

## Recreational Tourism

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## **ASPECTS OF TOURISM 11**

**Series Editors:** Chris Cooper (*University of Queensland, Australia*),  
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# **Recreational Tourism Demand and Impacts**

Chris Ryan

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## Preface

It is over a decade since *Recreational Tourism: A Social Science Perspective* first appeared. During the intervening years, tourism research has become better established and the volume of published research has continued to grow almost exponentially with, or so it seems, each passing year bringing forth more journals in the field. Nonetheless, throughout this intervening period I have continued to receive enquiries as to whether a new edition of *Recreational Tourism* would appear.

Finally, it has happened! I would like first to thank all those people who kept asking for a new edition. Second, I would wish to thank Mike Grover and his team at Channel View Publications for their good will (the manuscript was a month late in arriving!) and technical support. Among others I should thank Mike Robinson, Nigel Evans and Richard Sharpley for hosting me at the Centre for Travel and Tourism at the University of Northumbria. This edition was commenced while I stayed there in November 2001. I must also thank my colleagues at the University of Waikato in New Zealand for letting me stay at home more days than perhaps I ought in order to complete the text. And, of course, a big thank you to my immediate family, Anca and Mark, who left me alone in our garage while I typed away at the laptop. (They might have actually thought this was an improvement over normal home life!)

It has been interesting reviewing and further conceptualising tourism in the sense of assessing to what degree work undertaken in the 1980s still had validity in the early years of the twenty-first century. The first flush of enthusiasm about ecotourism has come and gone, with its advocates stating that that it has, in its form of sustainable tourism, impacted on the mainstream to the benefit of many forms of tourism. I tend to more cynical perspectives myself – most tourists remain holidaymakers, not lay biologists. If they are educated, it is through the emotions, not the intellect, and edutainment seems to have gained sway! I tend to agree with that school who might see ecotourism as part of the problem. In a review of the earlier version of the book, Eric Cohen picked up my espousal of purpose-built tourism destinations as being more environmentally friendly than permitting tourists to enter previously unspoilt places. If anything, I tend more to that view today. It seems to me that for tourism to be the ‘saviour’ of fragile places, species and environments, then that implies a failure of better

methods. It is perhaps a weak argument for tourism when (eco-) tourism can be advanced only as the least worst form of development.

In other spheres, the quest for authenticity that dominated an important part of the literature in the 1980s has, or so it seems to me, dissolved into two concepts. First there is existential authenticity – which implies that the feelings of the tourist and the performer are the measure of ‘reality’. It is the epitome of consumerism – segmentations are dead; the individual consumer is king! Second, the argument has, to my mind properly, been replaced by ‘authorisation’ – who authorises any display or interpretation? In short, the reality of power structures finally begins to be revealed.

As for the conceptual survivors – then surely Dick Butler’s theory of the destination lifecycle still retains significant usefulness as a measure against which to measure resort development, even though today it is more than uniformly recognised that it does not apply in all cases, and is certainly not inevitable? It is also evident to me that the techniques of analysis have become more sophisticated, and that positivism no longer rules supreme.

In writing this book, I have tended to eschew the approach that reduces knowledge to checklists of ‘key points’ or to draw boxes around ‘case studies’ as seems to have become the fashion. Knowledge is not a matter of lists to be remembered – rather it is an issue of understanding and questioning inter-relationships between dynamic factors – and this is certainly true of tourism. I strongly suspect students know this, and that better students are actually dismissive of attempts to remove complexity from reality. Their own realities are difficult enough as it is, and thus they readily appreciate that the management of tourism is far from being certain or wholly scientific – and is certainly more than just a checklist of items. This has meant that, within the structure of the book, there are elements of repetition in some instances. It is not expected that everyone will read the book from start to finish; some will want to simply dip into individual chapters, and thus such chapters had to be relatively free standing. However, while some repetition exists, hopefully it is comparatively minimal.

This then raises the issue of what is the purpose of this text? The original text was motivated by a wish to structure the determinants of tourism demand, and to subsequently examine the implications of that demand at the destination. Consequently demand is examined from within a framework of the economic, social and psychological determinants. In one sense economic factors enable holiday choice to be exercised, while social and psychological variables help to shape the nature of the choice being made. In practice, though, it is not necessarily that simple, and the factors are inter-dependent. For example, one’s economic conditions might well play a role in shaping one’s life expectations, and thus economics possess psychological implications.



As a preamble to the consideration of these factors, a history of tourism is described as a means of indicating how the economic, social and indeed technological conditions of an age determine holiday patterns. History is, however, not simply a case study that illustrates how socially-determined factors shape behaviours, but is in itself both a precursor and a determinant to that which is currently taken for granted. Consequently it is not surprising that many of the holiday-taking patterns that are discernible today are shown to have long and well-established antecedents, in spite of the new technologies that might be employed in a contemporary age.

The final purpose of the text is to examine the effects of tourism, and to illustrate the nature of the challenge posed for destination planners. Any identification of problems is, however, but a first stage towards attempted solutions – but such solutions are often drawn from an arsenal of comparatively well-established techniques at an operational level. On the other hand, the extent to which these techniques are applicable is often dependent on a debate about that which is valued, and the resource that will be allocated to the achievement of desired ends. Consequently operational methods open to destination planning are not divorced from wider social considerations of desired ends, politics and the power to achieve goals.

Whether it will be another decade before another edition appears is, thus far, not even a question that has been formulated; but if this edition is as helpful as the first appears to be, then the book will have served its purpose.



## Chapter 1

# ***A History of Tourism in the English-Speaking World***

### **Introduction**

In order to better understand the nature of tourism at the commencement of the twenty-first century, a brief history may be of use. While the following description and interpretation is Eurocentric (if not indeed primarily British), it can be argued that Western thought and the modes of capitalism that emerged from Europe's past, when combined with the industrial strength of North America, have been the main drivers of contemporary globalisation. In its turn, tourism has been both a consequence of, and a contributor to, the global nature of business and travel networks that exist today. Indeed, it has become a cliché to argue that the current nature of these networks specifically owes much to the period that followed the Industrial Revolution. Naturally travel preceded the second half of the nineteenth century, and indeed had an importance because it provided a model of forms of travel that had been the norm until that period. Like all models, it was modified and adapted by later generations in the light of new technologies and needs. Thus the antecedents of contemporary tourism reflected prior histories, just as today's tourism industry reflects its immediate past. Consequently this chapter examines the history of tourism from the perspective that the past explains, in part, the present.

The purpose of this chapter is to develop a context within which contemporary aspects of tourism can be viewed as being first, an evolutionary process and, second, significantly different from the past in terms of a compression of space and time made possible by new technologies. The chapter will end with a brief discussion of some themes that can be identified within this history.

### **The Classical World**

The history of travel as a leisure activity is often traced to the classical civilisations of Greece and Rome, if only because of the presence of written and archaeological evidence. The historian Herodotus, living in about 465 BC, is known for his travels as described in *The Histories*. His *Histories* are full of asides relating to travel. For example he notes of Solon, the Athenian lawgiver, that '...no doubt for the pleasure of foreign travel – Solon left

home and, after a visit to the court of Amasis in Egypt, went to Sardis to see Croesus' (465/1954, 23). There is reason to believe that the higher-income groups of Rome maintained residences by the sea in order to escape the heat, and probably the smells, of Rome during the summer season. Indeed, Ovid in his ode to the arts of love writes: 'No lust of place or riches weighs us down, We love our shady couch and spurn the town' – practical advice during the height of the Roman summer (6/1965: 112). Moreover, they travelled further afield. Towner (1996: 96) comments that 'Wealthy Romans, for example, travelled to Greece in search of the culture to which they ultimately aspired and which reaffirmed and validated their own beliefs and practices'.

## The Medieval Period

In spite of a re-appraisal of the period from the fall of Rome to the emergence of Renaissance Europe, it is still probably true to describe the travel of the Middle Ages as being dominated by motives of warfare and pilgrimage. Yet, as Chaucer describes, pilgrimage was not without its merry side as attested by the enduring images of his *Canterbury Tales* with their paradox of the profane amid the declared intention of pilgrimage to holy sites. Thus it is notable that the worthy woman from Bath had been three times to Jerusalem, to Rome and to St James of Compostella. In short, pilgrimage routes were well established and frequented, and the wife from Bath was far from being alone in her travels.

