

Part I

An Approach to Tourism

1. **Introduction**
2. **The International Dimension**

Introduction

This book explores a number of critical issues in the geography of tourism. It focuses on some of the central concerns of geography – space, place, and the environment – but advocates a flexible approach to disciplinary boundaries. This is particularly important because tourism has too often been abstracted from wider social and spatial relationships, so that there has been a failure to understand how it is shaped by and contributes to wider economic, political, social, and cultural structures and relationships in society. There is, therefore, a need for a holistic approach, and a willingness to integrate many of the traditional concerns of tourism studies – for example, tourist behavior, host–guest relationships, and the structure and evolution of resorts – with wider debates about societal change. These can be approached from a number of different perspectives but, as is explained at the end of this chapter, we focus on production and consumption issues, within a broadly political economy framework, albeit cognizant of the importance of cultural interpretations and studies of individual behavior. First, however, tourism has to be located in relation to the wider practises of leisure and mobility in contemporary society, and this necessarily requires that we consider definitional issues.

Tourism, Leisure, and Mobility: Definitions and Relationships

Urry (1995: 129) memorably has written that the consumption of leisure-related activities “cannot be separated from the social relations in which they are embedded.” In context of this book, we emphasize that tourism needs to be seen in context of overall leisure behavior –

home based leisure, neighborhood or locality based tourism, and day trips can both complement and contradict the aims and practices of tourism. Moreover, tourism has to be seen in relation to the many different types of mobility: it is a form of circulation, of varying duration, but one that is different from other forms of circulation such as shopping trips, or labor migration. First, however, we consider the relations between tourism and leisure.

One way in which we can approach this issue is through definitions. This is more difficult than first appears as there are a number of definitions of both concepts. Turning first to leisure, there are three main competing definitions (see de Grazia 1984; Kelly 1982; Patmore 1983: 5–6; Stockdale 1985: 13–14). These are based on temporality, activities or practises, and experiences:

- In the first definition, leisure is juxtaposed with time that is functionally obligated to work, to biological needs such as eating or sleeping, or to other commitments such as travel to work. The residual time is considered to be free time and this is equated with leisure. It is notoriously difficult to pin down such free time empirically, given the subjectivity implicit in the notion of obligation. Nevertheless, one survey suggested that in the European Union 15.7 percent of an individual's time, on average, is free time (figure 1.1). The ambiguous notion of free time is usually used in the sense of "freedom from" obligations such as work. This is a negative definition which is quite different from the concept of "freedom to" enjoy leisure; hence Rojek (1985: 13) states that "the concept of free time has no intrinsic meaning" with respect to leisure. It ignores the quality of the time available – whether it is fragmented, or whether you are on standby care duty for family or others – and the resources that are necessary to allow participation in many forms of leisure. At one level, these differences are shaped by human agency which accounts for some individual variation in leisure practices. But Rojek, as does Urry (1995), directs us to the social relations of leisure (and tourism). Freedom to enjoy leisure has structural determinants such as class, life cycle, race, and gender. For example, the role of married women in the dual labor force (the home and the formal labor market or the external workplace) means that their quality of time is more fragmented, as well as more spatially and socially constrained than is the time available to married men (Hudson and Williams 1989: 112–15).
- The second definition assumes that leisure is the time when leisure activities are undertaken. This overlaps with the definition of recreation as the activities undertaken during leisure time. In this definition leisure takes on a strictly objective form – it is a list of activities

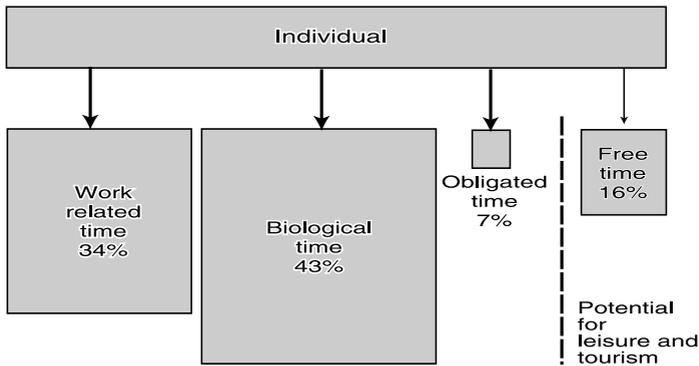


Figure 1.1 *Idealized use of time in the developed countries*

Source: modified from WTO (1983)

prescribed by an external agent such as a researcher or government department. Apart from some circularity in the argument, this definition is unsatisfactory because it assumes a false objectivity. Activities such as gardening or do-it-yourself home repairs can be regarded either as leisure or obligations: it all depends on values and motivations.

- In response to criticism of these approaches, a third perspective argues that leisure is an attitude of mind (for example, Iso-Ahola 1980). It is the perception of activities by individuals which is important, for leisure is rooted in enjoyment, well-being, and personal satisfaction. Kelly (1982: 7) catches the essence of this definition: “Leisure is defined by the use of time, not the time itself. It is distinguished by the meaning of the activity not its form.” Walking may be an important leisure activity for some but may be abhorred by others. Similarly, some fortunate individuals experience paid work as leisure. In general, this approach implies that leisure activities are freely entered into and yield personal satisfaction. However, this notion can be misleading for it exaggerates the voluntary nature of activities and ignores the fact that there are socially constructed boundaries to individual choices, based on social position, expectations, and socialization. Wealth, income, gender, race, and other structural characteristics influence how activities are experienced. As Featherstone (1987: 115) states, “The significance and meaning of a particular set of leisure choices . . . can only be made intelligible by inscribing them on a map of the class-defined social field of leisure and life-style practices in which their meaning and significance is relationally defined with reference to structured

oppositions and differences.” This experiential definition, set in context of social relations, informs this book.

