

Fourth edition

The Geography of Tourism and Recreation

Environment, place and space

C. Michael Hall and Stephen J. Page





THE GEOGRAPHY OF TOURISM AND RECREATION

Fourth edition

This fourth edition of *The Geography of Tourism and Recreation* provides students with a comprehensive introduction to the interrelationship between tourism, leisure and recreation from geographical and social science perspectives. It still remains the only book to systematically compare and contrast, in a spatial context, tourism and recreation in relation to leisure time, offering insight into the demand, supply, planning, destination management and impacts of tourism and recreation.

Whilst retaining its accessible style and approach, this edition has been significantly updated to reflect recent developments and new concepts from geography which are beginning to permeate the tourism and recreational field. New features include:

- content on the most recent developments, climate change, sustainability, mobilities and crisis management in time and space as well as trends such as low cost airlines and the control of land transport by transnational operators in the EU such as Arriva;
- more attention to management issues such as innovation and the spatial consequences for tourism and leisure development;
- new case studies and examples to showcase real life issues, from both developed and developing countries, especially the USA, China and South Africa;
- completely revised and redeveloped to accommodate new, user-friendly features: case studies, insights, summary points and learning objectives.

Written by leading academics, this is essential reading for all tourism, geography, leisure and recreation students.

An eResource including a case study archive and image bank is available for this title: www.routledge.com/9780415833998.

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Stephen J. Page is Professor of Tourism in the School of Tourism, Bournemouth University, author and editor of 36 books on Tourism, Leisure and Events, and Associate Editor of the journal *Tourism Management*.

“They just keep getting better and better. This new edition of *The Geography of Tourism and Recreation* is an outstanding example of contemporary and cutting-edge thinking in the dynamic subfield of tourism geographies. It exemplifies a heterogeneous approach to understanding the spatial implications of tourism, the industry and its functions in diverse settings and ecosystems, and its impacts on human and natural environments. For an innovative examination of current trends in tourism, this book is essential reading for anyone who studies, teaches, or practices the business, art and science of tourism.”

— Dallen J. Timothy, *Professor, School of Community Resources and Development,
Arizona State University, USA.*



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Fourth edition

C. Michael Hall and Stephen J. Page

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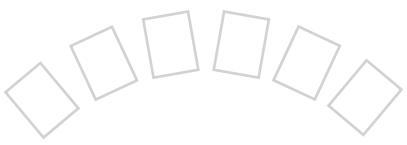
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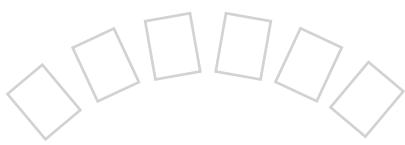
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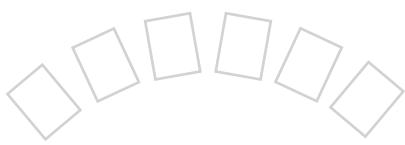
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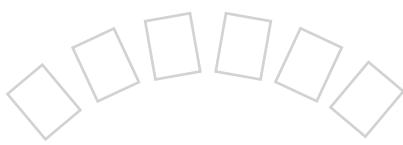
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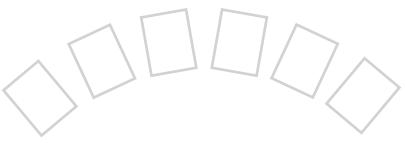
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Acknowledgements

The purpose of this book is to provide an account of the growth, development and changes that are occurring within the geography of tourism and recreation, a purpose made all the more interesting because it is written by two geographers who, at the time this manuscript was completed, did not work in geography departments. While the book covers a lot of material, the authors acknowledge that there are a number of significant areas which have not been fully covered, and could not be unless the book was almost twice its size and more encyclopaedic than some of the reviewers of the previous editions noted!