Yet, for most people of this period, life was hard and bound to the seasons, although the influence of the Christian Church generated holy days of rest from work. Indeed, the various Christian churches were to have an influence within Europe for much of the period until the early twentieth century. In the Renaissance travel for purposes of curiosity about a wider world became entwined with motives of commerce, religion and politics. The discovery of the Americas and the journeys around Africa by explorers like Columbus, Cabot and Da Gama opened up a new network of voyages where, from the early fifteenth century into the nineteenth century, explorers were followed in ever-increasing numbers by soldiers, missionaries, settlers and administrators. It is tempting to see the unbroken but increasing stream of humanity leaving the shores of Europe to conquer South America, settle North America and explore darkest Africa as part of the same exodus. While simplistic, there is some truth in the perception that this period maintained a sense of expansion, of new places to be discovered, and of growing economic wealth. Of course this was not a continuous, homogeneous stream of movement. Different people moved to different places in response to different dominant imperatives. For example, some moved to escape religious persecution, others moved to administer new

colonial empires, while yet others were taken in slave and convict ships. Nonetheless, given these many and diverse movements of people, the period from the fifteenth century onwards becomes increasingly dominated by a new leisure class for whom travel was motivated by enquiry, sightseeing, hedonism, simple curiosity and a sense of self seeking. Parks (1951: 264) cites Justus Lipsius as writing in 1578, 'Humble and plebeian souls stay at home, bound to their own piece of earth, that soul is nearer the divine which rejoices in movement, as do the heavens themselves'. Indeed Towner (1996: 101) cites an early seventeenth century theory of travel derived from the work of Robert Dallington, *A Method for Travell* published in 1605. This had two main categories of travel motive, namely preservation of self and observation. But the preservation of self is dominated not by what Maslow (1943,1970) later was to term safety and physiological needs, but by 'keeping his religion' and 'bettering his knowledge'. Likewise 'observation' was not only of cosmological and geographic features, but also of how people lived and the nature of their governance.

### The Period of the 'Grand Tour'

An early example of travel for educational and leisure motives that is often much quoted is that of the Grand Tour. In his history of the Grand Tour, Hibbert (1987) traces its antecedents to the earlier pilgrims and movement of students and young aristocracy of the Elizabethan era, but commences his main history from the 1750s onward. Certainly, while the Grand Tour may have involved at most about 0.2–0.7% of the mid-eighteenth century British population, the 15,000 to 20,000 who travelled overseas each year represented a significant part of the estimated 200,000 or so of the landed classes who lived at that period (Towner, 1985). As the elite within eighteenth century Europe, the landed and aristocratic gentry were to set both a fashion and a desire to which an emergent middle class aspired.

The significance of the Grand Tour is not to be underestimated. First, the need for information began to create a market for the new guidebooks that began to emerge. An early example was William Thomas's *The History of Italy*, which was published in 1549. De Beer (1975: 1) notes that between 1660 and 1730 'books of travel provided the principal secular reading of a growing readership.' By the early eighteenth century, travel literature took on the form of a 'bestseller' with prominent titles such as Thomas Taylor's *Gentleman's Pocket Companion for Travelling into Foreign Parts* (1722) and Nugent's *Grand Tour Containing an Exact Description of Most of the Cities, Towns and Remarkable Places of Europe* (1749) being numbered among them. Nor was this solely an English phenomenon, as is evidenced by Duclos' *Voyage en Italie* (1766). Indeed, these early guidebooks (cited in Inglis, 2000)

offered detailed information about conditions of travel and things to see, and avoid. Misson's guides published from the late 1680s into the 1720s provided, for example, details as to the conditions of roads and the aesthetic qualities of landscapes. Towner (1996) cites Addison, Brown, Smollet, Burnet and Howell as some of the authors and guidebook writers who provided information about cities, landscapes and churches in the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. In addition to books, the papers and magazines of the time often carried travel articles that were read not simply as travelogues but as potential sources of useful information. The links between newspapers and guidebooks are easily explained when one considers the journalistic careers of people like Addison.

While these early tourists were generally male and taking advantage of the extended family networks of aristocratic dynasties, there were some women of note who also journeyed abroad. Notable among these was Lady Mary Wortley Montagu. Indeed, the very fact that she travelled added to her notoriety amongst her contemporaries, although few then or since went to the lengths that she did to travel in modes not always thought fitting. For example, Hibbert (1987) notes her writing of taking the veil and *djubbah* at one stage, and subsequently dressing as a man in order to visit a mosque. And, like many a young aristocrat of her time, she was drawn to Venice, then known for its masque balls and easy women, where she for a time engaged in an affair with Count Francesco Algarotti who was half her age. Yet Lady Montagu was not the only woman who travelled in Europe. After all, society at Bath and the other eighteenth century spa towns of Europe was often frequented by ladies who had travelled there unaccompanied by husbands, who may have been detained by political, commercial or agricultural business concerns. However, it would appear that female travel from Britain to Europe became better established after the end of the Napoleonic Wars. For example, in 1820 Mariana Starke noted a growing popularity of walking tours in Switzerland. In 1821 Lady Morgan wrote of her travels in Italy, and also described a growing trend to visit not only the sites of classical antiquity but to also the countryside. No longer were mountains dark, brooding presences to be avoided, but sites of romance and freedom.

Thus a second reason for the importance of the Grand Tour was that it created a model of what it was that people did when travelling, and what was to be observed as having value. The young aristocrat wondered at the sites of classical times, collected works of art, created networks of friends and society, required travel arrangements and then regaled colleagues back home with stories of foreign travel. Indeed the routes described by Nugent in his 1749 Grand Tour books (Nugent, 1749) could still be described today as being major routes for tourists. But while travel in the early eighteenth century was strongly motivated by the maintenance of social networks, a curiosity in history of the classical period and an interest in art and architec-

ture, from the 1770s onwards Towner (1984) discerns the emergence of a new, separate interest in scenery as a specific objective for travel. Thus, by the early nineteenth century patterns of travel were clearly beginning to change. The previous century had marked the Grand Tour as being part of an Englishman's education, in all its various forms. For example, for much of the eighteenth century, Venice, described by Hibbert (1987: 136) as 'the brothel of Venice', was a recognised destination within the Grand Tour for all young bucks, and often was the culmination of their travels. Indeed, such was the state of affairs that Hibbert (1987:134) comments that 'Nuns were considered to make delightful lovers' and, from the evidence he provides, seemingly quite willing ones. An example of the Englishman's education is provided by the diarist James Boswell (the son of Alexander, Lord Auchinleck) who in 1766 wrote:

At Rome, I ran about prostitutes till I was interrupted by that distemper which scourges vice in this world. When I got to Venice I had some small remains of disease, but strange, gay ideas which I had framed of the Venetian courtesans turned my head, and away I went to an opera dancer and took Lord Mountstuart with me. We both had her and we both found ourselves taken in for the punishment I had met with, at Rome. (Boswell, 1766/1955: 109)

Indeed, one obtains the impression that such behaviour, if not supported, was expected; but what was definitely not condoned was the thought that one of the young British gentry should seek to marry a European lady. Black (1992: 202) notes that 'Problems were created when impressionable young men fell in love. Venereal disease was bad, but so was *mésalliance*.' Careful plans of dynastic considerations were rarely put at risk. But, in spite of the, at times, quite sexually explicit outpourings of young British aristocracy as is illustrated by Black (1992) in his chapter entitled 'Love, Sex, Gambling and Drinking', most young men returned home perhaps wiser, but unmarried.