The definition of tourism is also problematic. Gunn (1988), for example, considers that tourism includes all traveling except commuting. This is too all-embracing for it would involve not only all out-of-home recreation but also traveling for such purposes as visiting doctors. In other words, it fails to differentiate tourism from other forms of mobility. Another definition stresses that tourism involves traveling away from home for leisure purposes. It is therefore seen as a subset of leisure and of recreation. For example, Kelly (1985) writes that tourism is “recreation on the move, engaging in activity away from home in which the travel is at least part of the satisfaction sought.” There is ambiguity here in that it is not clear whether “away from home” begins at the front door, involves a substantial journey of a minimum length or implies an overnight stay away from home.

Another definition, necessarily arbitrary, is the practical definition preferred by international bodies such as the World Tourism Organization, whereby tourism includes all travel that involves a stay of at least one night, but less than one year, away from home. This therefore includes travel for such purposes as visiting friends or relatives, or to undertake business activities. It is a definition based on the duration rather than the motivations for mobility. This definition has the advantage of being relatively easily measurable, which gives it apparent objectivity. However, it stands in contrast to the experiential definition of leisure. Nevertheless, it is the definition most commonly in use within the literature on tourism. More importantly, we do not believe that pleasure tourism can be studied in isolation from other forms of tourism such as business travel. The economics of the air travel and the accommodation industries, for example, are based on the carriage of both business and holiday tourists. The structure of the tourism industry can no more be understood solely through a study of pleasure tourism than it can through a study of tourism in isolation of leisure. Furthermore, mobility has become increasingly multi-purpose. It is common for business tourists to enjoy leisure activities during their trips. Tourism also blurs with labor migration in the case of, for example, the tourist-worker, who funds his or her travels through periodic bouts of paid employment (see Williams and Hall 2000).

The last point raises the issue of the duration of the trip. Most definitions emphasize that tourism is characterized by non-permanent moves, an intention to return home within a relatively short time period, and a purpose other than taking up permanent residence or employment. This is problematic given that there is no clear conceptualization of “permanence,” and instead the pragmatic device of

absence from home for at least one night but for less than twelve months is adopted both by academics and by many statistical bodies (Williams and Hall 2000). Bell and Ward (2000: 88) have provided useful guidance on this topic. For them, "Tourism represents one form of circulation, or temporary population movement. Temporary movements and permanent migration, in turn, form part of the same continuum of population mobility in time and space." They focus on the essential characteristics of temporary mobility and permanent migration. Permanent migration implies no intention to return, involves a lasting relocation, a single transition, and arrival in a destination has only minor seasonality. In contrast, temporary migrants may plan to return home, have varying duration of stay, generally are involved in repeat movements, and their arrival tends to have a strong seasonal distribution. Another difference is that the place of "usual residence" is a central feature of permanent migration but not of temporary migration. Bell and Ward try to locate the different types of mobility in a two dimensional space. This is most effective at the two poles. Permanent moves are measured in years and occur at different scales, for different purposes. At the other extreme is mobility which does not involve overnight stays, such as shopping and commuting. Between these poles, the different forms of temporary mobility tend to be blurred in terms of scale and time so that temporary mobility is best viewed as "a sequence of intersecting and overlapping layers, of varying intensity and spatial extent, each representing a different form of mobility behaviour" (Bell and Ward 2000: 93). Attempts to produce a definition based on motivations are no more successful, for they conclude that both temporary and permanent mobility can be for consumption or production reasons, or for a combination of these. Ultimately, therefore, while the discussion of temporary mobility is useful as a way of contextualizing the definition of tourism, it does not actually provide a working definition.

The approach taken in this book is to focus mainly on the leisure tourist. We also argue that this phenomenon can not be adequately understood without considering either leisure as a whole, or tangential and sometimes overlapping forms of mobility such as business tourism (see figure 1.2). We consider that an overnight stay is essential to be considered a tourist, but note that this is a problematic notion: there are considerable differences between children staying overnight with nearby friends, and long distance long-duration holiday makers. The statistics in this area are, of course, a veritable minefield, and of necessity we have had to draw on sources using many different definitions. Therefore particular care is required in contextualizing the statistics, let alone in pursuing our objective of studying tourism within its wider social relations. We therefore advocate flexibility around the notion of

		Spatial reach		
		Local	National	International
Time	Years	Permanent migration		
	Months	Seasonal migrants Educational visits Extended holiday tourism		
	Weeks	Holiday tourism		
	Days	Business travel Short break holidays Day excursions		
	Hours	Local leisure Commuting		

Figure 1.2 *Situating tourism in relation to leisure and mobility: temporal and spatial dimensions*

Source: elaboration of a model by Bell and Ward (2000)

the tourist as an overnight visitor mainly or partly for pleasure purposes rather than a rigid adherence to any one definition.

Despite the problems inherent in this flexible approach to definitional issues, we believe this is important. Much of the previous literature on tourism, leisure, and recreation has developed as separate strands of research and teaching, often with very few points of contacts (see Fedler 1987). One of the aims of this book is to help rectify this imbalance. We would not go so far as to agree with Jansen-Verbeke and Dietvorst (1987: 263) that “in the perception of the individual at least, the distinction between recreation and tourism is becoming irrelevant,” but the perceptions are increasingly mutually informing. There are a number of points at which tourism and (non-tourism) leisure are inter-related, and neither can be adequately understood without reference to the other.

