Baum (1994) of national tourism policies in some forty-nine countries worldwide and identifies, in rank order, the eight most important determinants shaping national-level tourism plans. His study emphasises the economic and marketing functions already mentioned, but also draws attention to national issues that occur more selectively. For example, some national tourism plans reflect needs to improve and develop infrastructure, especially transport; others include provision for educational and employment training schemes; while a smaller number recognise the potential for tourism to forge international linkages and to maintain positive images of a country within the international community.

The approaches to delivering the objectives set out in Table 12.2 vary considerably between nations. Some destinations adhere to rigid programmes outlined in national tourism master plans, while others prefer a more low-key, flexible approach (though often without enforcement authority) of policy guidance. Policy plans are effectively memoranda to local government planning departments, setting out key issues to be addressed and preferred pathways for development, but allowing considerable leeway for local interpretation.

The institutional structure of national tourism planning also varies. In the study of national tourism planning referred to in Table 12.2 (Baum, 1994), only half of the countries surveyed had established a government department with sole responsibility for national tourism planning and nearly 15 per cent apparently had no governmental-level interests in the sector at all. Elsewhere, tourism was accorded only secondary interest, with responsibility for tourism planning shifting among government departments through time. In the UK, for example, in the fifteen years between 1983 and 1998, tourism development was first the responsibility of the Department of Trade and Industry, then the Department of Employment and finally the Department of Culture, Media and Sport (which was originally called the Department of National Heritage). This uncertain status reflects the secondary position that tourism holds in many national planning frameworks and is a weakness.

MORE ONLINE: Case Study 12.1 National level tourism planning in Morocco

Tourism planning at the subnational regional level

In comparison with national forms of tourism planning, regional tourism plans are usually distinguished by a marked increase in the level of detail and a sharper focus on development

issues that are particular to the region. Implications for individual localities are also more apparent in a regional plan, as they are usually based on some degree of public interest or participation in the planning process. Regional levels of planning, therefore, hold the potential for balancing (or connecting) national and local interests, as well as enabling integration of rural and urban development (Church, 2004).

Several themes are shared in both national- and regional-level tourism plans, including:

- Concerns for the impact of tourism on regional economies and employment patterns.
- Development of infrastructure, especially transport systems for the circulation of visitors within the region, as well as provision of public utilities such as power and water supplies, which are frequently organised at regional scales.
- Spatial structuring in which tourism localities within regions are identified and possibly integrated in a logical manner.
- Regional-level marketing and promotion, especially where the region possesses a particular identity or set of tourism products.

However, there are also distinctive features in regional tourism plans that may not be found at a national level. First, regional plans commonly show greater levels of concern for the environmental impacts of development. Except in the case of small nations, the uneven spatial patterns that are associated with tourism (between places with resources and those without) mean that environmental impacts are seldom felt at a national level, but are manifest within regions and localities. The tendency of environmental impacts to spread across wider geographic spaces (see Chapter 5) also means that a regional scale of planning is frequently more appropriate for intervention than a solely local approach.

Second, regional plans will often contain much greater consideration of the type and location of visitor attractions, together with supporting services such as accommodations. These are rarely articulated in detail within a national tourism plan, but in regions the more manageable geographic scale makes it easier to identify specific locations that will support tourism, evaluate how well existing capacities match expected demand, and then plan developments of new attractions and services that are required to meet deficiencies.

Regional plans may also address the management of visitors. Distinctions between management and planning in tourism are often blurred, but unless the nation is small, the regional level is normally the first point at which tourist management issues begin to emerge, including mismatches in demand and supply. Regional strategies aimed at either concentrating or dispersing visitors, the planning of tourist information service locations, the promotion of preferred tourist routes, and the strategic development of key attractions may all form part of regional tourism management strategies.

However, while an identifiable role for regional planning may be clearly discerned, experience suggests that the implementation of tourism planning at a regional scale is often problematic. Several factors account for these difficulties, including:

- The concept of a 'region', as applied to tourism, is often vague, or even meaningless, due to the high mobility of tourists, which easily reshapes tourist space through changing patterns of demands.
- Regions generally contain local areas that may wish to pursue a development path that is not aligned with national or regional objectives, and which therefore creates tensions between different levels of policy and planning.
- There may be difficulties connecting the wider agenda of tourism planning (which often includes a major focus on marketing and promotion) with the more specific

processes of land use planning and development control that often form the focus of statutory planning procedures at the local level.

Some of these issues are covered in Case Study 12.2, which examines regional tourism planning in Spain.

MORE ONLINE: Case Study 12.2 Regional tourism planning in Spain

Tourism planning at the local level

Local-level tourism planning is highly variable, reflecting the diversity of local situations in which tourism takes place. Yet at the same time, this level of application is the easiest at which to identify planning concerns. Local tourism planning will frequently reveal a focus on the physical organisation of tourism facilities (accommodation, local transport, catering and local attractions) and control over its physical development (such as new hotel construction). Local plans are typically short term (three to five years) and regulatory in nature (rather than being longer-term, strategic statements). Their focus is often on reducing development conflicts and harmonising tourism activities with others that use the same spaces or resources. Local plans show some similarities to regional-level plans in their attention to the logistics of providing infrastructure (such as power, water, sanitation, transportation access), but will be distinctly more detailed in these areas. Unlike regional plans, however, local tourism planning pays much greater attention to the physical design and layout of developments, something that is rarely encountered at the larger geographic scales of intervention.

The local level is typically the scale at which community land use plans and associated land use zoning occurs. This is because it is the planning level at which there is most likely to be a legally enforceable system of planning control through the adoption of local plans and decisions by elected officials on local development. In addition, in most cases the appropriateness of a proposed new development is most effectively judged in a local context, since this is the level at which impacts will be most clearly felt. For this reason, it is also the level at which public opinions on development are best considered, as the implications of proposed developments become prominent and measurable.

Although controlling development is an important and distinctive function of local government plans, they may also reflect issues that are addressed at regional and national levels, especially the economic and environmental effects of tourism. Economic concerns include local employment, new-firm formation and potential multiplier effects of tourism incomes. Environmental and conservation issues are also addressed, especially since the existence of legal controls and the increased use of environmental impact assessments in many local planning procedures systems to protect conservation areas and fragile environments from potentially harmful physical developments.

The local level is often an appropriate scale at which to devise detailed plans for visitor management. Regional scale strategies, such as those mentioned above, will usually articulate a broad strategy for managing visitors by, for example, a macro-scale zoning policy (see Figure 5.2). However, within zones, and especially those that are planned to accommodate significant concentrations of tourists, there is often a need for more detailed and place-specific planning for visitor management.

Finally, local planning is the level at which public or community participation in the planning process is most clearly developed. This is evident not just in a progressive shift towards more holistic approaches that encourage communities to comment on planning

proposals (Church, 2004), but also in the rising prominence of public–private partnerships that are aimed both to mediate tourism’s cultural and social impacts on communities (Bramwell, 2004) and to address issues of sustainability through, for example, Local Agenda 21. The Rio Earth Summit in 1992 adopted Local Agenda 21 as a framework to encourage local governments to develop policies that are sustainable and which draw communities into participatory forms of planning (Jackson and Morpeth, 2000).

The value of effective local engagement in tourism planning processes has been recognised for some time (see, e.g., Murphy, 1985; Pearce, 1989; Inskeep, 1991; Lew, 2007; Hall and Lew, 2009) and it is generally held to deliver more positive and community supported outcomes than might occur in its absence. Timothy (1999) suggests that the impacts of participation in planning can be seen in two basic ways: in decision-making processes and in the derived benefits from tourism development. But benefits are especially significant when planning engages all of the key local stakeholder groups. Bramwell and Sharman (1999) suggest that the benefits of including local stakeholders and the knowledge that they bring will include:

- reduced levels of conflict;
- increased political legitimacy;
- improved coordination of policy across physical, economic, social and environmental sectors;
- increased likelihood of sustainable solutions.

However, the same authors also acknowledge that participatory local planning can be affected adversely by several areas of potential difficulty. These will include:

- the extent to which collaborating stakeholders represent the interests of all sections of the local community, or just a portion of them;
- the nature and frequency, or lack thereof, with which stakeholders are involved in the process;
- inequalities in power and influence between stakeholders;
- inadequate levels of understanding, both of the process and, importantly, of other stakeholder views;
- the challenge of reaching consensus and of implement resulting policies without it (Bramwell and Sharman, 1999).