## The Nineteenth Century: From Middle to Working Class Tourism

By the beginning of the Victorian period such behaviour, while it no doubt continued in different settings, was no longer publicly approved of in polite society. Over time, the society of courtesans in the United Kingdom gave way to the *bon mots* of fashionable society that was to be later described by Oscar Wilde, although in France courtesans still continued to host the younger sons of the aristocracy and to contribute in part to their education, as evidenced by the novels of Zola. For the English traveller, and for many of his or her continental counterparts, the late eighteenth and

early nineteenth centuries were a period of rediscovery of the natural as a source of inspiration, as already noted above. This emergence of emphasis on the picturesque is often associated with the Romantic movement and poets such as Wordsworth. Yet its antecedents are clearly found before the establishment of the large conurbations brought into being by the Industrial Revolution and the establishment of factories surrounded by terraced, high-density housing occupied by the workforce within walking distance of the mills, mines and factories. For example, in 1768 William Gilpin published *An Essay upon Prints: Containing Remarks upon the Principle of Picturesque Beauty*. By the 1780s a number of guides had been published on the Lake District of England, and a long heritage links Carke's *Survey of the Lakes* (1787), Wordsworth's *A Guide through the District of the Lakes* (which had its fifth edition in 1835) to the contemporary guides of Wainwright. In fact Inglis (2000) attributes the popularity of the watercolour to a combination of tourism and the discovery of landscape:

The charm of the watercolour is not only its readiness – painting in the open air is swift and easy; it is also that the watercolour so gracefully encompasses a quick glimpse of things or the sort of slight but pretty scene for which the grander effects of classical oils would simply be too much. In other words, it is the tourist's best medium. Its mobility, its modesty, its pastel colours and its quick effects made it into the tourist's own art form and especially the tourist who simply didn't have the money to commission the big names, as Boswell did Hamilton, for 200 guineas a time. (Inglis, 2000: 27)

In a sense, the watercolour was the camera of the early eighteenth century and, like photographs, watercolours came to be hung on the walls of the new houses of the middle classes that were being built in the new suburbs of English and Continental European towns. Indeed, the very size of cartridge paper, being usually 20 by 15 inches, 'was a size to fit happily on the walls of middle-class drawing rooms in the tall terraces of Bath, Brighton and Scarborough' (Inglis, 2000: 27). This emphasis on natural beauty might be interpreted as in part a response to the growing grime of the new industrial cities, but it was first adopted by classes not usually resident in the over-crowded slums of places such as Manchester, Sheffield or the other new industrial cities of northern Europe. Hence Wordsworth was to write of Tintern Abbey in 1798:

These beauteous forms  
Through a long absence, have not been to me  
As is a landscape to a blind man's eye:  
But oft, in lonely rooms, and 'mid the din  
Of towns and cities, I have owed to them,



In hours of weariness, sensations sweet,  
Felt in the blood, and felt along the heart:  
And passing even into my purer mind,  
With tranquil restoration...  
(*Lines composed a few miles above Tintern Abbey*,  
Wordsworth, 1888/1999)

The countryside was a balm to ordinary life. Trips to the countryside were to be remembered as sources of recompense and strength in future days; an emotional souvenir was being articulated that has become part of the importance of modern-day tourism. The modern tourist travels not for curiosity alone, but to enrich him or herself so as to develop psychological strengths that inform and reinforce for future life. Travel has become the creation of memory of past better times, and a promise of future good times. The sanctity of the medieval holy day became 'the holiday' – the sanctuary of the modern man.

Crawshaw and Urry (1997) have written about the importance of the Lake District in formulating a new way of looking, of creating new sets of relationships between that gazed upon and those that gaze. In their thesis the landscape became imbued with new meanings that served, and serves still, a positive purpose for the onlooker. In this very manner the guidebook writers like Wordsworth became gatekeepers, pointing out that which is to be observed, and by their silence condemning other aspects to the status of the non-observed. While as Inglis (2000: 31) notes, there came to exist a correspondence between the attributes of landscape (wildness, tranquillity) and 'the inarticulate but expectant feelings we bring to it', such an observation raises the question, how did these expectations arise and through what means were they being fostered? However, while Wordsworth was, no doubt, pleased to receive monies from those who purchased his guidebooks, he nonetheless opposed the extension of the railway line to Windermere, 'fearing that it would bring large numbers of people more intent on simple pleasures than admiring the sublime beauty of the region' (Sharpley, 1994: 68). Indeed, as will be seen in Chapter 3, Ruskin anticipated the arguments of Boorstin a century later by noting that the train 'transmutes a man from a traveller into a living parcel' (cited by Buzard, 1993: 33).

There is little doubt that growing literacy, an emergent middle class and increased income all played a role in developing a demand, and that that demand was based on the model established by the aristocratic Grand Tour. The Industrial Revolution not only generated the horrific conditions described by various Committees of Enquiry that are so carefully encapsulated by Thomas Carlyle in *Past and Present* (1843/1981), but also created a managerial, administrative class that had not really existed before – at least, not in the numbers being required by the new modes of production.

Equally, associated with this was a growing civil service that offered new, administrative middle-class occupations at both national and municipal level as the reforming zeal of town planners and a meritocracy based on success in public examinations began to replace the networks of social connections based on birth. In short, combined with the new transport technology of rail by the latter half of the nineteenth century, ease of travel (which addressed the issue of constrained time for the emergent middle classes), higher incomes, and the growing numbers of people with the income and urge to travel overseas, the conditions were right for the emergence of new forms of travel. And entrepreneurs like Thomas Cook in the United Kingdom and Reisen in Germany responded to the changing market conditions to lay the foundations of the package holiday companies and mass tourism that exist today. The story of Thomas Cook and his rail excursion for signatories of the Temperance Pledge between Leicester and Loughborough on 5 July 1841 is oft told, but it was four years before he commenced on his real operations of note. In 1845 he started arranging trips to the seaside, the first being an outing from Leicester to New Brighton near Liverpool. In 1846 he was packaging tours to Scotland that included not only travel by rail but also by the new steamers. In 1851 he arranged tours for 165,000 to the Great Exhibition at Crystal Palace. Four years later he took visitors to the Great Paris Exhibition, and by 1863 he had established tours to Switzerland and Italy using the new tunnels driven under the Alps. By the end of that decade he was taking visitors to Cairo and in 1872 by booking space on the SS *Oceanic* he inaugurated trans-Atlantic package travel. Very soon after he opened offices in Broadway and in 1894 introduced the concept of travellers' cheques. By then his company's expertise had been enlisted by the British Government and his son, John Cook, was making arrangements for the transportation of troops to the Middle East and India. By the 1880s not only were the British travelling across the Atlantic, but so too a growing number of higher income Americans were travelling to England and Europe to repeat the travel paths of the aristocratic Grand Tour. Such travels were not unknown to those who became readers of novels by authors such as Henry James, who in *Portrait of a Lady* (1908/1988) describes how Isabel Archer travels through Europe with her companions, Mrs Touchett and Madame Merle. Similarly E.M. Forster's novel *Room with a View* (1908/1088) tells its story within the context of an Edwardian family's trip to Italy and specifically Florence.

The American visitors to Europe brought with them not only their thirst for the sites of classical civilisation and a desire to visit the historic places of the home country, but also their expectations of first class hotel accommodation. To the interest of place was to be added the desire for luxury. Not that Europe was without its luxurious hotels. The railway age brought not only ease of transport but also a growing number of people requiring

accommodation at the same time in the same place, and thus the great railway hotels were built by many of the railway companies. All over the United States and Europe, almost simultaneously in the mid-nineteenth century, large numbers of mock Gothic or Italianate hotel buildings with several hundred bedrooms were being built. On November 6, 1872 Thomas Cook, when accompanying a group on the steamer, *Colorado*, wrote:

In American hotels, great attention is paid to the privacy and comfort of ladies, for whom large and elegant drawing rooms are provided, with separate entrance and staircase, available also for gentlemen with ladies. The first floor is generally appropriated to dining and breakfast saloons and drawing rooms, for which no extra charge is made. (Cook, 1872/1998: 21)

Thus Thomas Cook unerringly noted a combination that has stood the holiday industry well over the intervening years, namely that of affordable luxury. Equally, 22 days later, in Yokohama, he highlighted another promise of the industry, that of being able to see that which was previously not available to visitors, and thereby offered a promise of the 'authentic'. So he wrote:

Until very recently it was not permitted for foreigners to enter the precincts of the Temple of Shiba and the surrounding and gorgeous tombs of Tycoons and their wives of the past 250 years. Yesterday my party walked freely through and round these indescribable buildings at Yedo, which for richness in carving, gilding, and decoration surpass all that I have seen in any land. Only a year ago an escort would have been required to conduct a party like mine through Yedo. (Cook, 1872/1998: 28)

It would appear that Thomas Cook was also aware of the role of promising exoticism in the development of his tours to the Far East.