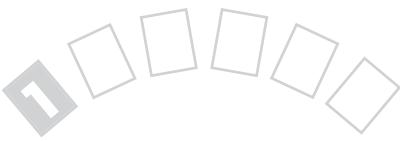
To a great extent this book concentrates on the developed world. However, it is not a discussion solely of Anglo-North American geography, as this would neglect the substantial contribution of geographers from Australia, New Zealand, Singapore, South Africa and the South Pacific; rather, it deals with the literature on the geography of tourism and recreation in English. This is not to deny the substantial research base that European and other geographers have in tourism and recreation (see Chapter 1). However, arguably, the majority of English-speaking geographers have developed most of their work in tourism and recreation in isolation from the European and Asian experience, although as tertiary education and research becomes increasingly globalised and English the international language of the academy, such isolation is changing rapidly.

This book therefore serves to identify many of the major concerns and interests of geographers in the fields of tourism and recreation. There is clearly a substantial body of work in the sub-discipline. However, as the book also notes, the field is not seen as seriously as perhaps it should be; a conclusion with substantial implications not only for the further development of the sub-discipline but also for the growth of tourism studies as a separate field of academic endeavour. Indeed, the book observes that we are in a time of transformation and change in terms of a better positioning of tourism and recreation issues within the contemporary concerns of social theory and human geography as well as global environmental change, while simultaneously also having increased demands to be more 'applied' with respect to industry and tourism education. The fourth edition has been thoroughly revised, updated and expanded within the very tight constraints of space. At a time of rapid growth in tourism- and recreation-related literature by geographers, this was more than a challenge. For that reason, many of the seminal and leading studies which have been incorporated where space permits are reflected in the bibliography. Indeed, one of the things that this book seeks to do is emphasise the substantial legacy of studies in the geography of tourism and recreation before all students of tourism and recreation needed to do was download articles from the web. And as the book demonstrates, tourism and recreation, and the geography of tourism and recreation in particular, are not new subjects!

Every edition of the book highlights new people to be thanked. In addition to previous acknowledgements, Michael Hall would like to thank Nicole Aigner, Tim Baird, Tim and Vanessa Coles, David and Melissa Duval, Stefan Gössling, Johan Hultman, John Jenkins, Dieter Müller, Paul Peeters, Jarkko Saarinen, Anna-Dora Saetorsdottir, Dan Scott, Dallen Timothy and Maria-Jose Zapata Campos, who have all recently contributed in various ways to some of the ideas contained within, although the interpretation of their

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Introduction

Tourism matters!

Geographical knowledge is more important than ever in an increasingly global and interconnected world.
How can a graduate claim to be a learned scholar without any understanding of geography?

(Susan Cutter, President of the Association of American Geographers, 2000: 2)

Who we are is shaped in part by where we are. Human interactions with each other and the environment are rooted in geographical understandings, as well as the opportunities and constraints of geographical circumstance. Geographical approaches and techniques offer critical insights into everything from local land-use decisions to international conflict.

(Alexander Murphy, President of the Association of American Geographers, 2004: 3)

Tourism is widely recognised as one of the world's most significant forms of economic activity. Despite concerns as to the effects of financial crises, climate change and the increasing costs of oil, tourism is forecast to continue to grow in the foreseeable future. In 2012, international tourist arrivals reached one billion for the first time, up from 25 million in 1950, 277 million in 1980 and 528 million in 1995 (United Nations World Tourism Organization [UNWTO] 2012a).

International tourism is projected to nearly double by 2030 (UNWTO 2011a) from its 2012 figure. The UNWTO predicts the number of international tourist arrivals will increase by an average 3.3 per cent per year between 2010 and 2030 (an average increase of 43 million arrivals a year), reaching an estimated 1.8 billion arrivals by 2030 (UNWTO 2011a, 2012a). Upper and lower forecasts for global tourism in 2030 are between approximately two billion arrivals ('real transport costs continue to fall' scenario) and 1.4 billion arrivals ('slower than expected economic

recovery and future growth' scenario), respectively (UNWTO 2011a).