First, they are tied together in the same *time-space framework*. Individuals’ lives, seen as trajectories through time, have a certain structure. Work and other functional obligations mean that there is a rhythm to the time available for leisure – at least for most people. The total amount and the quality of time (degree of fragmentation, possibility of interruptions by functional obligations such as family care, etc.) available for leisure and tourism varies through the day, the week, the year and the life-course. Work and family/household obligations are the most important influences but these are not deterministic. Human agency is important. Most individuals have the potential to vary the amount of time they devote to leisure, by reorganizing the time that

they spend on other activities. As tourism involves a minimum of one night spent away from home, this activity is only possible during certain blocks of the time available for leisure. While this is absolutely irreducible, the propensity to participate in tourism during particular time periods is relational. It depends in part on the individual (motivations to overcome obstacles to tourism), or the life cycle (whether you are free from obligations and can depart at short notice). But it is also to be understood within social structures and the distribution of income and mobility resources across society. The use made of time is also related to economic development and technological changes. For example, technological advances in travel may facilitate short tourism breaks.

Tourism and non-tourism leisure also make demands upon the same *household budget*. If the disposable income available is inadequate to satisfy both sets of demand, then they are in a substitutional relationship. The degree of substitution depends in part on the motivations of the individual. For example, the desire to discover new places via tourism is not easily substituted by locally-based recreation. But there is reasonable substitutability between playing golf while on holiday and doing so locally. The degree of substitutability changes over time in response to changes in both the total household budget, and the demand for tourism and leisure. It is not only a matter of income elasticities of demand (changes in the amounts purchased as income changes) but also to shifts in values and motivations which are both intrinsic and external to the individual (see chapter 3).

Tourism and leisure are also inter-related because their practices often occupy the same *shared spaces*. This is particularly evident in those places that are not highly specialized in tourism, that is the resorts. Thus the streets of Rome, Sydney, or New York may, at any one time, be filled with a medley of short break leisure tourists, business tourists taking a break before they fly home after business meetings, day excursionists from the surrounding region, and local residents. At one level, their enjoyment of these spaces are mutually dependent: the economies of scale and scope that support many facilities (whether museums, theatres, or restaurants) may well depend on the critical market mass created by their combined expenditures. And it is the presence of "others" which not only creates the sense of place (for example, a feeling of vibrancy) but also signifies that these are the places to visit and to be seen to visit. Yet on the other hand, their practices may be incompatible and these can become contested spaces and places: the streets and the public transport can become congested and uncomfortable; aggregate demand may inflate prices for meals, services and labor; and the late night practises of one group may clash with the sleeping practises of others.

Finally, the objects of both tourism and local leisure activities are *socially constructed* (Urry 1990). It is sometimes suggested that their respective constructions are not only independent but diagonally opposed. Gunn (1988: 13), for example, states that “Because recreation is value-loaded (healthful, purposeful), its proponents often view tourism, with its emphasis on consumerism and commercialism, as an adversary.” However, in reality their social constructions are linked. For example, enjoyable holiday experiences may become incorporated into the social construction of what constitutes desirable local leisure practises. Examples include the demand for and investment in dry ski slopes and outdoor bistros in an attempt to simulate some of the conditions, practises, and experiences of holidays in the Alps and the Mediterranean. Moreover, these inter-relationships flow in both directions and local leisure experiences and practices may inform the social construction of tourism. For example, the importance attached to at-home electronic entertainment equipment may create an expectation that television sets, and even videos, should be provided in tourist accommodation. More fundamentally, Urry (1990) argues that innovations in local leisure – such as theme parks and leisure centres – have contributed to British seaside holiday resorts losing their exotic allure, appearing to offer everyday experiences instead. Whether the increasingly sophisticated theming and internationalization of many parks and shopping malls, let alone the growth of “virtual tourism” via the Internet, will, in time, make many international resorts seem “everyday” remains open to question.

The relationship between tourism and locally-based leisure is not fixed. It is culturally and economically contingent. The expectations of participation in leisure and tourism, as well as the economics of their supply, change over time and between societies; this is only to be expected as they are socially-constructed practices. The values attached to home versus travel, the shift from single-place dominated lives to multiple-place lives (notably via second homes) and the resources available for the purchase of increasingly commodified tourism and leisure practices are constantly changing. It therefore follows that the relationship between tourism and leisure is not only place specific but also historically specific (Rojek 1985: 23–9).

Until the twentieth century, for example, the costs of travel, the limited availability of holidays, and the absolute levels of incomes meant that tourism was essentially a preserve of the upper classes and some of the middle classes, even in the most developed countries. There was, therefore, a clear class basis as to who could subsequently participate in both tourism and leisure. The relationship between tourism and leisure has been affected by what has been termed “time deepening.” There are three aspects of time-deepening: “undertaking an

activity more quickly or satisfying some need through an activity more quickly, undertaking more than one activity simultaneously, and using time more precisely" (Golbey 1985: 19). This is evident in the post-1950 expansion of mass consumption in the developed countries which saw an increase not only in the number of goods people owned but also in the number and range of leisure activities in which they participated. This was facilitated by improvements in personal mobility, especially the extension of car ownership, but also by changes in the popular appreciation that tourism and leisure were critical components in social well-being, a theme that we return to later in this chapter. There were further changes in the 1960s with the growth of mass international tourism, particularly from Europe and the USA. At first, the destination countries were mainly the Caribbean or other European countries. However, by the 1980s mass tourism from Europe and North America, and from new countries of origin such as Japan and the Newly Industrialized Countries (NICs), was being extended to an increasingly global range of destinations. This had implications for the key relationship between tourism and leisure that we identified above: time-space frameworks, household budgets, shared spaces and their social construction.

One of the central contentions of this volume is the need to place the study of tourism in the context of leisure. The following section addresses this through an exploration of their interrelationship in terms of economic development, the quality of life and lifestyles, and culture. This discussion also serves to emphasize that tourism is not a peripheral aspect of local, national, or global economies and societies. Instead, it is increasingly central to all of these.