Mitchell and Reid (2001) have provided a useful conceptual framework for examining how community perspectives on tourism are formed and integrated into the planning process (Figure 12.4). The framework envisages a three-stage process. The most critical is the first stage, in which the level of public participation integration within the community is established, along with its capacity to influence the subsequent planning process. Three critical parameters are seen as shaping the endogenous environment (i.e., the environment within the community): (1) the community’s awareness and understanding of tourism issues; (2) the degree of unity and homogeneity within the community (and hence the range of opinions that the community may hold); and (3) the nature of power relationships both within the community and between the community and the outside world. The latter provides an ‘exogenous environment’ that shapes considerations such as tourism demand, and which exerts a moderating effect on the views and actions of the community itself. In other words, the community cannot take decisions in isolation from wider influences.

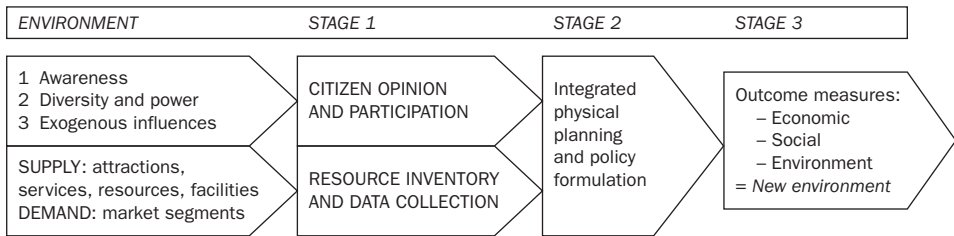


Figure 12.4 Integrating community perspectives into the tourism planning process (based on Mitchell and Reid, 2001)

Differences in the key parameters of awareness, unity and power will tend to regulate the ability of the community to engage as participants in the planning process, and thus shape the outcomes of the process (Stages 2 and 3 of the model). This helps us to understand why the success of public participation in local planning varies from place to place. For example, Timothy (1999) notes that local participation appears to be much harder to achieve in developing economies than in developed nations. His study of Indonesia found that local involvement was hampered by a range of factors including a lack of expertise and understanding of tourism development issues on the part of local people, as well as cultural and political traditions that encouraged locals to defer to others whom they perceived to have power and status. In other words, although the Indonesian communities revealed quite high levels of unity in a social sense, their lack of awareness and power reduced their capacity to influence planning decisions, which tended, as a consequence, to be imposed from outside by government.

Low levels of public participation, however, are not inherently shaped around a First World–Third World dichotomy. A study of local planning in thirty tourism destinations in Queensland (Australia) found that despite the rhetoric of public participation, effective involvement by locals in tourism planning was evident in only a minority of cases (Ruhanen, 2004). Here the author concluded that a lack of awareness and understanding, particularly of the concept of sustainable tourism, on the part of those who were empowered to make local planning decisions (usually elected officials) was a key constraint. In contrast, a study by Bramwell and Sharman (1999) of the Hope Valley area of the Peak District National Park (UK) that is described in Case Study 12.3 reveals a much more successful pattern of community involvement in developing a tourist management plan (although it must be conceded that this case does not typify the British experience as a whole, where community participation is often very poorly developed). Here, Mitchell and Reid's three parameters for integration were largely met by a community that was able to marshal quite high levels of unity through a clear framework for organising and expressing local opinion; displayed high levels of understanding of the issues through the inclusion of articulate and informed local residents; and was empowered, both by formal processes of inclusion and by the 'power' that comes with understanding of the issues and an ability to articulate that understanding. As a result, genuine local participation in developing planning policies for tourism in the local area was achieved.

These examples and case studies illustrate the range of applications of planning in tourism development. It is important to realise that the discussion above provides only an outline review of an extensive topic that is beyond the scope of this book. Readers with a desire to probe the subject more deeply are therefore encouraged to explore the literature cited below and in the overall Bibliography.

MORE ONLINE: Case Study 12.3 Community tourism planning in Hope Valley, UK

Community-based tourism

Community-based tourism (CBT) is an approach to tourism development that is more commonly applied in emerging economies, though it could conceivably work in developed countries, as well. It is commonly defined as tourism that is owned and managed by a community, which shared risks and benefits, and usually includes elements of cultural and environmental conservation (Trejos and Chiang, 2009). Through a cooperative approach, each member has a stake in the success of the group effort. CBT projects actually vary in the degree of community involvement. Some involve all members in a community, who are employed either part-time or full-time in the project, with profits shared accordingly. More frequently, however, a CBT enterprise is organised as a cooperative or collective which some members of a community join, while others do not. Also common are community-based tourism projects that are joint ventures between a community or family and an outside business partner who bring business skills that may be lacking locally.

Unfortunately, the idea of community-based tourism has been widely coopted by political elites who find in it a convenient political platform. They see it as an approach that requires low capital costs, but demonstrates a pro-poor policy that supports impoverished rural populations. In a survey of over 100 CBT projects worldwide, Goodwin and Santilli (2009) found that only a small fraction (less than 4 per cent) of CBT projects were economically sustainable. These failures were largely due to inadequate product development and marketing, stemming from a lack of local skills and financing. For many rural communities in developing economies, the fundamental issue is a lack of local political power and the ability to exercise land development decisions due to unclear land tenure.

In their research in Malaysia, Hamzah and Mohamad (2011) found similar challenges, with only about 5 per cent of over 200 community-based tourism projects being commercially viable. They suggest that the most successful CBT projects were not focused solely on tourism, but were involved in a range of economic, environmental and socio-cultural activities that bring financial and capacity-building benefits to cooperative members. Other success factors include:

- a strong and consistent community participation and capacity-building (training) programme;
- collaborations with private sector (business) partners who can bring marketing skills and connections beyond the local community;
- local management, decision making and control over community resources;
- adoption of a long-range, strategic plan that includes both environmental and community goals and financing options and goals;
- appropriate assistance from governmental agencies and non-governmental organisations, especially in the early years.

Summary

By mostly focusing on the role of government in shaping the physical development of tourism, this chapter highlights those aspects of tourism planning in which geographical

perspectives are most useful in understanding processes of change associated with tourism. This includes the overall comprehensive or rational planning process, types of tourism plans (from industry to community oriented), elements of a tourism plan, and different scales of planning (from the national level to community based). The chapter also illustrates that tourism planning is an overtly geographic phenomenon, because (1) it is an essential mechanism for structuring and ordering tourism space, and because (2) the way that planning is applied to tourism varies across space and between different locations. Planning at national, regional and local scales is now widely encountered (though more so in some countries and communities than others) and while there are common themes and issues that link the different scales of intervention, there are also distinctive dimensions that typify planning for tourism at each spatial level.

Discussion questions

- 1 To what extent do boosterism, industry-oriented, physical–spatial and community-oriented traditions in tourism planning represent complementary rather than contrasting approaches?
- 2 In terms of national tourism plans, examine the extent to which common themes and issues emerge at this level of intervention.
- 3 To what extent is the effectiveness of tourism planning inhibited by the nature of tourism itself?
- 4 What are the strengths and weaknesses of adopting a regional-level approach to tourism planning over other levels and why might these vary between different destination areas?
- 5 Critically assess the potential and the difficulty of developing community-level participation in local planning for tourism.

Further reading

There are several texts on tourism planning that have acquired a classic status and which still provide informed discussion of key planning themes, in particular:

Gunn, C.A. (1994) *Tourism Planning*, New York: Taylor and Francis.

Inskeep, E. (1991) *Tourism Planning: An Integrated and Sustainable Development Approach*, New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold.

Murphy, P.E. (1985) *Tourism: A Community Approach*, London: Routledge.

Pearce, D.G. (1989) *Tourist Development*, Harlow: Longman.

In addition a more recent and very detailed consideration of the links between policy and tourism has been provided by:

Hall, C.M. (2000) *Tourism Planning: Policies, Processes and Relationships*, Harlow: Prentice Hall.

Hall, C.M. and Lew, A.A. (2009) *Understanding and Managing Tourism Impacts: An Integrated Approach*, Oxford: Routledge.

Several shorter essays on links between local and regional policy and planning are provided in:

Church, A. (2004) 'Local and regional tourism policy and power', in Lew, A.A. et al. (eds) *A Companion to Tourism Geography*, Oxford: Blackwell, pp. 555–68.

Lew, A.A., Hall, C.M. and Williams, A.M. (eds) (2014) *The Wiley-Blackwell Companion to Tourism Geography*, Oxford: Blackwell.