However, tourism, tourists and their impacts are clearly not evenly distributed over space or over time (Tables 1.1–1.4). Substantial differentiation occurs at a variety of international, regional and local scales. Most growth is forecast to come from the emerging economies and the Asia-Pacific, and by 2030 it is estimated that 57 per cent of international arrivals will be in what are currently classified as emerging economies, e.g. China, India, Malaysia (UNWTO 2011a, 2012a) (Figure 1.1). The UNWTO suggests that international tourism in emerging and developing markets is growing at twice the rate of the industrialised countries that have been the mainstay of the global tourism industry for nearly all of the past 50 years. Nevertheless, the international geography of tourism is changing. The UNWTO (2007) estimated that tourism is a primary source of foreign exchange earnings in 46 out of 50 of the world's least developed countries (LDCs) (Figure 1.2). Between 1996 and

**Table 1.1 International tourism arrivals and forecasts
1950–2030 (millions)**

Year	World	Africa	Americas	Asia & Pacific	Europe	Middle East
1950	25.3	0.5	7.5	0.2	16.8	0.2
1960	69.3	0.8	16.7	0.9	50.4	0.6
1965	112.9	1.4	23.2	2.1	83.7	2.4
1970	165.8	2.4	42.3	6.2	113.0	1.9
1975	222.3	4.7	50.0	10.2	153.9	3.5
1980	278.1	7.2	62.3	23.0	178.5	7.1
1985	320.1	9.7	65.1	32.9	204.3	8.1
1990	439.5	15.2	92.8	56.2	265.8	9.6
1995	540.6	20.4	109.0	82.4	315.0	13.7
2000	687.0	28.3	128.1	110.5	395.9	24.2
2005	799.0	34.8	133.3	153.6	440.7	36.3
2010	940.0	50.2	150.7	204.4	474.8	60.3
forecast						
2020	1360	85	199	355	620	101
2030	1809	134	248	535	744	149

Source: WTO 1997; UNWTO 2006a, 2011a, 2012a.

**Table 1.2 Average annual growth in international tourism arrivals
and forecasts 1980–2030 (%)**

Year	World	Africa	Americas	Asia & Pacific	Europe	Middle East
1950–2000	6.8	8.3	5.8	13.1	6.5	10.1
1950–2005	6.5	8.1	5.4	12.5	6.1	10.1
1950–1960	10.6	3.7	8.4	14.1	11.6	12.3
1960–1970	9.1	12.4	9.7	21.6	8.4	11.5
1970–1980	5.3	11.6	4.0	13.9	4.7	14.3
1980–1990	4.7	7.8	4.1	9.3	4.1	3.1
1980–1985	2.9	6.1	0.9	7.4	2.7	2.7
1985–1990	6.5	9.5	7.3	11.3	5.4	3.5
1980–1995	4.4	6.7	3.8	8.9	3.7	4.5
1990–2000	4.6	6.4	3.3	7.0	4.1	9.6
1990–1995	4.2	6.1	3.3	8.0	3.5	7.3
1995–2000	4.9	6.7	3.3	6.0	4.7	12.0
2000–2005	3.3	5.7	0.8	7.1	2.2	10.0
1995–2010	3.9	6.7	2.1	6.3	3.0	10.5
forecast						
2010–2030	3.3	5.0	2.6	4.9	2.3	4.6
2010–2020	3.8	5.4	2.9	5.7	2.7	5.2
2020–2030	2.9	4.6	2.2	4.2	1.8	4.0

Source: UNWTO 2006a, 2012a.

2006, international tourism in developing countries expanded by 6 per cent, by 9 per cent for LDCs, and 8 per cent for other low and lower-middle income economies (UNWTO 2008). Growth between 2000 and 2009 was also most marked in emerging economies (58.8 per cent), with their overall global market share growing from 38.1 per cent in 2000 to 46.9 per cent in 2009 (UNEP 2011). Table 1.5 indicates that although travel as an export activity has continued to

grow over 2000–11 its relative proportion of total global export of services has declined, as with the developing countries, although its contribution to export activity in the LDCs has continued to grow over the same period. In addition, it should be noted that tourism's relative importance in service exports varies by region, with it being considerably more significant for Oceania and Africa, a slight decline in Asia and a considerable decline in the Americas.

However, changes in the international tourism market will also be related to domestic holiday travel, as consumers can switch their travel plans not only between international destinations but also between domestic and international destinations. It is extremely important to remember that although international tourism is usually the primary national policy focus because of its trade dimensions and it is where many national tourism organisations (NTOs) focus their marketing attention (Coles and Hall 2008), the vast majority of tourism is domestic in nature and accounted for an estimated 4.7 billion arrivals in 2010 (Cooper and Hall 2013) (Table 1.6).