Tourism and Leisure: Economy, Society, and Culture

Economic structures: commodification and privatization

The service sector has increased in importance, in both absolute and relative terms, in most economies in recent decades (Knox and Agnew 1998: chapter 7). While this is often linked to the process of de-industrialization, this is an ethnocentric view founded in the experiences of the developed countries. For example, because of the impact of technological change, many of the more recently industrialized countries have not developed extensive manufacturing employment despite the importance of this sector in production terms (Urry 1987: 5–6). In addition, some less developed countries have based their development strategies on the service industries – whether off-shore financial services as in the Bahamas, or tourism as in the Seychelles.

The research neglect of the service sector has been remedied to some extent in recent years. In particular, the producer services have been extensively analysed in respect of their role in capital accumulation and uneven development (for example, Marshall 1989). However, the consumer services have tended to be ignored, despite the fact that they consistently feature among the most rapid growth sectors in most developed countries (see Urry 1987: 11). The economic role of tourism and leisure can be examined in a number of ways but here we emphasize output, employment, inter-firm linkages, trade, “sustainability” costs, and place images.

1. Tourism and leisure services are a significant component of production in many economies. In 1985, international and domestic tourism accounted for global expenditure equivalent to \$1,800 billion (Gunn 1988: 3), and the leisure industries for an even higher level. In 1999 international tourism alone accounted for receipts of \$455 bn. (World Tourism Organization 2000a). Moreover, this is also one of the most rapidly expanding sectors in the world economy. In practise, it is difficult to disentangle their output and employment in most statistical data series. Accommodation services are one of the few sectors which specifically cater for overnight visitors, but even this sector is not exclusively dedicated to this market segment. For example, hotels may host conferences, or receptions attended predominantly by local residents.
2. Tourism and leisure are also important elements in labor markets, with tourism accounting for more than one million jobs in the UK alone. Although there is a considerable debate about the nature of tourism employment (Williams and Shaw 1988, 1998), this has not diminished its attraction to policy makers responding to the recurrent crises of unemployment in capitalist economies. Again, tourism and leisure employment are often inter-twined with jobs in catering, in particular, being supported by their expenditure. However, as noted earlier, the temporality of service provision is different in the tourism and leisure sector, with seasonality being far more prominent in the former. The extent to which they are complementary is, however, contingent on the nature of the tourism product which largely determines the inflows of tourists.
3. Tourism and leisure firms are characterized by inter-firm linkages, and these may be within or beyond the sector. There may be complementary (backward, forward, or horizontal linkages), or competitive (as in negative externalities, labor market shortages, and land price inflation). These can be quantified in various ways, but multiplier studies mostly indicate that tourism and leisure firms have a significant impact on other firms in their local economies.

As catering tends to be more important in tourism than in leisure provision, the former tends to have stronger links to the agricultural sector. Tourism also has specific links to inter-regional transport firms, and to some forms of furniture producers (notably bedroom furniture) that are insignificant in the remainder of the leisure sector. However, they also have overlapping linkages, for example to leisure retailing and to intra-regional transport firms, as well being mutually inter-linked: tourists may use leisure facilities, such as parks and swimming pools, that were mainly constructed for local residents, while local residents may visit theme parks that were developed for the tourism market.

4. Tourism, given the definition adopted in this book, is necessarily a non-basic economic sector, in the sense that it relies on exports or, more precisely, generates external income for an area. In other words, tourism can be a significant element in an area's trade. This has long been recognized in the analysis of international tourism (see Shaw and Williams 1998b). But it is also important in the trade of regions and localities, and this is explicitly recognized in many local and regional economic development strategies, which are centered on the capacity of tourism to attract external expenditure (Townsend 1992). The fact that tourism attractions are socially-constructed rather than "natural" or given, means that tourism features in the economic policies of most sub-national areas in the developed economies (Williams and Shaw 1998). Leisure activities that predominantly serve local residents do not, by definition, generate external income. However, as noted earlier, the two sectors are linked by the shared use of some facilities.
5. Tourism and leisure developments can have major local environmental and social impacts. These range from congestion costs, to pollution, to crime, and social disruption. Not all of these are easily quantified, but this does not allow us to ignore the economic costs and benefits that may be implicit in them: cleaning up litter, policing, and longer journey times, for example. These can be conceptualized as "sustainability costs" of tourism and leisure: that is the full social costs of non-sustainable development. While these impacts are mostly seen as costs (Mathieson and Wall 1982), they can have positive economic impacts, creating jobs in the cleansing services and the police, or leading to investment in the transport system, which benefits both locals and tourists. There is a tendency to associate high sustainability costs with mass tourism but the real picture is more complex: for the total sustainability costs of mass tourism may be less than the accumulated costs of the same number of tourists dispersed over a much wider geographical area (causing congestion on narrow rural roads, directly impacting on

the lives of far larger numbers of areas and residents, etc). Leisure activities by local residents also have sustainability costs: for example, the impacts of golf course development on water supply and ecosystems vegetation is indifferent to whether the golfer is a tourist or a local resident. Similarly, football matches can cause as much if not more congestion in the transport system as periodic influxes of tourists. In some instances, the sustainability costs generated by tourism and local leisure activities are mutually reinforcing; for example, those associated with major night clubs such as the Hacienda in London which became cultural icons drawing in customers or participants from beyond the immediate locality. Only the inter-regional transport sustainability costs of tourism may differ from those of the local leisure participant in this case.

6. Leisure, and tourism, in particular, can also play a critical role in the reconstruction of place identities and images. Outstanding examples include the waterfront redevelopment in cities such as Baltimore, Liverpool, and Sydney. This works at several levels: urban regeneration schemes may be predicated on tourism income generation (directly and via tax returns), while media coverage of and direct tourist visits to the tourism sites will reinforce changes in place identities. These regeneration zones also become sites for local leisure, whether as a landscape to be simply gazed on or a series of specific attractions. Thus in Liverpool, renovated docks have become an attraction in their own right as well as housing a branch of the Tate collection. But Sydney and Barcelona probably provide the best examples of this phenomenon. They hosted successful Olympic Games which generated additional investment to reinforce existing economic regeneration strategies, created new sporting and hospitality facilities which would become available for local use, attracted world-wide media attention, projected strong and positive place images, and enhanced the self confidence and identities of their citizens.