An excellent discussion of the links between tourism planning and sustainability is provided by:
 Hunter, G. and Green, G. (1995) *Tourism and the Environment: A Sustainable Relationship?*,
 London: Routledge.

Useful recent case studies of tourism planning in practice are to be found in:

- Baidal, J.A.I. (2004) 'Tourism planning in Spain: evolution and perspectives', *Annals of Tourism Research*, Vol. 31 (2): 313–33.
- Boers, B. and Cottrell, S. (2007) 'Sustainable tourism infrastructure planning: a GIS-supported approach', *Tourism Geographies: An International Journal of Tourism Space, Place and Environment*, Vol. 9 (1): 1–21.
- Burns, P. (2004) 'Tourism planning: a third way', *Annals of Tourism Research*, Vol. 31 (1): 24–43.
- García, G.M., Pollard, J. and Rodríguez, R.D. (2003) 'The planning and practice of coastal zone management in southern Spain', *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*, Vol. 11 (2/3): 204–23.
- Hamzah, A. and Hampton, M.P. (2013) 'Resilience and non-linear change in island tourism', *Tourism Geographies: An International Journal of Tourism Space, Place and Environment*, Vol. 15 (1): 43–67.
- Ruhanen, L. (2004) 'Strategic planning for local tourism destinations: an analysis of tourism', *Tourism and Hospitality Planning and Development*, Vol. 1 (3): 1–15.

Similarly, useful discussions of community participation in tourism planning are provided by:

- Bramwell, B. and Sharman, A. (1999) 'Collaboration in local tourism policymaking', *Annals of Tourism Research*, Vol. 26 (2): 392–415.
- Graci, S. (2013) 'Collaboration and partnership development for sustainable tourism', *Tourism Geographies: An International Journal of Tourism Space, Place and Environment*, Vol. 15 (1): 25–42.
- Lew, A.A. (2007) 'Tourism planning and traditional urban planning theory: planners as agents of social change', *Leisure/Loisir: Journal of the Canadian Association of Leisure Studies*, Vol. 31 (2): 383–92.
- Simpson, K. (2001) 'Strategic planning and community involvement as contributors to sustainable tourism development', *Current Issues in Tourism*, Vol. 4 (1): 3–41.
- Timothy, D.J. (1999) 'Participatory planning: a view of tourism in Indonesia', *Annals of Tourism Research*, Vol. 26 (2): 371–91.

A valuable resource in understanding the issues in community-based tourism is available in:

- Goodwin, H. and Santilli, R. (2009) 'Community-based tourism: a success?', ICRT Occasional Paper 11, German Development Agency (GTZ). Online at <http://www.andamandiscoveries.com/press/press-harold-goodwin.pdf>.

13

Emerging and future tourism geographies

KEY CONCEPTS

- Anthropocene
- Complex adaptive systems
- Cultural capital
- Evolutionary economic geography
- Information and communication technologies (ICT)
- Knowledge transfer
- Linguistics
- Mobile technologies
- Path dependency
- Place-based information systems
- Political ecology
- Resilience planning
- Tourism Area Life Cycle
- Tourism geography
- Tourism studies



More online for Chapter 13 at <http://tourismgeography.com/13>

Tourism studies

Hall, Williams and Lew (2014) argue that, despite its highly interdisciplinary nature, tourism studies has emerged as a mature field of research in contemporary social sciences. It exhibits many of the characteristics of a discipline as identified by Johnston (1991), including being well established through colleges, departments and programmes in universities throughout the world and having respected venues for ‘the advancement of knowledge – through the conduct of fundamental research and the publication of its original findings – which identifies an academic discipline; the nature of its teaching follows from the nature of its research’ (Johnston 1991: 2).

In academia, tourism studies is occasionally housed in geography departments, due to the previously cited inherent geographical nature of tourism practice. More frequently it is found in schools of hospitality, providing a social science depth to the highly applied fields of hotel and restaurant management. Even here, however, there are a surprising number of faculty members who hold advanced degrees in geography. For example, in Hong Kong, the highly ranked University of Hong Kong and Chinese University of Hong

Kong both have tourism emphasis areas in undergraduate and postgraduate geography, whereas the Hong Kong Polytechnic offers tourism through its internationally renowned School of Hotel and Tourism Management. The tourism geographers, along with other mostly social scientists, in these programmes tend to conduct more pure, theoretical and conceptual research, as well as applied studies, as both of these areas are demanded by their institutions and students.

Academic research in the geography of tourism is advanced through a number of institutional structures beyond individual university programmes. While *Tourism Geographies* is the only journal devoted explicitly to the geographic perspective, a large number of other scholarly tourism journals were either founded by geographers or have them as their editor-in-chiefs, including, most prominently, *Current Issues in Tourism*, *Journal of Ecotourism*, *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*, *Tourist Studies* and *Tourism Recreation Research*. While only a small portion of the over 150 tourism-related journals published today, and exclusively focused on English language presentations, they are among the most influential (Hall et al., 2014). In addition, tourism research is increasingly found in broader geography journals, such as the *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, reflecting its overwhelming influence in shaping contemporary space and place.

In addition, tourism study groups and commissions are among the more active elements of geographical professional associations, including: the Commission on the Geography of Tourism, Leisure and Global Change of the International Geographical Union; the Recreation, Tourism and Sport Specialty Group of the Association of American Geographers; the Research Group on the Geography of Leisure and Tourism of the Royal Geographical Society/Institute of British Geographers; and similar affiliations among the Association of Canadian Geographers, the German Society of Geography, the China Geographical Society, and the Association of Japanese Geographers.

With the continual, and indeed growing, importance of tourism worldwide, opportunities for employment as a tourism geographer are growing. At the same time, as has been a theme throughout this book, tourism is also becoming more integrated into the fabric of urban and rural spaces, which demands that the tourism industry has a more comprehensive understanding of the diversity of functions, voices and needs of the places that it inhabits. Such a perspective is the strength of a tourism geographer, and is often a weakness of more specialised hospitality employees. Geographers are especially skilled in synthesising data from disparate sources and varied forms, including both quantitative and qualitative. Contemporary workplaces also require flexibility, as job titles, employers and locations change more rapidly today than in the past. Within tourism industries, job switching workplaces as a means of career advancement is common. This may be within the same company, moving to other cities or countries, or within the same place, but moving to different companies.

Tourism industry companies, especially multinationals, shift priorities as markets shift, which also reflects changing geographical patterns in global tourism overall. As important as tourism is globally, it is not an important part of the economy for all places. Demand for tourism geography skills are greatest, of course, in places with the highest tourism demand, and students of the topic need to be aware of that. Tourism geographers who have other, related skills, such as GIS and urban planning, are also better suited to shifting employment opportunities in tourism destinations. Those with backgrounds in physical geography and resources management are especially suited to tourism-related employment in nature-based destinations. Fundamentally, employers are looking for employees who are competent and show potential to contribute to the organisations' long-term goals.

Emerging tourism geography topics and frameworks

As eluded to above, geographical understandings of tourism are advanced through publication in journals and presentations in meetings of professional associations. As an example, and to close out this book with a forward looking perspective, several emerging frameworks and major topical areas for geographical tourism studies are reviewed here.

Evolutionary economic geography

Evolutionary economic geography (EEG) is the application of evolutionary economics to geographic topics. Evolutional economics applies concepts from evolutionary biology to economic processes (Brouder and Eriksson, 2013a; 2013b). The goal is to understand how economic landscapes have changed through time, and, more importantly, how these processes shape the current situation of places, their political and economic decision making, and their visionary scope for future opportunities. Brouder (2013) suggests three key EEG concepts that can inform tourism geography research. The first is *path dependency*, which recognises the difficulty of breaking away from past locked-in development trajectories (such as behaviours, decision making, and built environments) to create new futures (Gill and Williams, 2011). The second key concept is the idea of *knowledge transfer*, where knowledge is seen as information that is transferred from one generation to the next as a firm changes under new leadership and changing environmental conditions (Hodgson and Knudsen, 2010). The third concept is *regional branching*, which refers to the emergence and spread of a form of tourism through institutions and across geographic space, including the pathways, influences and changes that transpire both within tourism and the larger system that is being examined.

Boschma and Martin (2007) suggest that what makes EEG distinct is its focus on the spatial dynamics involved in the creation and transformation of economic activities, including:

- *novelty and innovations*, such as the emergence of new technologies, firms and industries, as well as emerging networks that can foster new ideas (Baggio et al., 2010);
- *self-organising* abilities that emerge from the micro-behaviours of economic agents, such as individuals, firms and organisations in a place as they adapt to new novelties and innovations; and
- *path creation, path dependence and place dependence* in producing feedback loops that influence the adaptive evolution of an economy as it creates new mechanisms of wealth creation, work and welfare.