Tourism, as with other forms of economic activity, therefore reflects the increasing interconnectedness of the international economy. Indeed, by its very nature, in terms of connections between generating areas, destinations and travel routes or paths, tourism is perhaps a phenomenon which depends more than most not only on transport, service and trading networks but also on social, political and environmental relationships between the consumers and producers of the tourist experience. Such issues have clearly long been

Table 1.3 International tourist arrivals by region per 100 population 1995–2030

(Sub)Region	1995	2010	2030
Western Europe	62	81	114
Southern/Mediterranean Europe	47	71	103
Northern Europe	42	63	80
Caribbean	38	48	65
Central/eastern Europe	15	25	47
Middle East	9	27	47
Southern Africa	9	22	46
Oceania	28	32	40
Central America	8	19	38
North Africa	6	15	28
South-East Asia	6	12	27
North America	21	21	26
North-East Asia	3	7	18
South America	4	6	13
East Africa	2	4	7
West and Central Africa	1	2	3
South Asia	0	1	2

Note: figures are rounded off.

Source: after UNWTO 2011a, 2011b.

Table 1.4 Generation of outbound tourism by region per 100 population 1980–2030

Year	World	Africa	Americas	Asia & Pacific	Europe	Middle East
1980	6	1	12	1	21	6
1995	9	2	14	3	36	6
2010	14	3	17	5	57	17
forecast						
2030	22	6	24	12	89	25

Source: after UNWTO 2011a, 2011b.

Table 1.5 Travel as an export activity 2000–11

Country grouping	Billions of dollars				As % of total services			
	2000	2005	2010	2011	2000	2005	2010	2011
World	479.4	694.6	950.5	1,067.4	31.5	27.1	24.8	25.2
Least developed countries	2.5	4.8	9.8	11.3	35.9	41.3	44.1	44.0
Developing economies	130.3	213.6	362.4	411.4	37.1	33.9	31.9	32.5
Developing economies excluding China	114.1	184.3	316.6	362.9	35.6	33.2	32.8	33.5
Developing economies: Africa	14.5	28.8	42.2	40.5	43.7	48.2	46.6	44.1
Developing economies: America	31.6	42.9	55.8	58.8	51.2	48.7	41.9	39.6
Developing economies: Asia	83.9	140.5	262.9	310.4	32.9	29.4	28.9	30.4
Developing economies: Oceania	0.3	1.4	1.5	1.7	33.4	45.9	45.6	46.1
Transition economies	8.4	20.5	29.5	35.8	34.8	35.6	28.6	29.6
Developed economies	340.7	460.5	558.5	620.2	29.7	24.5	21.5	21.7
Developed economies: America	111.5	119.9	151.9	166.8	33.9	27.7	24.3	24.6
Developed economies: Asia	8.6	9.5	18.0	15.9	10.0	7.8	10.9	9.2
Developed economies: Europe	209.0	309.0	354.9	400.6	29.6	24.1	20.3	20.6
Developed economies: Oceania	11.6	22.1	34.7	36.9	47.6	55.6	61.1	59.7

Source: adapted from UNCTAD 2008, 2012.

of interest to geographers. For example, according to Mitchell:

The geographer's point-of-view is a trilogy of biases pertaining to place, environment and relationships. . . . In a conceptual vein the geographer has traditionally claimed the spatial and chorographic aspects as his realm . . . The geographer, therefore, is concerned about earth space in general and about place and places in particular. The description, appreciation, and understanding of places is paramount to his thinking although two other perspectives (i.e. environment and relationships) modify and extend the primary bias of place.

(Mitchell 1979: 237)

Yet despite the global significance of tourism and the potential contribution that geography can make to the analysis and understanding of tourism, the position of tourism and recreation studies within geography is perhaps not as strong as it should be (Gibson 2008; Hall and Page 2009; Hall 2013a). However, within the fields of tourism and recreation studies outside mainstream academic geography, geographers have made enormous contributions to the understanding of tourism and recreation phenomena (Butler 2004; Gibson 2008, 2009, 2010; Hall and

Page 2009; Wilson 2012). It is therefore within this somewhat paradoxical situation that this book is written. Although the contribution of geography and geographers is widely acknowledged and represented in tourism and recreation departments and journals, relatively little recognition is given to the significance of tourism and recreation in geography departments, journals, non-tourism and recreation specific geography texts, and within other geography sub-disciplines (Hall 2013a). Although, as Lew (2001) noted, not only do we have an issue of how we define leisure, recreation and tourism (see pp. 7–11), but also there is the question of what is geographical literature.