While tourism consumption has attracted increasing interest in recent years (Urry 1995), there is continuing neglect of tourism production (Debbage and Daniels 1998). The geography of the production of leisure and tourism services does share many features with other sectors (Agarwal et al. 2000); for example, changes in the labor process, the transnationalization of capital, and shifts to more flexible production. While there has been some empirical work on the supply side of these industries (see ch. 8), they are still absent from many of the major theoretical debates that characterize economic geography (Agarwal et al. 2000). More than a decade ago, Urry (1987: 22–3) argued that there was a need to situate tourism in relation to the debates on

restructuring. In particular, he stressed the need to address the issues of partial self-provisioning, investment and technical change, rationalization, changing labor inputs, quality enhancement, and centralization. There has been little advancement of our understanding of most of these areas in the intervening years. And yet there are a number of significant and distinctive aspects of the production of tourism and leisure services that merit attention. Here we consider what can be termed the property rights relating to tourism and leisure and, in order to simplify the discussion, we consider three features: household production, commodification, and state intervention and marketization.

First, despite the commodification of tourism and leisure, these services are usually produced through a composite mix of the formal economy, informal (non-household) production and household production. These sectors are not insulated from each other but are linked by flows of money, goods, services, and labor. For example, the informal economy may produce pirate videos, and the household may use these in providing leisure at home, while being sold alongside legal videos. But an important, if not unique feature of tourism and leisure is the significant role of household production. Households continue to produce their own leisure and tourism experiences such as family games or outings. This can be related to Gershuny and Miles' (1983) concept of the self-service economy whereby there is substitution of goods (such as videos) to be used at home in place of externally provided services (such as cinema attendance). Additionally, individuals within the household may take on the role of unpaid travel agent, in assembling a "package" of commercial components for a holiday. And households – especially families – are at the heart of leisure and tourism as a shared experience for many, particularly at some stages of the family life cycle. Households therefore may provide alternative or complementary bases for the production of leisure and tourism services. In some cases, holiday visits to certain places can only become possible through a combination of these forms of production; for example, self provisioning by a household in commercially-rented self-catering accommodation.

Secondly, although household production and the use of non-charging attractions (beaches or mountains, for example) are still important, tourism and leisure are subject to commodification. Newman (1983: 100) argues that "On the one hand, leisure time appears as a form of free time, holding out the promise of spontaneity and periodic liberalisation. On the other, leisure is seen as assimilated into the values prevailing elsewhere, and hence is equally marked by the materialist imperative motivating consumption and work." Informally-organized leisure pursuits are increasingly being converted into traded products and services. For example, walkers are confronted with more

opportunities to buy specialized equipment: specialized weatherproof clothing, shoes, and books of guided walks replace everyday clothing and shoes, and informal knowledge of walks and trails. Moreover, the growth of electronic equipment for in-home entertainment has been truly remarkable, creating waves of new opportunities for the realization of profits by private capital. Videos, PC based electronic games, and mobile form messaging all represent this tendency. In addition, Harvey (1987: 273–6) argues that cultural and symbolic capital have become more significant, and this has contributed to strong growth in consumer expenditure, especially by the expanding new middle class. In other words this is investment of time and capital in the consumption and collection of commodities and positionality goods, which are intended manifestly to demonstrate taste or status. In other words, private capital exploits the fact that the ownership of certain goods (or participating in certain activities) comes not only directly from these but also from their conspicuous consumption.

A third feature is the changing role of the state in tourism provision. Private capital cannot guarantee the sustained production of the tourism and leisure services that a society values and, to some extent, needs for its reproduction. There is, therefore, marked state intervention in their production in most capitalist societies, as well as in state socialist societies where they form an important element of state ideology (Williams and Balaz 2000a). State intervention comes in many forms including subsidies to, or the ownership of, accommodation and transport facilities, as well as regulation of quality standards, and the enforcement of health and safety standards. In reality, in both the capitalist economies and the state socialist ones, service provision tends to be a public–private mix. However, this balance has been changing in recent decades. Capitalist societies have witnessed a rolling back of the frontiers of the state which has seen greater marketization of provision. This may involve outright privatization of leisure services (Rojek 1985: 19), such as leisure centres in the UK or the state owned *parador* hotels in Spain, as well as the marketization of publicly owned services by charging for their use (for example, museums) or tendering for their catering facilities. The change has been even more marked in the state socialist societies, whether in Eastern Europe or in China, where publicly-owned facilities have been privatized, at the same time as the establishment of new private firms has been liberalized (Williams and Balaz 2000b).

These are not the only distinctive features of tourism and leisure production. There are also distinctive spatiality and temporality features. Tourism experiences are place and time specific: they are enjoyed at particular sites, and can not be deferred or geographically dispersed. There are some exceptions to this, notably the pleasure that comes from

planning a tourism trip, and in reliving the experience afterwards, through talking about the visit with others, aided by souvenirs and photographs. Crang (1999) refers to the way in which these “gathered” images are embodied: memories and knowledge are reworked in embodied ways and used in friendships. There is also the growth of “virtual tourism,” enjoyed through the web and multimedia. But most tourism experiences are still enjoyed at particular places and tourism services have to be provided at the moment of the tourist interactions at those sites. This has important implications for the geography of tourism production which we return to later. Leisure activities have more flexibility and there is usually a range of places where particular leisure activities can be undertaken, and far less temporal constraints on their enjoyment, even if individuals are still bounded by obligated, biological and work related time (figure 1.1).