Much of the research within evolutionary economic geography has focused on high-technology industries and workers, examining how industrial agglomerations respond to the introduction of new technologies, for example, rather than the lower-skilled workers that are characteristic of tourism. However, an advantage of an EEG approach is that it allows for theories that explain broader social changes, as well as those that shed light on the individual agency of members within a society – much in the same way as a biological ecosystem can be understood at different, yet integrated, scales.

Evolutionary economic geography is best seen in tourism through the Tourism Area Life Cycle (TALC) model, introduced in Chapter 2 of this book, which models the evolution of resort destination areas. A resort destination is an example of an industrial

agglomeration, comprised of multiple agents providing diverse, but mutually interdependent services and functions (Gill and Williams, 2011). Ma and Hassink (2013) have proposed several stages in path dependence formation, including (i) a preformation phase, prior to tourism development, (ii) a path creation phase, during the initial entrepreneurial activity, (iii) a path development phase, where external influences reinforce local pathways, and (iv) a path stability or coevolution phase, depending on the life cycle progression of a destination.

In terms of self-organising behaviours, cooperation, interdependence and coevolution among destination agents is most evident in relation to public goods, which comprise resources shared by multiple agents, and not clearly or fully owned by any one agent, such as scenery, public parks, and local cultural traditions (Kingsbury and Hayter, 2006). This can provide a foundation for more sustainable development actions, especially in places that rely heavily on natural resource attractions. Competition, on the other hand, is more likely where resources have a more clearly defined ownership.

Complexity and resilience

Complexity theory is another key concept that is based in the evolutionary economic geography. It recognises the challenge of understanding how geographical systems adapt to unpredictable changes. In ecology, ecosystems are conceived as *complex adaptive systems*, and this idea is applied to social systems in evolutionary economics (Farrell and Twining-Ward, 2004). In recent years (since the mid-2000s), social scientists have been using this approach to understand and plan for social adaptation to disruptive environmental disasters, especially those associated with climate change. Resilience theory focuses on how complex adaptive systems maintain stability under stressful circumstances. Contemporary resilience theory and research has its origins in dynamic system models in the mathematical sciences, which were adapted to ecosystems by ecologists (Holling, 1973) to define the ability of an ecosystem to maintain biological relationships through periods of environmental stress.

Today, resilience is widely used beyond ecology, and has been adopted recently as a key concept in community planning as a way of addressing challenges ranging from climate and other natural disasters to cultural and economic changes under globalisation (Davoudi, 2012). Tourism is both sensitive to these changes and is a participant in them, and the resilience of tourism enterprises and practices through times of change is an emerging theme in tourism (see Hamzah and Hampton, 2013).

There are essentially three approaches to resilience planning. The first is an engineering approach which is the basis for most disaster planning and recovery operations. The goal of this approach is to return to the level of social equilibrium and functioning that existed prior to the natural disaster. For most regions of the world, this is a core activity of a responsible government. Transportation planning, public health and infrastructure, and even land use planning are key tools in the engineering approach that have direct impacts on tourism development. The second approach to resilience planning is the socio-ecological approach, which is based more in ecosystem models, which identify thresholds that when reached shift an ecosystem, or socio-economic system, into a different state of equilibrium. This is similar to evolutionary economics (see below), and the goal is to create a social learning system that can move a society to a better level of relationships than those that existed prior to the crisis event. For tourism, this has corollaries with efforts by destinations to move up the value chain (to move higher up on the Butler Tourism Area Life Cycle, described in Chapter 2) so as to attract higher paying tourists.

The third, and still largely emerging, approach to resilience planning might be considered a synoptic ('all seeing') approach, though Davoudi (2012) refers to this as an evolutionary approach (related to evolutionary economics). In this approach, change and adaptation are assumed to be constants, while stability or equilibriums, and thresholds or tipping points are illusions. To a large degree, this model approaches the real world of tourism entrepreneurs, who are constantly assessing, adjusting and adapting to changing markets, resources and regulatory environments. The slow changes that entrepreneurs must adapt to are far more common than the rapid and sudden crises that resilience planning has tended to focus on. However, the ability of places to adapt to slow change variables is as important in resilience planning because these more subtle changes can be as transformative as a major disaster (Walker et al., 2012).

What is needed is an awareness of change and resilience to change at multiple levels. Most tourism planning and development models, whether at the community or entrepreneurial levels, are grounded in either engineering resilience or socio-ecological assumptions. These approaches are certainly essential concerns, and may even be growing in importance due to the increasing numbers of people living in disaster prone coastal lowlands and active tectonic regions around the globe. Incorporating slow change variable considerations into the mix makes for a new model of comprehensive master planning that may be better suited to current conditions.

Lew (2014) has suggested such a model for community tourism planning that is based on two key variables: (1) the rate of change in environmental or social phenomena and (2) the scale of human responsibility (Figure 13.1). Environmental change transitions from the fast and sudden, in the form of storms or tsunami flooding that can destroy tourism resources, for example, to the slow and subtle, such as the gradual migration of species under climate change. Social change ranges from rapid overthrows of governments and sudden economic disruptions, to more gradual cultural and economic globalisation processes that threaten the practice and transfer of traditional knowledge from one generation to the next. The scale of responsibility ranges from the concerns of private tourism business entrepreneurs, where the focus is on maintaining quality services that

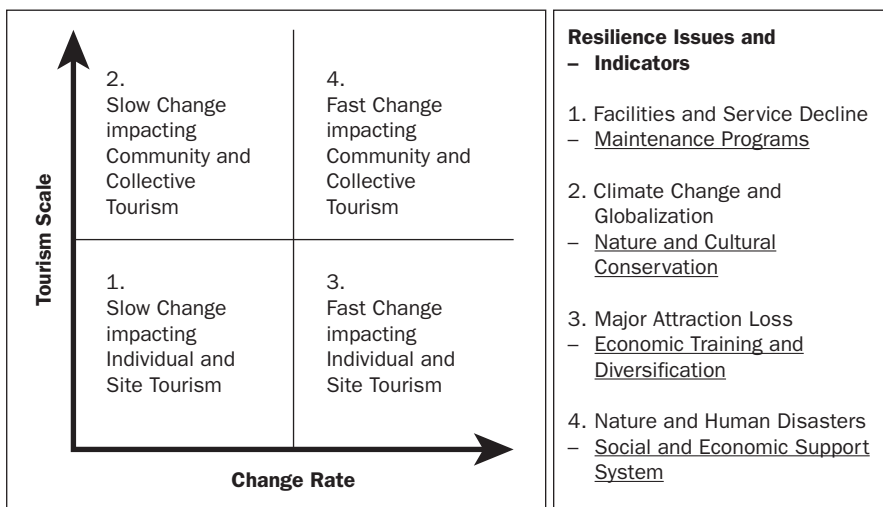


Figure 13.1 Scale, change and resilience in tourism (Lew, 2014)

meet client needs, to those of the broader society, including cultural and natural resource management and disaster preparation.

A critique of the recent growth in resilience approaches to community development has been presented by MacKinnon and Derickson (2013) who suggest that applying an ecological approach to communities promotes politically and socially conservative values because it assumes that current systems are normatively desirable and not in need of scrutiny in itself. They also suggest that it is a top-down approach, imposed on communities by outside experts, and by focusing on community-based actions, resilience ignores the more important scale of global capitalism in effecting the disruptions that communities face.

Political ecology and the anthropocene

A third concept that has a long history, but is again emerging as a significant paradigm in tourism research is political ecology. Political ecology is the application of political economy to understanding the social power relations that underlie the ecosystem dynamics that exist between human society and the natural world (Gössling, 2003). Political ecology, in particular, seeks to expose the unequal power relationships that shape the ownership of, access to, control over, and the distribution of environmental resources (Bryant and Bailey, 1997; Peet and Watts, 2004). As such, environmental ethics are a core focus on political ecology (Cole, 2012) – more so than in the broader approach of political economy – and may address some of the concerns that MacKinnon and Derickson (2013) raised with resilience studies. At a macro scale, these interests are applied to the political and economic relations that exist between the global north (as a resource consumer) and the global south (as a resource producer) (Britton, 1982), with resulting tensions that are often exhibited in the tourism spaces of the latter, from enclave resorts to ecotourism and adventure tourism spaces. Political ecology scholars also explore the public and hidden policies that shape the production, reproduction and alteration of human–environment relationships, including gendered roles and environmental change (Escobar, 2008; Smith, 2007).