For the middle classes Cook offered an identification of those sights said to be worth seeing. Unlike the aristocracy of the eighteenth century who could spend years on their travels, the new management and administrative classes were more time constrained. In addition they did not often possess the family connections that the aristocracy possessed, and thus required accommodation that was both affordable and at the least imposed no hardship, and preferably offered comfort not available in the suburbs of Bolton, Preston or London. Moreover, Thomas Cook offered the security of travelling with experienced, English-speaking guides in foreign countries, and the company of like-minded English people with whom to share experiences. As already noted, the novel, *Room with a View* by E.M. Forster with, as a focus, a trip to Florence, captures many of the nuances of the trips organised by Cook and similar companies of this era.

But just as the railways and hotels were catering for the upper and middle classes, so too the same assets began, over time, to meet the needs of a working class who too sought escape from the towns. Additionally, while elements of this market sought to duplicate the travel patterns and demands of the more affluent markets, others sought more immediate pleasures in song, dance and 'having a good time'. With reference to this market it might be said that an older theme within recreation was rediscovered, and that was a sense of carnival. Just as Chaucer's tales contained husbands who farted into the faces of their wives' lovers at the top of ladders (as in the *Wife of Bath*), and Fool's Days of the Medieval Courts represented a temporary reversal of authority, so too at seaside resorts the working classes were to create an escape. This escape was not only from the physical crowding of the city, but also from the rules and regulations imposed by the Victorian bourgeoisie – albeit at times it was an escape within which one set of rules was substituted by the rules of the tyrannical English seaside landlady.

At first this development was not immediately apparent. Just as the Romantic movement discovered value in the lakes and mountains, so too the coastal landscape came to be valued for its own contrasts. Additionally, the Prince Regent had popularised Brighton as a resort in the latter part of the eighteenth century and it might be said that this action on his part was an extension of the spa as an inherent part of the milieu of the then fashionable society. Towner, however, is at pains to point out that sea bathing was already an accepted practice, not only in the warmer climates of the Mediterranean where it would have been seen by various visitors to that part of the world, but also in northern England. Towner (1996: 171) cites Walton (1983: 11) when he writes: 'Further north, in Britain, a popular sea-bathing culture existed on the Lancashire coast, not emulating the rich but having a "prior and independent existence"'. Thus, Towner (1996: 171) observes, the usual attribution of the growing popularity of the seaside to the initial actions of fashionable society may yet again be a case 'where those who dominate the historical record are assumed to have been the innovators of the custom'.

Perhaps one of the more detailed histories of the seaside resort is that of Walton (1983). What is shown clearly by Walton's study is that working class demand for seaside holidays was constrained by regional working practices and wage rates, not to mention prevailing patterns of leisure and recreation. Thus differences occurred in regional practice and adoption of the seaside holiday. The Lancashire textile towns tended to be the early adopters, partly due to quicker access by the rail network to the coastal resorts of Blackpool, Morecambe and, as already noted, New Brighton. The Yorkshire woollen industry tended to lag some 10 years behind, and of course tended to be based on areas such as Whitby and Scarborough. Walton also notes that seaside holidaying by those working in Birmingham

did not really commence until as late as the 1880s, when a few extra days were added to the August Bank Holiday.

The advent of the railways had similar impacts in other countries. When, in 1860, Nice was annexed by France from Savoy, the extension of the railway meant a rapid increase in population from 48,000 in 1861 to 143,000 forty years later. Visitor numbers increased from 5,000 to 150,000 in the same period (Rudney, 1980). Soane (1993), however, indicates another important reason for the development of seaside resorts such as Nice, namely the willingness of outside financial sources to act as suppliers of capital investment. Indeed, the availability of that capital and the desire to engage in property development created very different types of seaside resorts around the world. Some like Nice, became and remained embedded in a tourism of the higher-income groups, others like Blackpool became associated with short stays and low-cost accommodation and developed a culture based on working-class hedonism. Other areas were discovered by artists, writers and travellers: locations like Brittany or specific villages like St Ives in Cornwall provide examples of this. In these cases development tended to be slow, and often it was not until the twentieth century and the greater geographical freedom permitted by the motor car that these locations entered the domain of tourism more fully.

Tourists were also helping to create new product. Perhaps one of the better examples of this was the development of Alpine tourism. By 1857, there was sufficient interest for the Alpine Club to be established, with 300 charter members. While the club was dominated by middle-class professionals from Oxford and Cambridge universities, it was not unique to the United Kingdom. In 1862 the Austrian Alpine Club was formed, followed by those of Switzerland (1863), Germany (1869) and France (1874). While these clubs were male dominated, female mountaineers were present almost from the early days. Withey (1998) mentions the names of Marguerite Breevort (an American), Lucy Walker and Mrs Stephen Winkworth among others, and comments that 'what to wear was a problem for the female mountaineers' (Withey, 1998: 209).

Faulkner and his colleagues have suggested that the development of seaside resorts cannot always be logically explained by the broad economic forces of capital, population movements or technical forces such as the building of railways. Advocating the use of chaos theory to help explain broad changes in tourism, Russell and Faulkner (1999) specifically draw attention to the 'movers and shakers' who, while at times motivated by profit, nonetheless were often eclectic in their choice of location and nature of attraction, or had histories of business failure or eccentricity prior to making their contribution to the development of tourism resorts. For their part, Russell and Faulkner select the development of Australia's Gold Coast in the 1960s as an example. Thus they note:

The men...responsible for the emergence of Surfer's Paradise as the focus of tourist activity were in varying degrees colourful, flamboyant, innovative, driven and often reflecting in their personal relationships the attributes of Chaos and Complexity. (Russell and Faulkner, 1999: 419)

One example they provide is that of Bernard Elsey. An English immigrant with little formal education who worked as a plumber in Toowoomba, he arrived on the Gold Coast in 1949. He earned money by simultaneously selling cruises to Tippler's Passage on Stradbroke Island during the day and selling Singer Sewing Machines on a door-to-door basis in the evening. Eventually he was to build three hotels, including the Surfers Paradise Beachcomber, and with pyjama parties and Hawaiian nights 'pushed the edges of law, filling national newspapers with copy and his establishments with patrons' (Russell & Faulkner, 1999: 421).

Indeed the very title of 'Gold Coast' seems to have come about by accident. Initially the area held the unglamorous name of 'Town of the South Coast', and then in 1958 it became 'Gold Coast Town'. Richardson (1999) recounts the story that it became the 'Gold Coast' in the 1950s after a pictorial editor on the *Brisbane Courier Mail* changed a reporter's story and then continued to use the term. The developing seaside resort deliberately built on its image when, in 1965 (a period when bikinis were still frowned upon at Sydney and Melbourne beaches), the meter maids of Surfer's Paradise, clad in little more than gold bikinis made what could only be described as an appearance in a blaze of national publicity. Their function was ostensibly to feed coins into expired parking meters, but their real value lay in the publicity that the Gold Coast acquired.

Similar parallels might be drawn with the development of Coney Island in New York State. Initially consisting of mud flats, in the 1870s the area was infamous not for its scenic features but for the zone known as 'The Gut' – a ramshackle area of places of ill-repute, brothels and drinking dens. As hotels like the Manhattan Beach became established, the juxtaposition between these and 'The Gut' led to entrepreneurs taking various actions. Foremost among these entrepreneurs was John McKane, an interesting gentleman whose personal history included being Chief of Police for Coney Island, but without formal salary as 'licences' were paid by gambling and other shady businesses. Power based on land deals made McKane an establishment figure with both Democrats and Republicans, yet he was to finally end his career by serving four years in Sing Sing prison.