This book takes an inclusive approach and includes material published by geographers who work in both geography and other academic departments; material published in geography journals; and, where appropriate, includes discussion of literature that has a geographical theme and which has influenced research by geographers in tourism and recreation. In part the categorisation of literature into either 'recreation' or 'tourism' is self-selecting in terms of the various works that we cite. If one was to generalise, recreation research tends to focus on more local behaviour, often has an outdoors focus and is less commercial. Tourism research tends to look at leisure mobility over greater

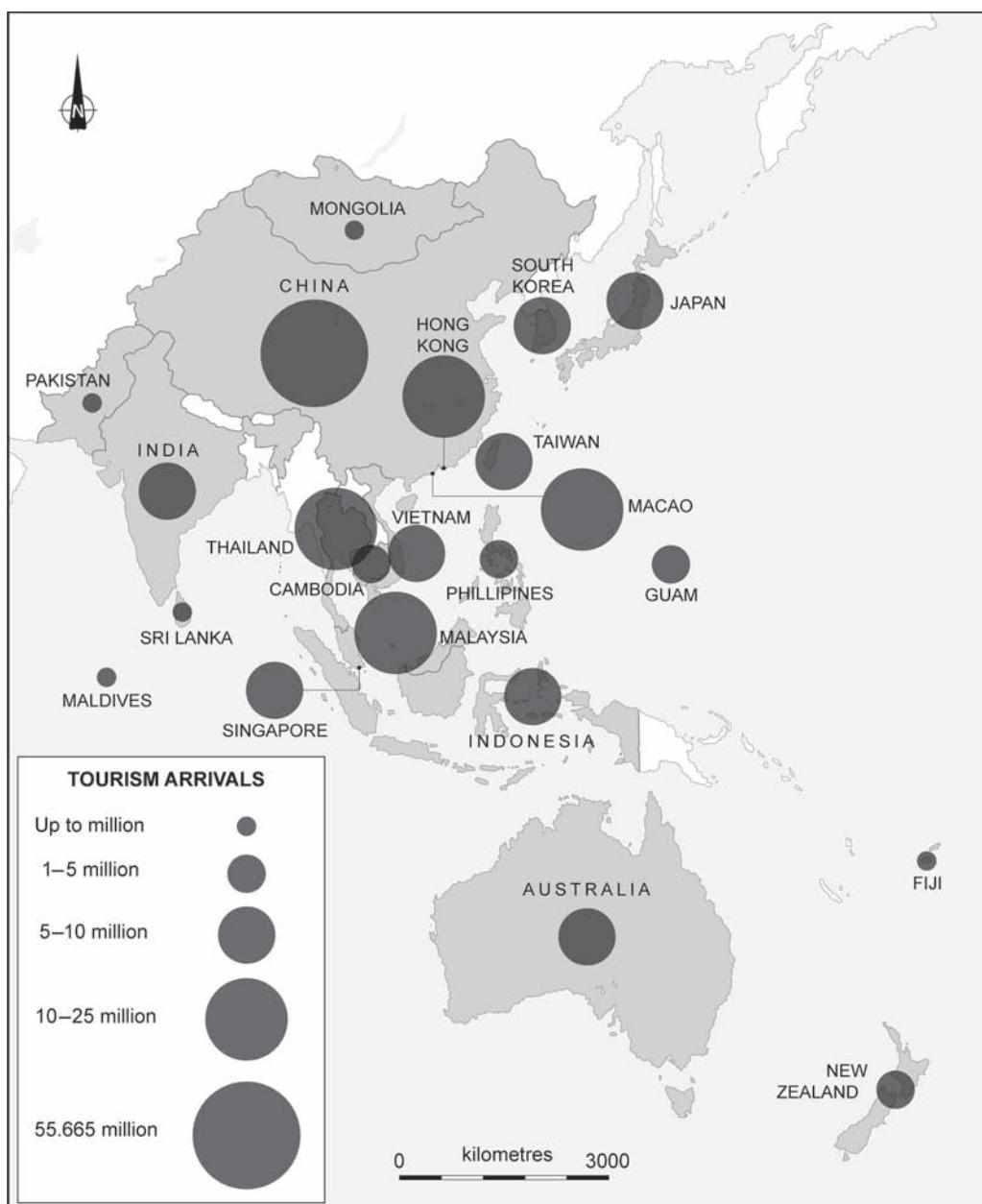


Figure 1.1 Tourism in Asia

Source: Developed from UNWTO data.

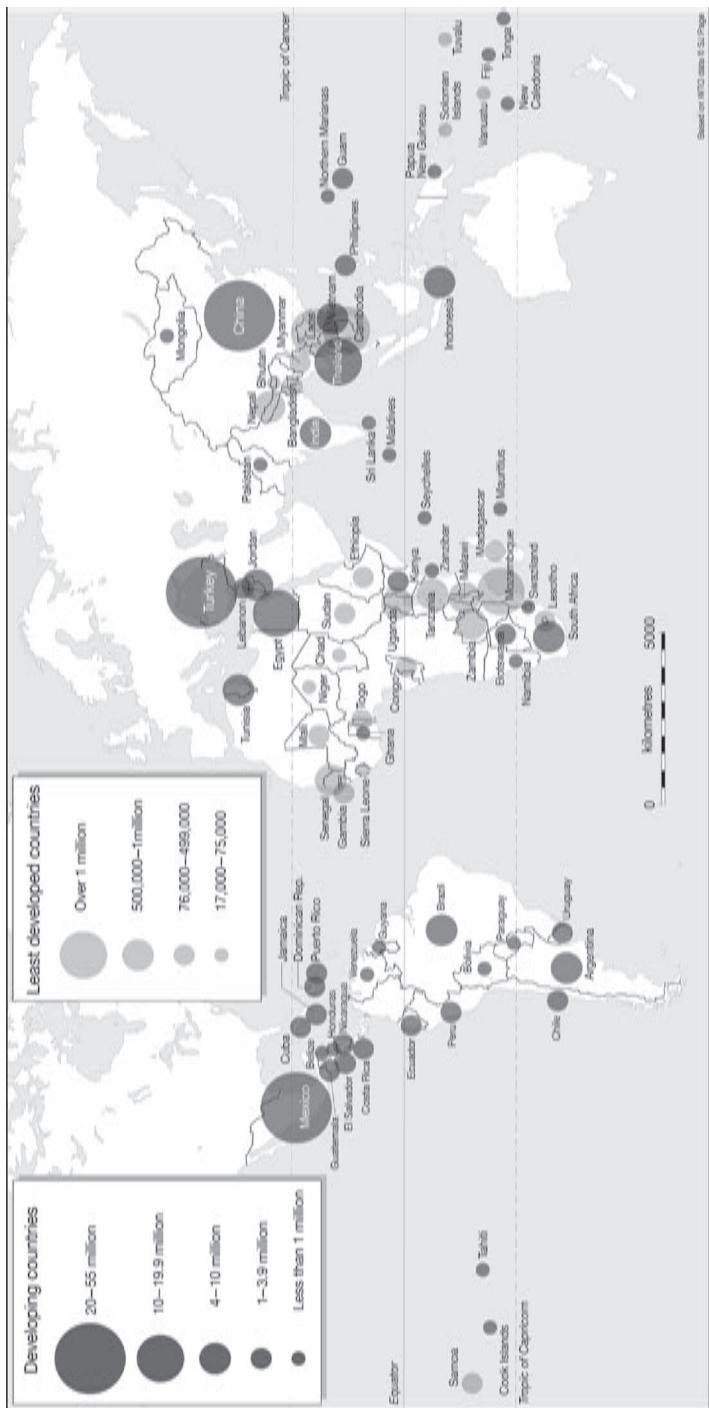


Figure 1.2 Tourism in the developing world

Source: Developed from UNWTO data.