Geography is particularly well suited to a political ecology understanding, given its traditional integration of environmental and social processes. The complexities of natural resource processes requires an interdisciplinary understanding of historical, political, social and economic contexts at different scales, from the community to the global (Zimmerer and Bassett, 2003; Robbins, 2004).

In recent years, political ecology has gained a renewed interest among scholars because of its potential to bring greater understanding to the growing impact of human society on our global environments. The planet seems to have more clearly entered what has been termed the ‘anthropocene’ geologic time period, which is proposed to have started with the eighteenth-century Industrial Revolution (Zalasiewicz et al., 2010). In this new epoch, human civilisation and the Earth’s physical systems are intertwined to a higher degree than at any time in the past. Human activities (including tourism activities) have grown to become a new geophysical force, and one that can potentially threaten the ability of the earth to support life as we have come to know it. Proponents point to evidence that the intensity and scale of human activities are directly shaping geophysical responses, including recent evidence that seems to indicate that many natural disasters, such as droughts and storms (from climate change), earthquakes (from hydraulic fracturing) and disease epidemics are influenced, if not fully caused, by human activities. Understanding the

human role (especially with regard to political and economic practices) of these environmental processes, which are often tied to land use changes driven by economic globalisation, is what a political ecology understanding seeks. This is also essential to finding resilient solutions for contemporary communities, as discussed above, although this connection has not been well developed (Martin and Sunley, 2007).

Tourism research has historically interacted with political ecology issues through research related to the management of nature-based tourism, such as in protected area conservation and indigenous peoples (Chapter 2), ecotourism development (Chapter 10), community-based tourism (Chapter 12), and sustainable tourism (Chapter 5) in general. What distinguishes the political ecology approach from more traditional research paradigms applied to these topics is its explicit focus on the political ideologies that are exposed through hidden contradictions and interests that often result in the exploitation of silent populations, including both the poor and the natural environment. These include issues of modernity and accelerated change, the environmental ethics of tourism development and tourist behaviour, and the politics of tourism studies.

Most tourism research is grounded in applied business perspectives, which largely accept and support a neoliberal economic globalisation approach to development. While political ecology has been a major research paradigm in social science approaches to natural resource management since the 1990s, its application to tourism has been much less common because of the ideological orientation of most tourism academics (Stonich [1998] and Gössling's edited volume [2003] are two earlier exceptions). For similar reasons, the anthropocene concept has been widely theorised in the broader social science since the 1990s, but has been barely discussed in tourism studies.

Language, linguistics and tourism

Few things are as fundamental to human–place interactions, identities and experiences as is language and communication. Language and other linguistic variations are basic components of the cultural heritage and identity of places, and are often essential to their tourism image. Like other forms of heritage, language authenticity is frequently contested, with significant social class and political implications (cf. Ashworth and Tunbridge, 2004). In its publication on endangered languages, UNESCO (2003: 1) stated:

[UNESCO] recognizes the vital role of language in the expression and transmission of living heritage. All intangible cultural heritage domains . . . depend on language for their day-to-day practice and inter-generational transmission. In the domain of oral traditions and expressions, language is not only a vehicle of intangible heritage, it is their very essence.

In addition to its heritage and marketing significance, language has a cultural capital role in tourism through tour guides, interpreters and other language brokers situated between tourist guests and local hosts. Research on the role of language in tourism, however, is in its infancy, though linguists are much more active in this area than are tourism scholars (Hall-Lew and Lew, 2014). There are a multitude of ways that the study of language in tourism can, and is, being approached, three of which are:

- (1) *Social and geographic distributions of present day linguistic varieties.* Languages and dialects are one of the most important geographic features that differentiates places among one another, and often makes certain places of special interest to

tourists. Tourist guides and other front-end employees are considered more ‘authentic’ by tourists when they speak the local language or with the local accent, creating a form of cultural capital for those who are adept at representing the local while also clearly communicating with the visitor. Further, different roles within the tourism economy tend to have distinct language variations that are part of their performative requirements. Within a restaurant setting, for example, the owner, chefs, wait staff, bartender, and dining clientele each has a different role to perform that is accompanied with distinct language nuances.

Even more broadly, linguistic variations are associated with a wide range of social group memberships. Shared linguistic codes reflect variations, for example, in economic class, ethnic identity, political orientation (Hall-Lew et al., 2010) and other group identities that may also be associated with tourist venues and attractions. Some of these variations can be core in-group and out-group signifiers (Boudreau and White, 2004; Cohen, 2012), similar to tourism front stage and back stage indicators (Goffman, 1959; Greathouse-Amador, 2005; Dörnyei and Csizér, 2005). MacCannell (1989) contends that back stage experiences are major motivations behind many forms of tourist motivation.

- (2) *The role of language in marketing and place image and identity formation.* Destination marketing organisations carefully select tag lines or slogans that become a central theme to a broad marketing campaign that can even form the basis for a larger place identity. Some examples of these include: Amazing Thailand and Incredible India (focusing on their colourful exoticness); New Zealand – 100 per cent Pure, and Switzerland – Get Natural (highlighting their natural landscapes); and Kyrgyzstan – Oasis on the Great Silk Road, and Portugal – Europe’s West Coast (geographical identifiers). Beyond this marketing perspective, the choice of words and dialects have political and power implications, especially in complex multiethnic societies. Language use and, in particular, claims of authenticity are highly contested (Bucholtz, 2003; Coupland, 2003).

One definition of language authenticity is the degree to which it resembles an earlier form of speech, based on some historical record. Museums are frequent venues for the presentation of cultural characteristics associated with minority ethnic groups within a region. Linguistic variations being one of those major features, and museumisation (Relph, 1976) becomes a form of linguistic authentication, similar to the presentation of historical and archeological research (Lau, 2010). The ability to validate such forms of object authenticity is itself a much contested practice (Lowenthal, 1985; Reisinger and Steiner, 2005). A popular form of tourism that is representative of this practice is the literary tourism discussed in Chapter 7. Historical literary tourism sites often include performances in which interpretations of historical language variations are presented to provide a greater sense of authenticity, nostalgia and exoticism (Squire, 1994; Herbert, 2001; Earl, 2008). Such performances, however, are more of a version of perceived or experiential authenticity, as opposed to historically objective authenticity.

- (3) *The role of language in diaspora tourism and identity.* The forces of modernisation that have fostered the exponential growth in tourism since the 1950s have included advances in transportation and telecommunication, along with increasing global economic integration and more porous international borders. These same forces have increased human mobility more broadly, with increasing numbers of people migrating permanently to another country from that in which they were born and raised (Giddens, 1990, 1991). Modernity, especially for diaspora populations, can

create a sense of uncertainty, loss of centre, placelessness and anxiety and doubt about one's ethnic identity (Ong, 1999). On the other hand, through modern telecommunications and modern transportation, however, they are also able to maintain strong attachments and self-identities based on their ethnic homelands. In essence, the modern migrant, and even extending to second and third generation immigrant families, has come to epitomise modernity through their transnational/postnational and transborder family structures, incorporating multiple and hybrid cultures (Bhabha 1994; Ohmae, 2000).

Tourism to a homeland country or region is a major way in which diaspora populations maintain and strengthen their ethnic identities (Lew and Wong, 2005; Drozdzewski, 2011). Language use and language learning, which can be part of a tourism experience, is another major way that diaspora populations reinforce their identities, especially for second and third generations who may not have fully formed or realised their identity in the culture in which they were raised (Dörnyei and Csizér, 2005). Because of the effort involved, language learning can also become part of the identity construction of non-diaspora tourists, as well. To the extent that a destination language holds distinct cultural capital value, tourism-based language learning can lead to enhanced employment opportunities (Coupland et al., 2005; Jaworski and Pritchard, 2005). This can also work the other way around, where foreign language knowledge can provide tourism employment value. Gao (2012), for example, describes the situation in Yangshuo (Guilin), China where foreign tourists are recruited to teach English to Chinese students. This because of the degree to which English knowledge has identity value for Chinese: 'English has attained new hegemonic power in China as a middle-class stylistic resource being actively pursued, at economic and cultural cost' (Gao, 2012: 39).