By the 1920s Coney Island had become a melting pot where immigrant groups met with earlier immigrants, and all cavorted in the sea or stood amazed at the lights of Luna Park. Blackpool too had its own Luna Park, as did other places in the world such as Sydney, and in all cases they became



locations of difference. Surrounded by funfair delights, they represented places of escape, where the achievements of modern science were put to use as play things or items of wonderment, where boys met girls, and normal restrictions did not apply. At Coney Island, for a long time one of the most popular attractions was one where draughts of air were blown up female's skirts to expose ankles and legs and where a clown prodded gentlemen's behinds with an electric stick. Underwear was revealed and shocks administered. The very presence of the clown maintained a tradition back to the jester of medieval courts, and the role of holidays as a time of reversal and denial of normal strictures continued to be confirmed.

Equally, the seaside, as indicated above, was associated with new freedoms that set aside a prurience that existed side by side with Victorian sexual interest, and brought the unspoken into the open. The bathing hut was invented to hide the modesty of females, but was at best, of limited success in achieving its objective. Sprawson (1992: 29) remarks that the women were encased in waisted, bloomed, skirted swimsuits, but they were made of 'woven cotton, which, when wet, tended to become transparent and cling to the body, revealing more than they concealed'. He continues:

But whatever the restrictions, they (bathing huts) failed to prevent women from becoming objects of the greatest curiosity. In the Victorian coastal resorts, when the sea was normally 'black with bathers', the females did not venture beyond the surf but lay on their backs, waiting for the approaching waves, with their bathing dresses in 'a most degage style. When the waves came', commented one onlooker, 'they not only covered the bathers, but literally carried their dresses up to their necks, so that, as far as decency was concerned, they might as well have been without any dresses at all'. (Sprawson, 1992: 29)

But while the carnivalesque was present, not all working-class recreation could be characterised as being unrestrained extensions of the bawdy music hall. In the 1890s the bicycle became the first means of mass transport and there was, as Rubenstein (1989) came to call it, a 'cycling boom'. Not only did the bicycle bring a personal spatial freedom, but it was also indicative of the new freedoms slowly being accorded to, and gained by, women. The 'new woman' was often personified as being some one riding a cycle. Alderson (1972: 85) illustrates this by citing the *Complete Cyclist* of 1897 – 'now women, even young girls, ride alone or attended only by some casual man friend, for miles together through deserted country roads'. In Britain the Cyclists' Touring Club was founded in 1878, and between 1894 and 1899 its membership rose from 14,000 to 60,000 (Rubinstein, 1977). The foundations of the Raleigh company in Nottingham were being laid at this time as many took to the country roads, either singularly or in groups. Associated

with this movement was a new attitude towards the countryside, as fresh air, exercise and good companionship became part of the English psyche. The Youth Hotels Association, Rambling Clubs and the Boy Scouts all emanated from common roots of an enjoyment of the countryside not for so much its aesthetic beauties (as had informed early nineteenth century thinking), but as a backdrop to 'healthy exercise'. Later, in the twentieth century the same motives came to be present in the novels of Arthur Ransome (albeit with small boats) or in the adventures of Enid Blyton's Famous Five (with wooded copses to be explored and rabbits to be chased by family pets).

This new enthusiasm for the 'great outdoors' as a place to be explored was not confined to the United Kingdom. Tobin (1974) notes the rapid growth of the cycle industry in the United States, and its similarities with Britain in a number of respects. First, it was popular with women. Second, its popularity was greatest in the major urban areas of the east and mid-west as populations sought an escape from urban areas into the countryside. Additionally Tobin notes a precursor to the motor car age, as published routes led to higher usage of these routes, and in turn to the establishment of shops, hotels and inns that were attracted to these cycle ways. In short, an infrastructure came into being, thereby creating the paradox that the escape from the city brought the resources of the city to support the new activities. It might be said that the commodification and industrialisation of leisure have long antecedents.

## **The Twentieth Century**

In the period prior to the First World War there was, on the whole, a continuation of trends that had commenced thirty years earlier. The tours of Thomas Cook and its competitors continued to spread ever further and in greater numbers, but still primarily using steamers and trains. The seaside resorts on the whole continued to flourish, whilst clubs and outings of various sorts remained a feature of leisure and holidaying. Much of the holiday industry was thus dominated, if not by mass movements of people using the same resources, certainly by group movement. However, in the period after the Great War this was to begin to change. In short, a movement towards greater individualisation of holiday taking commenced, albeit at first slowly, but with increasing rapidity as the twentieth century grew to a close. A number of factors accounted for this. First was the advent of the motor car and its increasing availability to growing numbers of the population as prices fell. Second, the emergence of air transport became increasingly important. Third, at least for a time, there was a reduction in the working week and, although for many at the end of the century the promise of more leisure time began to sound like a hollow promise, the changing



nature of work and the blurring of boundaries between work and leisure for many people meant more travel and less-structured ways of working. As always, though, these broad social movements and changes can be found to have precursors. But, as is often the case, the initial instances of any given form of activity tend to be individual, and often associated with wealth. Nonetheless it would be a mistake to believe that non-mass recreational and holiday taking did not exist prior to the 1920s. Inglis (2000), for example, highlights the role of the holiday home. But he comments:

The past of these places is...surpassed and mythologised. Such simplicity comes damned expensive. But it matches a taste in which Emerson and Thoreau over there are compounded over here with Wordsworth, William Morris and the Arts and Crafts movement, to say nothing of the noble Lord Armstrong who made millions out of machine guns and built the wildly Romantic, lavishly simple Craigsides in Northumberland. (Inglis, 2000: 63)

But around the coast of Britain summer homes began to emerge, more modest affairs perhaps than Craigsides, but comfortable, middle-class summer cottages began to intermingle with the fishermen's' homes in places like Southwold and elsewhere in coastal Britain. Similar but even more modest summer homes were established elsewhere in the world, albeit perhaps a little later. For example, in Canada lakesides came to be dotted with wooden and tin shacks that offered children the great summer delights of messing in boats, getting wet and other simple, playful pleasures while fathers fished at the end of jetties and mother fussed over insect bites. Thus, for example, at Lake Waskesiu in the Prince Albert National Park, Saskatchewan, by the 1940s such shacks were already an established part of the summer holiday lifestyle and over 200 existed (Waiser, 1989). However, it is perhaps in New Zealand most of all that the informal, wooden and tin holiday home achieved its greatest heights. The summer 'bach' has entered into the sensibility of idyllic, and perhaps past, summers of long, warm, sunny days spent by the beach or lakeside. Indeed in New Zealand the 'bach' has become an established architectural form of varying degrees of optimism, professionalism and skill, and access to different types of building materials redolent of self sufficiency and eccentricities, as is amply demonstrated by Wood and Treadwell (1999) and by Male (2001).

The motor car opened up the countryside and the potential for independent travel in a manner previously unknown. In the United Kingdom, in 1920, there were 200,000 private cars, in 1939, 2 million, while in 2001 there were 24.5 million licensed vehicles. The train, as Inglis (2000: 100) observes 'powerful, vastly over-capitalised, gradually turned into a stalwart icon of the industrial family: it became Thomas the Tank Engine and Gordon the Express Train'. With, in the 1960s, the commencement of

motorway building in the United Kingdom, holidaymakers could travel from places like Birmingham to South or North Wales, or to Cornwall and Devon within the day. Yet, just as these places began to develop new infrastructures to cope with increasing demand, the growing number of domestic holidaymakers turned their attention to the warmer climates of the Mediterranean. The impact of mass air transport was soon to make itself felt in a way that came to dominate the holiday industry in Europe.