In summary, then, as argued earlier, the production of most local leisure and tourism services are interdependent. Their facilities are rarely exclusive to either tourism or non-tourism market segments, with a few exceptions such as accommodation. In addition, many large companies, such as Bass (UK) have diversified activities (pubs and hotels), which extend across both market segments. Moreover, the continuing role of the household as a centre of tourism and leisure activities, despite processes of commodification, marketization, and privatization, also contributes to this interdependency.

Social well being, and life styles

Social well being and quality of life are terms open to a variety of interpretations, but they centre on the satisfaction that people obtain from their lives. This can be measured both subjectively and in terms of objective indicators. Subjective research on the quality of life tends to identify leisure as an important element, but secondary to such items as health, family life, and marriage (for example, Andrews and Withey 1976). Clearly, tourism and leisure come relatively high up in Maslow’s (1954) hierarchy of needs: it figures among “self-actualization” and “esteem” at the apex of the pyramid rather than among the “physiological needs” such as hunger and shelter at its base. But this argument is somewhat misleading for terms such as social exclusion, disadvantage, and deprivation are relational concepts. For example, detailed empirical research in the UK confirms the “existence of identifiable groups who suffer leisure disadvantage or even privation, often in the context of economic constraints and limited job satisfaction” (Stockdale 1985: 117). There is also the need to look at the wider ramifications of leisure. Smith (1987: 83) for example, argues that leisure

serves two fundamental needs: “the need for the leisure space in which to construct ongoing close relationships, and also the need for the leisure space to renew individual energy and potential.”

This is reflected in the role of state provision in leisure and, in some countries, in social tourism programmes (see chapter 3). This is most clearly evident in the former state socialist economies of Central and Eastern Europe. For example, in the former Czechoslovakia, most workers were provided with annual holidays in low cost provision by their employers or trade unions, and these were held to be important in the reproduction of the labor force, and in reinforcing collectivism (Williams and Balaz 2001). But capitalist economies, such as Switzerland, have also operated social tourism programmes, providing holiday vouchers to the most disadvantaged groups in society. Arguably this can be related to the concept of citizenship, centring on the rights and obligations of individual citizens in their relationships to the state and to civil society. In the more developed countries, where basic needs have mostly been assured, a case can be made that all citizens have a right to a holiday, as part of their entitlement to a minimum quality of life. There is also the counter argument that citizenship implies certain obligations, such as being “responsible” in their behavior as tourists in respect of the environment and other tourists/hosts (see chapter 12).

Geographers have contributed to the debate on the quality of life and social well being. There have been a number of attempts to derive objective measures of these concepts and to use such social indicators to measure spatial variations in their distribution. These include both indirect measures pertaining to leisure and tourism – such as overcrowding and car ownership – and direct measures. With regard to the latter, Knox (1974) includes the availability of public libraries and cinemas in his synthetic index of “the level of living.” This is then used to map out the spatial distribution of the level of living in the UK, which highlights both rural–urban and north–south differences. Such an approach is essentially descriptive, and although later attempts have been made to ground this work in theories of social and economic differentiation (Coates et al. 1977; Smith, D. M. 1977) these have not been entirely successful. Not least the approach is subject to two fundamental criticisms: first, that the quality of life is essentially a subjective matter and that it is therefore not amenable to objective statistical analysis; and second, that the spatial focus has diverted attention from social differences in the quality of life. There is a thesis that developed countries have been moving towards being “leisure democracies” (for example, see Golbey 1985: 38). This takes the view that people’s leisure activities are determined less by status and income and more by

personality and individual lifestyle. While there are such tendencies, and this has been borne out by market research (see chapter 4), we contend that gender, race, life-cycle, and other social relationships – in combination – are critical filters that condition social access to tourism and leisure (see chapter 3).

These different structural determinants of access to leisure and tourism do not operate independently. The class experience of leisure is conditioned by gender, stage of life-cycle, race, and location. There really are differences in the leisure and tourism experiences of the working class in different regions within any one country, let alone internationally. And it is obvious that age, the existence of dependants, gender, and race (still little researched) influence not only the availability and the quality of time available for tourism and leisure, but also the types of activities that can be experienced. But, as argued elsewhere, we do believe that “whilst class does not have a simplistic deterministic influence, it does have a determinate one” (Hudson and Williams 1995: 16). A high level of disposable income, for example, provides a means to compensate for some of the systematic leisure disadvantages of being a woman, being elderly, being black or living in a poorly serviced area. Being born into a class influences, early tourism and leisure experiences, expectations, and the opportunities that are available in later life. “In short, while class is not the only dimension of social structure and division, and other non-class divisions are not reducible to it, it does none the less impinge strongly on and interact with them” (Hudson and Williams 1995: 17). This is why leisure and tourism are important elements of the quality of life.

However, leisure and tourism are more than just elements in social well being, since they are also indicators of lifestyle and of an individual’s position in society – that is, they are positional goods. Weber (1968) argued that a specific style of life is expected from those who wish to belong to a particular social circle. Rojek (1985: 73) adds that while the composition of lifestyle is contingent on time and place, “One important dimension of it in all cases and at all times is the conspicuous consumption of commodities and leisure time.” In this sense the lifestyle attached to a given leisure form is a symbolic expression of power. Belonging to the “right” club, wearing the “right” designer leisure clothes, and being seen in a fashionable resort contribute to defining your position in the status hierarchy, and indicate your power base (see Featherstone 1987). The epitome of this was Veblen’s (1925) “leisure class” who used their leisure time to display their wealth and status in society. Similarly, youth subcultures are partly defined by their leisure, whether it be biking, drugs, alcohol, music or voluntary work. In this way leisure can be one of the weapons in inter-generational,

conflicts. Or it can be part of the “rite of passage” to adulthood, a role that Mason (2001) ascribes to the Big OE – the Australian and New Zealanders’ overseas experiences in Europe, which are usually a mix of work and tourism activities.