MORE ONLINE: Case Study 13.1 Language and tourism in Edinburgh, Scotland

Mobile technologies and place

If the Industrial Revolution (and the Enlightenment and Scientific Revolution that it was based on) was the harbinger of the anthropocene, some have suggested that the Digital Revolution brought on by the invention of the transistor and micro-processor have initiated an Information Age. Beginning with the mass adoption of telecommunications in the 1950s (through advances in telephones, television and radio), the power of digital technology to transform human society, culture and economy has become especially pronounced with the opening up of the Internet to a global audience of users starting in the early 1990s. There are a multitude of ways that information and communication technologies (ICT) have influenced and reshaped global and local societies in general, and tourism in particular. Three of the more apparent are discussed here.

The first is in relation to time–space compression (Harvey, 1989), which, as we have seen (Chapter 1) is directly related to issues of globalisation and mobility. The world has been becoming smaller as a result of advances in transportation, communication and business activities since at least the Industrial Revolution. However, this process has rapidly expanded following the Second World War in the digital era to the point where news and information have become so instantaneous and global for a good part of the world's population, that some have suggested the end of geography (Greig, 2002;

Friedman, 2005). On the other hand, it is just as easily argued that there has also been an explosion in geography and geographic significances (Graham, 1998), with place-based information becoming among the most prolific areas of technology innovation today (Shoval et al., 2014).

As with distinctions between modernity and postmodernity, it will be up to a future history to actually decide if the information age was as distinct as we feel it to be in our daily lives. For tourism, continuing advances in technology have hastened what Auliana Poon described as the ‘new’ postmodern tourism of the 1980s:

The economics of the new tourism is very different from the old – profitability no longer rests solely on economies of scale and the exploitation of mass undifferentiated markets. Economies of scope, systems gains, segmented markets, designed and customized holidays are becoming more and more important for profitability and competitiveness in tourism.

(Poon, 1989: 93)

The trend toward specialty, niche and custom tourism experiences that was already emerging in the 1980s, has been made more accessible for tourists and more economically viable for tourism providers through expanded global access to the Internet. The ability of smaller and more geographically and socially remote travel services to have an online presence is greater today than ever. For example, individuals who offer taxi and guide services in Cambodia often have their own websites, can be found on Facebook.com, and are reviewed and ranked on TripAdvisor.com. Even individuals not traditionally associated with the tourism industry are now able to rent spare rooms in their homes or the use of the car to visiting tourists, sometimes in return for goods or services other than money. This new ‘sharing economy’ would not be possible without the Internet’s ability to provide access to markets and economies of scale to the smallest providers (Lew, 2008).

A second area in which telecommunications technologies are rapidly changing the tourism experience is in mobile technologies and place-based information systems (Shoval et al., 2014). Tourists, who tend to occupy the higher income segments of society, especially in international travel, are increasingly connected to the Internet by their mobile phones or devices for much, if not all, of their trips. Providing services to the connected traveller, however, is a major focus of many technology companies today who provide wayfinding information (usually GPS and map-based), as well as destination and site guides, restaurant and eating rankings, last minute and less formal accommodation bookings, and access to transportation and translation services. This has become so common that there is now a market for ‘technology free’ or ‘unplugged’ holidays and vacations.

In a study using tourist focus groups, Pearce and Gretzel (2012) identified four types of tensions that arise when today’s travellers are unplugged:

- (i) *Social communication tensions* – travellers become aware of the degree to which they expect to be connected to social networks and friends, which may even be a form of addiction. Alternatively, they may recognise a level of triviality in their online social relationships.
- (ii) *Work communication tensions* – travellers are afraid of missing important work-related opportunities, problems or other duties that may arise, which may cause an

increase in work after their trip. On the other hand, being disconnected provides a convenient excuse for a delayed response to work-related issues.

- (iii) *Security and escape tensions* – for some travellers, being disconnected can increase anxiety over personal safety and health concerns, increasing their awareness of being in a non-home environment. This, however, can also provide a sense of freedom to experiment with alternative lifestyles.
- (iv) *Immediacy and connectedness tensions* – being unplugged requires greater attention to the place and experiences that the traveller is having. It is not possible to rely on technology-based information systems to answer questions, nor is it possible to close off the place experience while reading email or news on one's device. This may even stimulate new or dormant skills and interests for the traveller.

These tensions are an indication of at least some of the ways that technology intermediates tourist experiences and relationships with both destinations and their home places. Even while on holiday, telecommunication technologies keep many tourists connected to the daily details of work and friends in their home, which is symptomatic of postmodern life (as discussed in Chapter 1). However, this connectedness may impede the more immersive, existential travel experiences that tourists also seek. Awareness of these issues among travellers motivates some to opt for intentionally unplugged experiences, while others seek out services that will ensure that they remain connected, and tension-free, throughout their trip.

A third area of much interest in ICT and tourism, especially among geographers, is what mobile technologies can tell us about the geospatial behaviour of tourists (McKercher and Zoltan, 2014). The use of mobile technologies, especially phones and social networks, provides a rich source of geospatial user data that were previously very difficult to obtain. Individuals can now be tracked at a very fine level, which enhances our understanding of how they behave and experience places (Shoval et al., 2014). This can be combined with social media information, such as geotagged photography (such as Instagram.com or Flickr.com photos) and blog posts (such as those Twitter.com tweets) to provide a second layer of behavioural information.



Plate 13.1 Free wifi is available at this rural Cambodia village homestay (photo by Alan A. Lew)

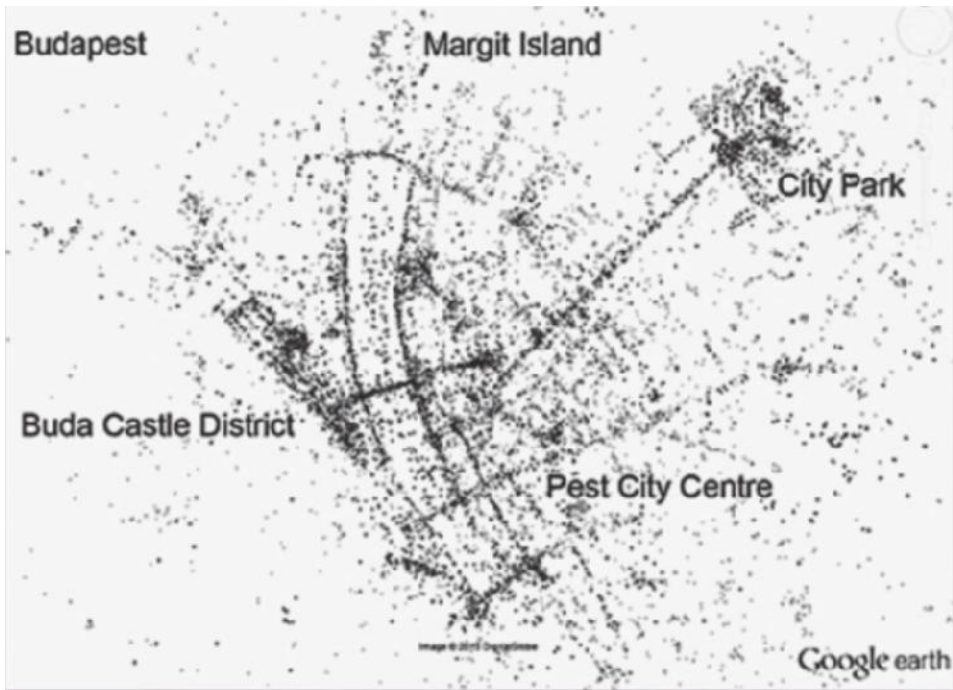


Figure 13.2 Tourist and local space in Budapest based on geolocated photographs (tourist photos are black; local photos are grey (Kádár, 2014))

Kádár (2014), for example, showed how georeferenced photographs posted publicly by tourists to sixteen European cities can be used to identify and compare tourist behaviour across an entire city where individual tracking information is much more difficult to collect. Figure 13.2 show the results for Budapest, comparing photos posted by tourists (black) and those posted by locals (gray). While a similar tourist distribution map might be created from anecdotal observations, this approach provides quantitative data that can validate existing mass tourist sites and uncover some newly emerging sites, along with the pathways and barriers that tourists encounter as they navigate a destination.

Being such a new and evolving phenomenon, ICT raises a large number of research issues in relation to the use of individual telecommunications technologies. Among these are:

- (1) Do mobile technologies effect attitudes and behaviour in and of themselves? For example, do people perceive places or behave in them differently because they have access to telecommunication technologies? Do privacy concerns play a role in such differences?
- (2) How can researchers balance individual privacy concerns with the desire to obtain meaningful and useful data? Who owns the data produced by ICT; do producers (tourists) have any say in how the data they produce are used?
- (3) To what degree is mobile technology use a reflection of class, gender, nationality, race or other demographic variables? How do different groups use them in different ways? Who is included and who is excluded from their use? Do information technologies shift political and economic power relationships?