The same pressures were felt also in North America. While Hollywood has romanticised the road even late into the twentieth century with road movies such as *Easy Rider* and *Thelma and Louise*, the golden age of interstate highways like that of Route 66 was comparatively short-lived. Route 66 was the designation awarded to the Chicago to Los Angeles highway in 1926. In his novel, *The Grapes of Wrath*, Steinbeck proclaimed US Highway 66 the 'Mother Road', and Route 66 came to represent the 'road to opportunity' as those affected by the dust bowls of the mid-west travelled to California in the 1930s. Route 66 spawned the architecture of modern highways like motels and auto camps, and the evolution of the filling station, and finally entered US folklore. In the 1950s Route 66 increasingly became superseded by a new interstate highway, and by the 1970s this and air traffic meant that it was falling into disrepair. Today, however, 'the love of the open road', and a growing interest in America's history has meant a renewed interest in the stories and architecture of the Route, and the International Route 66 Mother Road festival attracts thousands in a mix of nostalgia, history, car enthusiasts and lovers of John Steinbeck's work. Together different groups of enthusiasts are seeking to retain the edifice of the Route and many different tourism products are being constructed around it.

In its turn air transport was to advance significantly as a result of the two World Wars. While attracting newspaper headlines, flight remained an interest of only the few in terms of actual participation. Rae (1968) noted that in 1914 only 49 aircraft were manufactured in the United States, although this figure increased significantly after America's entry into the First World War. In the UK, after 1919 the Northcliffe Committee developed a plan for civil aviation. However, in those early days it might be said that flying as a passenger was a form of adventure tourism! An important marker of developments were the achievements of Amy Johnson. With her flights to Australia she proved the reliability of aircraft, and gave flying a romance and newspaper headlines that induced others to follow. Incidentally, the name of her aircraft, *Jason* is still echoed in the very successful *Jason's Guides* with which most visitors to New Zealand will be familiar. In 1925 airlines flew about 21,000 people to and from Britain (Dyos & Aldcroft, 1969), and even by 1935 Imperial Airways still carried only 66,000 to all parts of the globe, albeit in somewhat extravagant luxury but at no or little

profit (Higham, 1960). Nonetheless, in the United States events with significant implications for the future began to unfold. The Douglas Aircraft Corporation began to move from the production of fighter planes to the development of passenger aircraft, and in 1933 the vice-president of the newly formed TWA (Transcontinental and Western) flew the first production DC2 from Los Angeles to Newark in 13 hours – a new record. Within two years, the DC3 was introduced with a cruising speed of 190 mph and a load of 21 passengers. At the same time William Boeing had commenced aircraft production, although at that time it was generally thought that the Boeing 247 was outclassed by the products from Douglas.

For countries like the United States, Australia and New Zealand, the development of air transport was of vital importance because of their size and, in the case of Australasia, its distance from the main centres of population in the northern hemisphere. In 1922, the Queensland and Northern Territory Aerial Services Limited (QANTAS), was founded by two former Air Force pilots, W. Hudson Fysh and Paul McGinness. In 1936 Ansett Airways started in Australia. In 1939 the forerunner of Air New Zealand was established, namely the Tasman Empire Airways Limited (T.E.A.L.), of which QANTAS had a 30% shareholding.

Just as the First World War gave an important impetus to the development of aircraft and the formation of airlines as currently understood, so the period after the Second World War was to usher in the age of cheap air transport. In 1946 there were many discharged airmen who still liked the fun and pleasure of flying, and sought a means of combining pleasure with earning a living. Many tried to live off mail-run contracts, and many were on the verge of failing in places like the United Kingdom. Salvation came from an unlikely source, namely the Russian blockade of West Berlin. That city was sustained by the continuous airlift. Nor was it simply Berlin that was sustained – so too were a number of embryonic airlines including that of one Freddie Laker. In 1947 Laker was working for London Aero Motor Services, and buying and selling war-surplus trucks, aircraft radio and electrical surplus at government sales. Additionally, to raise extra money he and his wife were selling seedlings from the back of one of these trucks. In October 1947 he set up his own company, Aviation Traders, and within three weeks had exhausted his capital. The Russian blockade of Berlin changed all of that within a matter of months. As Eglin and Ritchie (1981: 16) were later to record in the book *Fly Me, I'm Freddie!* there was considerable cash flow and they were all drawing regular wages. Indeed:

The generous charter rate and the huge number of hours flown produced enough cash flow for the independents to set up complete organisations with flying crews, ground staff, UK bases, plant and equipment. And the unrelenting tempo of the airlift, with month after

month of round-the-clock flights, taught the independents a lot about how to run continuous air operations. (Eglin & Ritchie, 1981: 16–17)

Equally important was the political situation of Franco's Spain. Left alone in 1946 as the last of the Fascist regimes, Spain was marginalised from the mainstream of European economic recovery. There was no Marshall Aid to Spain, nor an external impetus for a regeneration of investment and capital. Yet Spain had something to offer to the northern European countries (other than perhaps France), and that was sunshine and a Mediterranean coastline. Using a mixture of grants and tax breaks, the Franco regime encouraged the development of hotels and hotel chains which, in turn, were to enter into an alliance with the new entrepreneurial airline companies of the United Kingdom, Scandinavia and Germany. Whereas but a few years earlier British pilots had flown to bomb cities under Fascist regimes, they now flew holidaymakers into Franco's Spain. Given the later reputation of some British holidaymakers, the cynical might make wry comments about this comparison. Yet nonetheless the political implications of bringing Spain out of isolation were significant, and it can be argued that tourism played a major role in the eventual democratisation of Spain.

By the end of the twentieth century, tourism had significantly grown throughout the world. The World Tourism Organisation (WTO, 1998) recorded that, in 1950, arrivals of tourists from abroad, excluding same-day visits, numbered about 25.2 million. By 1997 the figure was 612.8 million. In 1950 receipts from international movements were \$US2,100 million, in 1997 they were US\$443,770 million. While at the end of the twentieth century Europe still dominated international tourism movements with over 58% of those movements (WTO, 1998), the East Asia/Pacific region had the fastest annual growth rates and was accounting for about 15% of all travel movements. In short, the twentieth century had witnessed a democratisation of travel and the duplication of a wish for mass travel and tourism by non-European nations on a scale that had not been previously achieved.

### **Lessons from History?**

Thus far this has been a description of history – indeed a generally uncritical and selective history that has traced growth and the democratisation of tourism. With tourism no longer a preserve of the aristocratic few, Uncle Norman, Auntie Edith and all their children, nephews, nieces and siblings can now seek the sun. So what can be learnt from this review?

Several implications can be drawn from this summary of tourism history, and they follow in no particular order of priority. First, Coney Island, the seaside holidays, the use of railways, theme parks, and air transport – all show a very close connection between tourism and advancements of technology. Travel, technology and tourism create a close triumvirate

that fed off each other and reinforced the development of each. The travel of Victorians to new resorts for tourism created the demand that furthered the technical advance of the railways so that within a short period of time the tracks and trains became capable of higher speeds. Today, travel needs have been an important impetus in the development of the Internet and, by 2003, while difficult to ascertain, it has become a cliché that tourism and travel needs have displaced pornography as the single major use to which the Internet is put. eDestination marketing has become a commonplace. Some airline businesses in the no-frills sector have totally bypassed the travel agent, while full service airlines have been catching up with their online provision. Many other types of tourism organisations have been tracing increases in online bookings, and it is common for visitor surveys to include questions about the usage of the Internet.

Indeed, it is not perhaps too much of an extension to argue that tourism has played an important role in the development of many technologies. Today the camera-toting tourist is being replaced by the digital camcorder tourist, who therefore requires the video editing software incorporated into an operating system like that of Windows XP in order to edit his or her holiday film. There is evidence that the relationship between image and tourism goes back a long way. As already noted, the popularity of the watercolour was associated with a growth of travel. Miller and Robbins (2001: 20) note that, included among the 200 'calotype' prints of the Edinburgh Calotype Club taken in the early 1840s, were holiday snaps from trips to the Continent. Crang (1999) has noted the almost instinctive desire of people to make a permanent record of the places that they have visited, and hence it is not too far fetched to argue that tourism demand may have helped to further the technological advances seen in the photographic and image-capture industries.