Culture and internationalization

Leisure helps both to shape culture and is culturally contingent. This is evident as much in the books that are read as in the sports that are played (whether individualistic or collective) both within and between countries. There has been a tendency to greater homogeneity in culture, linked to the growth of mass culture which is “part of the process of the development of common unifying cultural values and attitudes in the new and vast population of modern national units” (Theodorson and Theodorson 1969: 245). Perhaps the best known variant of this debate is the McDonaldization thesis (Ritzer 1998). In short this involves “an increase in efficiency, predictability, calculability, and control through the substitution of non-human for human technology” which “involves a wide range of irrationalities, especially dehumanization and homogenization” (p. vii). This rationalization process has a strongly internationalist dimension. Beyond this, the mass media also play a critical role in the creation of mass culture. There has, of course, been an internationalization of the mass media, whether in terms of broadcasting, films, print, the web or, increasingly, multimedia forms. This has also contributed to the internationalization of culture. The process is, of course, neither unilinear nor monolithic and many groups retain distinctive leisure interest even in the most developed countries. For example, in North West England there has been a tendency for Asian workers to be employed on night shift work. Aubrey et al. (1986: 133) comment that “the pattern of Asian recruitment and the hours which they worked appeared to set them apart in many ways from the normal leisure patterns of the native white community, and to maintain or reinforce their cultural isolation.” There are also groups such as the Amish in North America, whose religious values permeate their leisure behavior.

Tourism is a particularly potent agent of cultural change, especially of internationalization. Lanfant (1980: 34) argues that “we are dealing, in tourism, with an all-embracing social phenomenon characterized by the introduction of new systems of relationships in all sectors of activity, bringing about structural changes at all levels of social life and increasingly affecting all regions of the world.” In a later contribution, Lanfant (1989: 182–3) argues that EuroDisney represents an extreme example of this process:

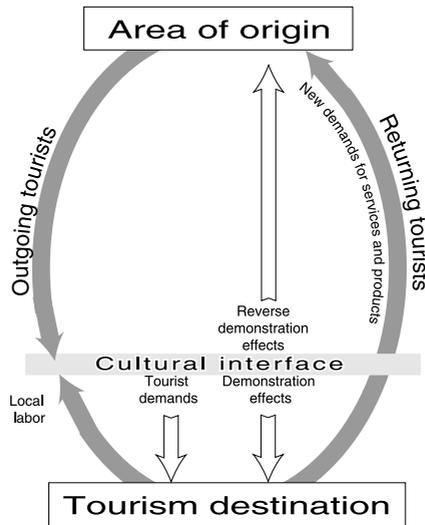


Figure 1.3 *Tourist circulation and cultural impacts*

This firm unites into one industrial whole the development of leisure parks, a cable communications network for press and television, the manufacture of pictures, models and all the apparatus essential to the creation of illusion. The new industry incorporates the most up-to-date scientific discoveries in communications, and is marshalling all the knowledge required to create a *planetary culture* of universal influence.

These arguments are given weight by the enormous growth that has occurred in international tourism: in 2000 there were an estimated 664 million tourist trips made, for all purposes, according to the World Tourism Organization (2000a). Each of these trips is potentially a cultural encounter, although their content varies enormously according to the motivations of the tourist (chapter 4) as well as the organization of the visit (chapter 5). But the conceptualization of the cultural impact of tourism can be extended beyond the immediate visit to take into account reverse cultural flows (figure 1.3). There is a cycle of cultural impacts even if the flows are asymmetrical. Golbey (1985: 131) argues that tourism produces “a wanderlust, not for other places but for other lives,” in other words for new, more satisfying self images. MacCannell (1976) goes further and argues that one reaction to the harshness of modern, mass produced life has been the belief that “authentic” life is occurring elsewhere in the world. Holidays offer a transient opportunity to capture some of this “authenticity,” at least for some groups

of tourists (see chapter 4). It is hardly surprising, therefore, that these tourists seek to “repatriate” some aspects of this authenticity, although this inevitably further transforms what they have interpreted as the “authentic.” This is evident in the growth of Spanish “*tapas*” cafes and Australian bars in Britain, or in the purchase of London Bridge for use as a tourist attraction in the USA. However, it is also present in the demand for lifestyles that accord more with idealized “authentic” rural life styles that have been observed on holidays to Tuscany or the Dordogne. This pervades home life and leisure activities in a variety of ways including household design (for example, “Tuscan” tiles) and attempts to recreate French or Italian country cooking in northern European homes. These cultural impacts also have reverberations through the life course for migration strategies (Williams and Hall 2000). For example, there is strong evidence that earlier tourism experiences influence international retirement migration decisions, such as the flows from the UK to France (Buller and Hoggart 1994) and Tuscany (King et al. 2000) which are informed by the search for a rural idyll that probably never existed. Tourism experiences also influence the flows of migrants – both working and retired – in search of the more relaxed lifestyles to be found in sunnier climates; for example, the Canadians moving to Florida or the Norwegians “wintering” in the Spanish *costas* (see Williams et al. 2000). All these different examples underline the ways in which tourism and leisure are intertwined, irrespective of whether or not this involves migration.

Production and Consumption: An Approach to Critical Issues

The previous discussion has highlighted not only the relations between tourism and leisure but also the need to situate these in context of wider social relationships. In part, this task requires that tourism geography bridges what has often been a significant distancing from the major debates in social science. In recent years, tourism geography has responded to the challenge of developing a more critical approach, and this is evident in the evolution of several distinctive approaches. In broad terms there has been a shift from largely inductive positivist (often behavioralist) or empiricist frameworks to approaches grounded in political economy or cultural interpretation. Despite this, tourism geography remains methodologically diverse, and research is often weakly rooted in theory. Box 1.1 sets out a brief summary of the salient characteristics of the three main approaches, but see also Hall and Page (1999) for a more detailed exposition of these.