- (4) What are the political motivations and agendas, and the imagined future society, behind ICT? Can it result in more egalitarian and ecologically and culturally sensitive politics, with a more sustainably oriented relationship between society and the environment?

Summary

This chapter closes with a review of recent tourism geography research trajectories in academia to further our understanding of this complex and constantly changing phenomenon, as well as some career considerations for tourism geography students. Five emerging conceptual frameworks and topical research areas are identified that may evolve into significant research paradigms for the future, and which students should keep some attention to as they expand their knowledge of tourism geography, both as scholars and as tourists.

Evolutionary economic geography, resilience theory and political ecology, are not new. They have been discussed, debated, modified and adapted in various guises and with varying degrees of intensity since at least the early 1980s. Evolutionary economic geography has emerged from evolutionary economics, which is the application of evolution-related concepts to human society. This essentially creates a new way of understanding broader contextual and historical processes that shape contemporary tourism. Resilience theory and planning, which comes from the evolutionary concept of complex adaptive systems, tends to be a more applied approach due to its foundations in natural disaster planning. This, however, has been broadened in recent years to address the growing issues of social and environmental change at a wide range of scales and intensities. Political ecology applies a critical political economy approach to human–ecosystems relationships, which again incorporated evolutionary ideas, but with a more ethical and activist perspective. In this way, political ecology integrates both a theoretical and applied approach.

Even language and linguistic studies in tourism and information and telecommunication technologies in tourism are not entirely new, though both have advanced exponentially in importance since the 1990s. Language is fundamental to both place and personal identities. As such it has powerful marketing, meaning and communication significances for many aspects of tourism development and experience. It is often politically contested though, that because language is such an everyday practice its subtleties can be easily overlooked. Advances in digital communications and transportation technologies, on the other hand, have been so rapid in recent decades as to be among the most significant change element in today's world. Trying to stay on top of this rapidly evolving field is both necessary for tourism entrepreneurial success and for understanding and managing their effects on tourists and destination places.

Social science theory and research advances through a multiplicity of voices and experiences, which tend to emerge first from sub-disciplinary specialty areas and interdisciplinary discourses before they disperse to the breadth of academic inquiry. While predictions need to be taken with caution, it is likely that these five areas of conceptual and topical research will have increasingly more significance in tourism geography research and insights in coming years because they address some of the most compelling issues for global society, and for tourism, today. It is only through a deeper interrogation and exposure of the processes that underlie and influence the

geography of place, that we can seek to understand and address the challenges of our time.

Discussion questions

- 1 Describe how the Tourism Area Life Cycle exemplifies an evolutionary economic geography approach to understanding tourism.
- 2 How might a resilience planning approach to tourism differ for a destination that is highly susceptible to natural disasters, versus the same approach in a place that rarely experiences natural disasters?
- 3 Why has a political ecology approach not had a more significant role in tourism scholarship, and how might that change in coming decades?
- 4 In what ways is language variation an advantage in tourism and in what ways is it a disadvantage from a tourism perspective?
- 5 Given the development and influence of information and communication technologies (ICT) on tourism over the past decade, how might this change the tourism geography landscape in the coming decade?
- 6 How do new ideas related to tourism geography emerge and how might we know if any of those identified above becomes an influential paradigm for understanding tourism space and place?

Further reading

There are numerous professional tourism geography groups around the world, many of which have email lists that welcome student participation. A list of these can be found on the Tourism Geographies journal website at: <http://www.tgjournal.com/associations.html>

A more in-depth introduction to evolutionary economic geography in tourism can be found in:

Brouder, P. (2014) 'Evolutionary economic geography: a new path for tourism studies?', *Tourism Geographies*, Vol. 16 (1): 2–7.

A broader, non-tourism, review of complexity theory and its relationship to evolutionary economic geography is provided by:

Martin, R. and Sunley, P. (2007) 'Complexity Thinking and Evolutionary Economic Geography', Papers in Evolutionary Economic Geography (PEEG) 0703, Utrecht University, Section of Economic Geography, revised April 2007.

Among the best reviews of cutting edge resilience planning thought is:

Davoudi, S. (2012) 'Resilience: a bridging concept of a dead end?', *Planning Theory and Practice*, Vol. 13 (2): 299–333, <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/14649357.2012.677124>.

A relatively early, but comprehensive look at political ecology in tourism is in:

Gössling, S. (2003) *Tourism and Development in Tropical Islands: Political Ecology Perspectives*, Cheltenham, UK: Edward Elgar.

A comprehensive review, with a strong geography orientation, of language and its role in tourism is found in:

Hall-Lew, Lauren and Lew, Alan A. (2014) 'Speaking heritage: language, identity and tourism', in Lew, A.A., Hall, C.M. and Williams, A.M. (eds) *Blackwell Companion to Tourism*, second edition, Oxford: Blackwell, pp. 336–48.

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One of the best examinations of the diversity of ways that geographers are using mobile technologies to track and analyse tourist behaviour is found in:

Shoval, N., Isaacson, M. and Chhetri, P. (2014) 'GPS and smartphones and the future of tourism research', in Lew, A.A., Hall, C.M. and Williams, A.M. (eds) *Blackwell Companion to Tourism*, second edition, Oxford: Blackwell, pp. 251–61.

A more fundamental overview of tourist movement and mobility in tourism, which is important for understanding technology and transportation influences, is in:

McKercher, B. and Zoltan, J. (2014) 'Tourist flows and spatial behavior', in Lew, A.A., Hall, C.M. and Williams, A.M. (eds) *The Wiley-Blackwell Companion to Tourism*, Oxford: Blackwell, pp. 33–44.

Appendix: a guide to the use of the Internet in tourism geography



More online for *Tourism Geography, Third edition*
at <http://tourismgeography.com>

Over the period since the first edition of this book was prepared and published, the Internet has emerged as a major source of information and is widely used by students at all levels, but especially by undergraduates, to research information for projects and assignments. It is appropriate, therefore, to offer some guidance to student readers on how the Internet may be used in studying tourism geography. The guidance offered here focuses on how to find reliable information, rather than simply providing a listing of useful website addresses. This is because websites, particularly those belonging to smaller organisations, are prone to frequent changes of address (their URLs) and over the duration that a book is in print, many addresses that might be listed are likely to change. Some sites belonging to global organisations that maintain permanent URLs are identified below as possible starting points for an Internet search for tourism information, but the purpose of this section is really aimed at helping students to understand how to search the Web and to compile personalised lists of sites of their own that suit their specific needs.

First, some words of caution. The Web is an alluring and attractive environment in which to work but it is very important to remember that it is an unregulated environment. Anyone can place information onto a website and unlike peer-reviewed academic papers published in journals, there is no guarantee that information on the Web is necessarily accurate, valid or credible. Even sites that possess an outward appearance of authority, such as Wikipedia, offer no assurance that the information contained therein is reliable. Much of it probably is, but this cannot be assumed, and for academic programmes of work, such websites should be approached with care and caution.

Websites

The most reliable sites are probably those belonging to governmental organisations and/or associations working at a global scale or across major regions. Such sites are often

useful for acquiring information, especially data, on background trends in tourism or other components that perhaps relate to tourism. Examples include:

- The United Nations (www.un.org) offers a range of online data sets, some of which are specific to tourism, others of which relate to key global indicators or to information on sectors such as population, trade, industrial outputs, food, agriculture and health.
- The European Union (www.europa.eu) provides summaries of EU policies and programmes together with supporting statistical information. At the time of writing there are no specific links to tourism information, but information on related themes such as culture, environment and transport is provided.
- The UN World Tourism Organization (www.world-tourism.org) offers basic data and commentaries on key indicators such as the growth of international tourism and key market trends. These are often summarised in online publications, excerpts from which are free of charge (including *World Tourism Barometer* and *Tourism Highlights*), although main reports have to be purchased and are expensive.
- The World Travel and Tourism Council (www.wttc.org) is a business-facing organisation that provides online data and commentary on tourism, especially from an economic perspective.