Second, a key feature related to technology is the importance of the role of access in the development of tourist destinations. With each successive improvement in transport technologies, travellers have ranged further away from home. Today that process continues, and indeed limitations imposed on access have become one way of protecting natural areas. The denial of a runway restricts access. The development and extension of a runway permits wider-bodied jets to access airports, thereby disgorging more passengers per flight. The provision of accommodation is often associated with any easing of access. Space tourism is just becoming a reality and not simply a dream, and as such is helping to financially sustain further space exploration. The tourism periphery, it might be observed, now extends into space (Smith, 2000).

A third lesson to be learnt from history is that technological change and improvements to access are not perhaps sole determinants of demand – motive and an ability to fulfil desire are also prerequisites for tourism

development. The theory of the moving periphery – that is, of destinations over time meeting the needs of different social classes (in a European context, usually from upper to middle to lower social groupings) has implicit within it changes in the distribution of disposable income and available leisure time. Simply put, over time more people have had both the time and income to travel. Of interest is that divisions between work and leisure were eroding at the end of the twentieth century. The social certainties of the mid-century were breaking down to create less homogeneity in motives and travel patterns, with the subsequent development of individualistic marketing strategies on the part of product and service providers. These issues will be explored in later chapters.

### **Implications and New Directions**

What are the implications of these lessons? It is possible to claim that if, in past centuries, changing technologies created ‘outward-directed’ touristic developments in terms of creating new destinations and new places to visit, then current changes in technology are more ‘inner directed’. Today the creation of new product and the duplication of old product are becoming more independent of geography, history and culture. The Eiffel Tower and King Tutankhamun’s tomb are both to be found in Las Vegas, while Mickey Mouse cavorts in both Paris and Tokyo. The past is daily re-enacted at places that are some times divorced from their original locations, so that, for example, medieval banquets with knightly jousting are popular with visitors to Los Angeles. The time–space compression of modern tourism is motivated by a wish to profit from the entertainment of the tourist, and the satisfaction of curiosity about place and culture at places that are convenient to the tourist. In many senses this is little different from London being thrilled by the exploits of Buffalo Bill’s Wild West show in part celebration of Queen Victoria’s Golden Jubilee in 1887. But the difference today is that the simulacra are more frequent, more pervasive and more convenient to the point where the discovery of new places is almost being conveniently delivered to the consumer’s living room through the Internet and digital television set.

If therefore the simulacra of travel itself are present at home, then does not the nature of travel itself pose an alternative – the experience of the real as distinct from the experience of the ‘fake’? Certainly within the academic literature there has long been a juxtaposition of the authentic with the inauthentic. Implicit within such comparisons has been the legitimacy of the former over the latter, with earlier writers such as Boorstin (1961) being particularly critical of the new forms of tourism as emasculated forms of travel devoid of the sense of ‘going’. Thus Boorstin (1961: 102) wrote of air travel ‘My passage through space was unnoticeable and effortless. The



airplane robbed me of the landscape.' For him the air stewardess was 'the Madonna of the Airways, a pretty symbol of the new homogenised blandness of the tourist's world' (Boorstin, 1961: 103).

Boorstin identified six characteristics of the 'image'. These were:

- (1) It is synthetic – it is planned, created for a specific purpose.
- (2) It is believable – it serves no purpose unless it has this appeal.
- (3) It is passive – by which Boorstin meant that the consumer of the image was expected to accept, and fit, the image – but such 'fitting' is a change of face, not heart.
- (4) An image is vivid and concrete – it therefore abstracts from complexity to present only a few specific qualities.
- (5) An image is thus simplified – and therefore contains within itself its own decay, as it inevitably loses meaning.
- (6) An image is ambiguous – it floats between expectation and reality.

For Boorstin the image replaces the ideal in contemporary society. Yet there remains the ideal, always present – ready to expose the fallacy of the image. His book ends with a call to awake from illusion, to rediscover the real from the self-deceptive dream. The issue for many at the commencement of the twenty-first century is whether the image has become the reality, has attained its own legitimacy wherein the need for continuous reinvention is the norm and constancy is the sign of failing systems. However, modernity (or post-modernity) is made more complex by the consumer's realisation that it is an image that is sought. The image, while fuzzily separate from the ideal, by reason of its existence adds richness, playfulness and new meanings to the original at the bequest of the tourist as consumer of place, culture, event and history. The implication for tourism is that there exists a challenge both to tourism and to our means of conceptualising it. The arguments of the authentic versus the inauthentic were a discussion of more than forty years past – today there exists a new generation of the mass-media age whose realities are those of the ephemeral, the fad and the short-lived fashion. If there is a consistency it is that of the satisfaction of whim. The continuous display of imagery designed to satisfy and the changing roles that the tourist can adopt are all inter-related. The current reality is that tourism mirrors the desire for a world of adventure, heterogeneity of experience, new sensations and a rejection of sameness, conformity and received knowledge. From one perspective this can be interpreted as akin to the situation described by Michael Moorcock's characters in his trilogy *The Dancers at the End of Time* (Moorcock, 2000); namely, it is boredom that is to be avoided and, if boredom can be negated through whimsy, reinventions of the past and desired roles, then tourism successfully meets the needs of its participants. If this sounds like nothing more than self-indulgence, then it needs be admitted that self-indulgence may be

an outcome of such processes. But equally it can be seen as part of a process of life enrichment wherein new technologies, opportunities for travel and differing products at destinations combine to present current generations with ranges of choice previously unknown.

What roles can be discerned? Gibson and Yiannakis (2002) in a reprise of earlier work, list a number of identified roles that tourists adopt. These include 'sun lover', 'action seeker', 'anthropologist', 'drifter' and 'educational tourist' among others. However, in this study they contend that their research 'provides statistical support for the contention that tourist roles serve as vehicles through which vacationers may satisfy or enhance deficit or growth needs (*sic*)' (Gibson & Yiannakis, 2002: 378). They further provide evidence that these roles are far from consistent, possess varying importance for different life stages and genders, and assume different meanings over time. The current situation is possibly both a culmination of past trends, and the start of something that is qualitatively different from the past. To perceive history as no more than an antecedent of the present is to imply a progress from simpler to more complex times, and that is probably just as much of a trap as were the earlier interpretations of history as a process from the less to the more civilised. Nonetheless, the current volume of tourism is new and the infrastructure to which it has given birth is truly global in a manner not previously seen. Equally, the world of the twenty-first century as it is known by those with access to computer-driven technologies is one of more complex stimuli and choice. Some, in previous generations, expressed the view that the fast speed of rail transport would induce nausea to such an extent that rail-based travel was doomed. Today space tourism beckons. The only certainty is that the future will find antecedents in its past, but equally will generate its own expression and product in ways that it is not possible to predict with any degree of accuracy.



## *Chapter 2*

# ***The Economic Determinants of Demand***

### **Introduction and Definitions**

To paraphrase the great English playwright, William Shakespeare, if indeed all the world is a stage, and men and women have their exits and their entrances, then perhaps in the early twenty-first century the tourist is a participative audience. Perhaps tourists do not always comprehend what it is that they see, perhaps at times the tourist enters upon the stage as either the figure of fun or the catalyst of change, but increasingly the tourist cannot be ignored. Certainly, in a period of increasing customisation of product to meet the particular needs of consumers, tourists are increasingly used to exercising individual choice, preference and interaction with the suppliers of purchased products and services. As already noted in Chapter 1, the numbers of tourists continue to swell, as if in response to some pressing need to see the world, to view it as if it contains some truth that would otherwise be denied to them. As in Chapter 1, appropriate questions to be asked include what is the nature of this phenomenon, and what is it then that leads to this need? In Chapter 1 a historical, descriptive approach was adopted and, while such an approach is of help, it can be argued that description is but a first stage towards analysis. In analysing the nature of tourism, a number of approaches may be taken. One approach is to view tourism as an economic activity, and thus recognise that tourism may be defined as possessing the characteristics of an industry. Those characteristics include the production of a service and the establishment of a structure of business relationships with the prime motive of satisfying wants associated with travel and the resulting accommodation needs for the purpose of achieving profit. Such an approach is inherent in a definition that refers to tourism as:

The demand for, and supply of, accommodation and supportive services for those staying away from home, and the resultant patterns of expenditure, income creation and employment.