Box 1.1 Approaches to tourism geography*Spatial models and behavioral research*

Most positivist research has been inductive, aiming to generalize models of tourism structures and flows on the bases of detailed quantitative analyses. They focus on tourist travel, origin–destination flows, and the spatial structures of tourism destination areas (Pearce 1995). Evolutionary models have examined the development of tourism spaces through time, especially resorts, and the most widely known of these is Butler’s (1980) resort life cycle model (see chapter 8). In recognition of the limitations of aggregate analyses of macrotourism flows and structures, tourism geographers have embraced behavioralism, aiming to understand the decision-making and (spatial) behavior of tourists. Thornton et al. (1997) provide an example of this approach and contrast the insights of data collected via questionnaires and time–space budgets.

The political economy of tourism

Political economy offers a more critical approach to tourism geography and broadly draws on structuralist theories. Britton (1991) set out a framework for this approach based on theories of capital accumulation, cultural capital and the representation of place. Much of the research in this field has been concerned with issues such as the commodification of culture and of place, and the particularities of tourism production and consumption in capitalist systems. Broad theories are usually explored through case studies which range from tourism dependency in less developed countries to urban and rural regeneration in developed economies (de Kadt 1979; Montanari and Williams 1995, Sindiga 1999). There has been particular interest in locating tourism in relation to the contested shift from Fordism to neo-Fordism, and this is explored in Ioannides and Debbage (1998).

Cultural interpretations

Tourism geographers have a longstanding interest in the notion of place, and in the way in which tourism is both shaped by and shapes places. In recent years, the experience of “seeing” or “the tourist gaze” (Urry 1990) has been influential; this assumes that the tourist gaze is constructed through signs and signifiers in the landscape, with tourists being collectors of such signs. Other approaches challenge the emphasis on the gaze and argue that tourism should be seen as an encounter between people, and between people and space (Crouch 1999). Moreover, their practises are embodied and tourism is experienced in multisensual ways. Cultural tourism geography also emphasizes that knowledge is fluid and incomplete; it shapes and is reshaped by practises which, in turn, inform our understanding of place (Crang 1999).

The approach adopted in this book is a study of critical issues in the production and consumption of tourism and leisure. We have already touched upon some of these aspects in the introduction and they are further elaborated in the first two parts. In terms of production there is a complex of industries involved in the supply of service and goods under distinctive conditions of temporality and spatiality (see chapter 5). The nature of production is distinctive in that the quality of labor at the point of service delivery is an essential part of the labor process. Tourism and leisure services (but not necessarily goods) also have to be delivered directly to consumers where they reside permanently, or temporarily, while on holiday. This poses particular requirements in terms of assembling the necessary labor force to fulfill this objective. Production is also distinctive in that tourism and leisure involve a high degree of self-provisioning. Partly in response to these conditions the industry tends to have a dualistic structure with large numbers of small, independently-owned firms operating alongside a few large transnational companies.

There are also distinctive features of the consumption of tourism. There is a degree of complementarity/substitutability in the consumption of some tourism and leisure services; for example, cycling while in the home area or on holiday requires the same skills and experience, can use the same equipment, and may reinforce the motivation to cycle in the "other arena." In addition, the social construction of tourism and leisure is particularly well-developed and is linked to an exceptionally high level of market segmentation. Given that participation in tourism and leisure activities is conditioned by social structures as well as by life values, it is not surprising that both are highly segmented temporally and spatially. In other words, who you meet on a beach, at a dinner party, at a sports event, or at a night club is not random, because of the way participation is socially segmented. The social construction of tourism is, of course, continually evolving, and this can only be understood in context of changes in leisure. But the consumption of tourism is more than the end product of social structures and relationships, and of leisure practices, because it also contributes to the construction of lifestyles and to social differentiation.

The focus on production *and* consumption issues in this volume should not be taken to indicate that they can be considered as separate fields of inquiry, or that one is inevitably dominant in shaping tourism. This has been one of the central messages of the "cultural turn" in economic geography, namely that there is a need to examine their interplay (Gregson 1995). Consumers are not simply passive respondents or guilty fashion victims, rather they explore and experience sites of consumption (Jackson 1995). This is particularly apposite in tourism studies, where the cultural complexities of tourism experiences have

been one challenge to the adoption of structuralist approaches. However, the cultural turn, with its focus on the inter-relationships between production and consumption provides exciting new challenges for tourism geography. This is recognised by Ateljevic (2000: 381) who has emphasized that we need to see tourism in terms of circuits:

This approach, generally concerned with the broader analysis of culture, sees producers as “consumers” and consumers as “producers” who “feed off” each other in endless cycles. In this light the framework of tourism circuits has been forged in order to finally resolve an endless dilemma of whether tourism is driven by either production or consumption processes. More importantly, discussion revealed that geography lies at the heart of these processes, as tourism is inseparable from the spaces and places in which it is created, imagined, perceived and experienced.

While there is nothing new in the study of production and consumption features as such (for example, see Jansen-Verbeke and Dietvorst 1987), we believe that the first edition of this book did contribute to shaping approaches to the geography of leisure and tourism (discussed in Hall and Page 1999: 14). Drawing inspiration particularly from the work of Britton (1991) it sought to explore the particularities of the production and the consumption of tourism. Essentially, the second edition builds on this approach. As emphasized in the introduction, it remains committed to five main organizing principles: the need to consider tourism in context of leisure; the importance of building bridges to research in other social sciences; an emphasis on how circuits of production and consumption produce and reproduce particular types of tourism environments; adoption of a broad political economy framework; and a focus on the Developed Countries.