Below the level of these large-scale organisations, many individual governments will maintain websites where information, statistics and sometimes online reports can be accessed free of charge. In the UK, for example, the government body responsible for the English countryside – Natural England – maintains a website through which hundreds of reports on issues that relate to tourism (including coasts and the sea, designated areas, leisure, countryside planning and management) may be read online or downloaded (www.naturalengland.org.uk). National-level tourism organisations routinely maintain websites, although these tend to be oriented towards marketing and promotional functions – selling destinations to potential tourists – rather than providing the level of factual information that students of tourism geography might require. But occasionally factual information and reports can be accessed so these sites are always worth locating.

Governmental departments, regulatory bodies and national tourist boards represent an obvious starting point for any Internet-based enquiry, but beyond this level exist a myriad professional bodies, trade associations, commercial and voluntary organisations, all of which have at least a potential to inform our understanding of tourism geography. Locating these types of sources requires effective use of search engines.

Searching

There are several Internet search engines that might be used, of which the market leader is probably Google. Google is remarkably quick and efficient but it is not, of course, particularly intuitive. The effectiveness of any search is therefore highly dependent on the key words that are used to structure a search. It is important to be specific without overloading the search with too many key words. This is more likely to produce manageable and relevant results. So, for example, if you are seeking factual information on tourism in China, search using ‘China’, ‘tourism’ and ‘statistics’ as key words, rather than ‘Chinese tourism’ which is less specific and therefore more likely to locate sites that do not meet your requirements. It also pays to think about the terminology that you enter into a search engine. For example, you may be after data on tourism, but entering ‘data’

as a search term might well give you different, and possible inferior results, than if you enter 'statistics'. This is because the types of organisation that maintain numerical information routinely describe that information as 'statistics' rather than 'data'. It is always worth trying alternative key words to structure a search, especially when initial searches prove unproductive.

Most searches using engines such as Google will probably reveal thousands of possible sites but, in general, the most relevant sites will tend to appear on the first two or three pages of the listing and it is rare to find useful links further down the list. There is, of course, a serendipity to using the Web and one can never be certain that a particular search has been exhausted, but as a general rule it is better to alter the search parameters and search again, than to work through sites that are likely to be increasingly removed from what you want. The Bookmark function should be used to store links to sites that are useful and which you may wish to revisit but, to reiterate the caution given above, wherever possible try to confine the storage of sites through bookmarks to sites that are trustworthy.

Searches on engines such as Google will provide links to thousands of sites on which factual information may be located and in many situations sites will also provide reports and commentaries that may be downloaded, alongside facts and figures. However, when the requirement is to locate academic work relating to tourism, Google Scholar may provide a better search facility. This is a particularly useful device when used in conjunction with online journal systems such as Science Direct (which most colleges and universities now provide) to access references that search engines such as Google Scholar can help to locate. There is a wealth of information on the Internet to support the study of tourism geography, but it is a resource that needs to be used carefully, with thought, and with due regard for the veracity of the material that it offers.



Glossary

In order to assist readers whose background may not be within the social sciences, some further definitions or elaborations of terms that are used in the text but which may not be generally understood are set out below.

Boosterism a development approach that assumes that development is an intrinsically beneficial process, in which potential negative impacts are often down-played and resources are routinely regarded as objects to be exploited as part of the development.

Brownfield land a description generally applied to land that was formerly used for industrial purposes that has become redundant and which is now available for redevelopment for new use.

Commodification commodities are objects produced for the purpose of being exchanged (i.e., traded) and commodification is the process in which both tangible (e.g., physical goods or services) and intangible (e.g., experiences) elements are combined to produce a product or commodity that may be sold. For example, an East African safari holiday may *commodify* the viewing of wildlife as a packaged tour.

Cultural capital a term that originates in the work of the French social theorist Bourdieu and which refers to the acquisition of social status or position through the adoption of cultural practices that reveal personal (or collective) taste and/or judgement that may distinguish the individual or group as belonging to a particular social class.

De-differentiation a term coined by the sociologists Lash and Urry to describe the breakdown of distinctive spheres of activity (such as work and leisure) or spheres of engagement (such as real and imagined) to produce new patterns in which such distinctions are no longer valid.

Existentialism a philosophy that emphasises the existence of the individual and the capacity of the individual to develop a sense of themselves through processes of self-determination and acts of free will. Many aspects of tourism are held to have an existential dimension through the apparent capacity of people to discover their true selves through tourist practice.

Footloose a descriptive term that is applied to productive processes that can locate virtually anywhere because they have no specific locational ties to either raw materials or markets.

Fordism/Fordist a set of organisational practices that originated in the motor industry under the guidance of Henry Ford, which were based on principles of mass production of standardised products, generally at low cost. The term has become widely applied to other contexts in which the same principles apply, such as that in tourism, for example,

many aspects of mass forms of travel are often described as working on Fordist principles.

Globalisation a process of transformation (in social, cultural, political, economic and even (now) environmental relations) to organisation on a global – rather than national, regional or local – scale. Globalisation is also commonly linked to the process of increased standardisation in many areas of production and consumption.

Habitus in this text the term is used in the sense in which it has been applied by Bourdieu to refer to the preferred sets of actions, behaviours and interactions by which social groups position themselves within wider social contexts. In this sense the term might be interpreted as a preferred mode of living.

Hegemony this concept originates in the work of Gramsci and refers to the capacity of dominant groups to exercise control over others (by means other than direct control or force), a relationship that is implicitly reinforced by the willingness of the latter to concede power and status to the former and to accept the ideologies and values of the dominant group. In tourism, some aspects of the relationship between tourists and host communities are sometimes conceived in these terms.

Hyper-reality a notion developed by Eco to describe situations in which the distinction between real things and imitations is blurred and/or in which the representation becomes more real than the original on which it is based. In tourism this rather elusive concept is perhaps best represented in themed spaces. In Disneyland, for example, cartoon characters that in their original guise are represented only in artwork, become ‘live’ figures that stroll through the park.

McDonaldisation a thesis developed by Ritzer to describe the process in which the principles of standardised, low-cost, uniform production that characterise the fast-food industry are extended to other sectors of life. Key attributes of McDonald fast-food systems include efficiency, predictability and control over both production and consumption of the product, attributes that Ritzer proposes are now widely encountered in many fields, including areas such as mass tourism.

Market segmentation a process that seeks to differentiate sub-sectors within an overall group of purchasers and develop bespoke products that will appeal particularly to these ‘niche’ markets.

Post-Fordism/Post-Fordist a system of productive practices and associated social and cultural systems that are shaped around flexible production that is geared to match products to different market demands. Post-Fordist production often deploys small-scale production and differentiation of products in ways that contrast directly with Fordist principles of mass, standardised production and consumption.

Postmodernism a complex term that has several applications. Originating in the field of architecture, the term originally referred to new styles of building design: often small in scale, eclectic in the mixing of styles, reflective of local traditions and frequently playful. More significantly, perhaps, the term has also been applied to methods of enquiry with a particular emphasis on developing multiple and alternative readings of the same phenomena. Postmodern critical methods recognise that knowledge is made from differing viewpoints and what are termed ‘meta narratives’ – that is, supposedly universal explanations (such as Marxism) – are explicitly rejected in postmodern analysis in favour of a plurality of interpretations.

Post-tourists a label applied to participants in what Poon has described as ‘new’ tourism, which is characterised by attributes such as enhanced levels of choice; wider development of specialist and niche markets; greater emphasis on individual (and reflexive) engagement with real, natural or authentic experiences; and widespread resistance to standardised forms of mass tourism.

Praxis an habitual action that becomes accepted as custom and practice.

Reductionism an explanatory approach that reduces complex phenomena to their basic constituents as a means of enabling understanding. The obvious weakness of reductionist approaches is the risk of discarding components and/or information that are actually important in the explanation that is sought.

Reflexivity this refers to processes whereby people systematically and critically examine and reflect on things such as beliefs, values, behaviours and practices in light of changing levels of knowledge, information and experience. Many areas of tourism are subject to reflexive responses by tourists; for example, in tourism marketing and place promotion, the impressions that visitors form of a destination may differ significantly from those that are intended by marketing companies, because of the capacity of people to react reflexively (and differently) to the way that is intended.

Regulation theory this is an approach to understanding the workings of capitalist systems. It proposes that there is a dominant set of principles around which the system is organised and which regulate the system to ensure its continuance. These systems are generally centred on state or institutional forms of control or governance over matters such as wages or monetary exchange.

Simulacra objects that possess the form or appearance of certain things, without possessing their substance or true qualities. General examples of simulacra will include religious icons; while in tourism, examples would include many of the resort hotels of Las Vegas or the latest generation of themed malls that purport to represent other times or places in settings that are literally staged.



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