If this type of approach is adopted, it in turn creates a need for specific definitions that permit measurement. The history of technical definitions of tourism is very much a post Second World War phenomenon as governments in the 1950s accepted a range of economic and social responsibilities

not previously adopted. With the growth of international tourism, it was not surprising that standards of measurement common to all countries were sought. In 1963 a United Nations Conference on International Travel and Tourism recommended to national governments that the following definitions be used:

... for statistical purposes, the term 'visitor' describes any person visiting a country other than that in which he/she has his usual place of residence, for any reason other than following an occupation remunerated from within the country visited. (United Nations, 1963)

As well as proposing a definition of 'visitor', the Rome Conference in 1963 also proposed that the term 'visitor' should cover two distinctive classes of traveller: tourists and excursionists. Tourists were defined as temporary visitors staying more than 24 hours in a country visited and the purpose of whose journey can be classified as (1) leisure, i.e. recreation, holiday, health, study, religion or sports, (2) business, (3) family, (4) mission or (5) meeting. Over time, additional meetings were held, for example the meeting of the United Nations Statistical Commission in Rome in 1976, and that of the World Tourism Organisation (WTO) in 1991. Distinctions have been drawn to ensure, for example, that tourists are counted separately from other groups such as migrants, members of armed services, refugees or embassy personnel. At the conclusion of the 1991 WTO conference the accepted definitions were those shown in Table 2.1.

For some countries the definitional components of domestic tourism might still differ from those given in Table 2.1 in that a spatial component is added. For example a domestic tourist might be expected to travel at least 40 kilometres away from his or her home and stay overnight in order to qualify for the status of 'tourist'.

While such definitions as these are important (they are definitions based on observed travel behaviours), they say little about the nature of, or reasons for, those behaviours. They begin to quantify without explanation. Therefore alternative definitions of behaviour might be conceived. For example, the psychological impacts of recreational tourism may be recognised. Given that the prime motivations for such travel are ones of rest, discovery and pleasure, holiday tourism may be defined as:

The means by which people seek psychological benefits that arise from experiencing new places and new situations that are of a temporary duration, whilst free from the constraints of work, or normal patterns of daily life at home.

Ryan (1991a) also argued for a fourth approach to be adopted in any definition of tourism, one that was more holistic and incorporated what he saw as being important, namely the 'fun' component of the holiday experience.

**Table 2.1** World Tourism Organisation definitions of tourism

|                     | <i>International tourism</i>  | <i>Domestic tourism</i>  |
|---------------------|---|--|
| <b>Visitor</b>      | A person who travels to a country other than that in which he/she has his/her usual residence, and which is outside his/her usual environment, for a period not exceeding one year, and whose main purpose of visit is other than the exercise of an activity remunerated from within the country visited.                    | A person residing in a country, who travels to a place within the country, but outside his/her usual environment, for a period not exceeding six months, and whose main purpose of the visit is other than the exercise of an activity remunerated from within the place visited.        |
| <b>Tourist</b>      | A visitor who travels to a country other than that in which he/she has his/her usual residence for at least one night but not more than one year, and whose main purpose of visit is other than the exercise of an activity remunerated from within the country visited.  | A visitor residing in a country, who travels to a place within the country, but outside his/her usual environment, for at least one night but no more than six months, and whose purpose of the visit is other than the exercise of an activity remunerated from with the place visited. |
| <b>Excursionist</b> | A visitor residing in a country who travels the same day to a country other than that in which he/she has his/her usual environment for less than 24 hours without spending the night in the country visited, and whose purpose of visit is other than the exercise of an activity remunerated from with the country visited. | A visitor who travels to a place within the country but outside his/her usual environment, for less than 24 hours without spending the night in the place visited, and whose main purpose of visit is other than the exercise of an activity remunerated from within the place visited.  |

Source: WTO (1991)

However, it is here maintained that the definition then proposed failed to be holistic in the important sense that it was demand-derived and made no inclusion of the hosts, their culture, heritage or place that was a home and not simply a location to be visited. Holistic definitions thus become difficult, but the 'economic' definition previously postulated can, it is suggested, be extended and thus tourism is:

The demand for, and supply of, accommodation and supportive services for those staying away from home, and the resultant patterns of (1) expenditure, income creation and employment that are created, (2) the social, cultural and environmental consequences that flow from visitation and (3) the psychological changes that result for both visitor and host.

Whilst this definition might lack the 'fun' that was thought important (and indeed it is recognised that fun and pleasure associated with tourism are important), it must be recognised that the psychological consequences of tourism cannot all be categorised as being pleasurable. At some times tourism might pose cathartic experiences that are life changing, or indeed, on fortunately rare occasions, travel may induce death or injury. It thus becomes possible to define tourism from at least four viewpoints: economic, technical, psychological and holistic. In turn these considerations can be used to analyse the nature of tourism. For the remainder of this, and the next two chapters, the demand for tourism will be considered and for this three separate, albeit related, approaches can be undertaken.

The first approach is to view tourism as a service or a product like any other, its demand determined by economic variables, and hence subject to the economic 'laws' of demand. Any economic study can be undertaken at both a micro- and a macro-level of analysis.

A second approach might be to view tourism and the nature of its demand as a reflection of social change. Indeed, this approach has become very popular with some commentators. For example, Urry (1990) considered tourism to both reflect and contribute to changes in the ways in which people 'gazed' upon society. In their analysis of tourism associated with issues sexual, Ryan and Hall (2001) argued that attempting to isolate what is called sex tourism not only from mainstream tourism but also from the socio-economic structures of society implies a failure to understand what sex tourism is about, or what motivates its current structures. The same comment can be made about tourism more generally.

A third approach is to attempt to understand what motivates visitors. In short a socio-psychological framework might also help to understand the demand for tourism, what it is that tourists seek, and to offer a context and explanation for the patterns of demand that emerge.

Thus this chapter is concerned with the economic determinants of demand for tourism, and will identify the variables thought important by economists, and the nature of the relationships between these variables. One important purpose of analysis is to enable prediction to occur, and so reference will also be made to the econometric literature that has sought to forecast tourism flows. Chapter 3 will subsequently examine how social trends interact with income distribution to help create new market

segments, and Chapter 4 will examine how psychological motives also help to define patterns of demand.

## The Economic Determinants of Demand for Tourism

While in themselves economic factors such as higher levels of income, levels of prices and exchange rates are not motivating factors for undertaking leisure travel, they are nonetheless important enabling variables. Additionally, there is a link between income and motivation because any higher income removes some of the uncertainties of life, thereby freeing people from the need to continually concern themselves with the need for shelter, warmth and food. Instead, people can then seek to enrich their lives not solely with the material but also with the experiential, and travel becomes an important means of experiencing and engaging with the new. From an economist's perspective, it is the enabling function of variables such as prices and income that are important as being both measurable and of predictive use. If a correlation can be shown between income and the amount of travel that will be undertaken, this permits a prediction that if income increases by  $x\%$  then travel will increase by  $y\%$ . From the pragmatic stance of those wishing to build roads, hotels, attractions and infrastructure, the potential use of such information is of obvious importance.

In conventional micro-economic theory, the demand for any product or service can be defined in terms of:

$$(1) \quad D_t = f(P_t, P_1 \dots P_n, Y, T)$$

where  $D_t$  = the demand for tourism

$P_t$  = the price of tourism

$P_1 \dots P_n$  are the prices of other goods

$Y$  = income

$T$  = taste.

These variables will be considered in turn, beginning with the role of income.

### The role of income

It can be hypothesised that, as incomes increase, so the demand for tourism is also likely to increase. However, studies show that, for the developed world and for most of the second half of the twentieth century, the demand for tourism increased faster than the growth of National Income (Cooper *et al.*, 1993). For example, expenditure on tourism proved remarkably resistant to the recession in the early 1970s that followed the oil crisis, and it would seem that the demand for tourism is income-elastic and, to a degree, price-inelastic. In other words, for any given percentage increase in income, tourism demand grows proportionately faster. On the other hand,