Table 1.6 Global international and domestic tourist arrivals 2005–30

	Year/billions			
	2005	2010	2020	2030
Actual/estimated number of international visitor arrivals	0.80	0.94	1.36	1.81
Approximate/estimated number of domestic tourist arrivals	4.00	4.7	6.8	9.05
Approximate/estimated number of total tourist arrivals	4.80	5.64	8.16	10.86
Approximate/estimated global population	6.48	6.91	7.67	8.31

Note: actual and estimated forecasts of international visitor arrivals based on UNWTO (2012a); 2005 approximate figures based on Scott *et al.* (2008) and used to estimate domestic arrivals; approximate and estimated global population figures are based on United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs Population Division 2010 revisions in Cooper and Hall (2013).

distances, often international, usually including overnight stay, and is more commercial. However, such categories are not absolutes and arguably, as the book indicates, are increasingly converging over time. This book therefore seeks to explain how the contemporary situation of the geography of tourism and recreation has developed, indicate the breadth and depth of geographical research on tourism and recreation and its historical legacy, and identify ways in which the overall standing of research and scholarship by geographers on tourism and recreation may be improved, including their contributions to new and emerging themes. We therefore adopt the working definition of Hall:

Tourism geography is the study of tourism within the concepts, frames, orientations, and venues of the discipline of geography and accompanying fields of geographical knowledge. The notion of tourism geographies describes the multiple, and sometimes contested, theoretical, philosophical and personal orientations of those who undertake tourism research from geographical perspectives.

(Hall 2013a)

This first chapter is divided into several sections. First, it examines the relationship between tourism and recreation. Second, it provides an overview of the development of various approaches to the study of tourism and recreation within geography. Finally, it outlines the approach of this book towards the geography of tourism and recreation.

Tourism, recreation, leisure and mobility

Tourism, recreation and leisure are generally seen as a set of interrelated and overlapping concepts. While there are many important concepts, definitions of leisure, recreation and tourism remain contested in terms of how, where, when and why they are applied (Poria *et al.* 2003; Butler 2004; Coles and Hall 2006; Coles *et al.* 2006). In a review of the meaning of leisure, Stockdale (1985) identified three main ways in which the concept of leisure is used, and that continue to influence contemporary understandings of the concept:

- as a period of time, activity or state of mind in which choice is the dominant feature;
- an objective view in which leisure is perceived as the opposite of work and is defined as non-work or residual time;
- a subjective view which emphasises leisure as a qualitative concept in which leisure activities take on a meaning only within the context of individual perceptions and belief systems and can therefore occur at any time in any setting.

Leisure is therefore best seen as time over which an individual exercises choice and in which that individual undertakes activities in a free, voluntary way. Leisure activities have long been of considerable interest to geographers (e.g. Lavery 1975; Patmore 1977, 1978, 1979, 1980; Coppock 1982; Herbert 1987).

Traditional approaches to the study of leisure by geographers focused on leisure in terms of activities. In contrast, Glyptis (1981a) argued for the adoption of the concept of leisure lifestyles, which emphasised the importance of individual perceptions of leisure.

This allows the totality of an individual's leisure experiences to be considered and is a subjective approach which shifts the emphasis from activity to people, from aggregate to individual and from expressed activities to the functions which these fulfill for the participant and the social and locational circumstances in which he or she undertakes them.

(Herbert 1988: 243)

Such an experiential approach towards leisure has been extremely influential. For example, Featherstone (1987: 115) argued that the meaning and significance '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 lifestyle practices in which their meaning and significance is relationally defined with reference to structured oppositions and differences'. Such an experiential definition of leisure was also used by Shaw and Williams (1994) in their critical examination of tourism from a geographical perspective, and has arguably been important in understanding concepts from business studies such as 'the experience economy' (Pine and Gilmore 1999), in which the experiential dimension of leisure has come to be increasingly marketised and commoditised (Çaliskan and Callon 2009).

However, while such a phenomenological approach to defining leisure, and therefore tourism and recreation, is valuable in highlighting the social context in which leisure both is defined and occurs, it is clearly at odds with 'objective', technical approaches towards definitions which can be applied in a variety of situations and circumstances (see Chapter 2). Yet it should be emphasised that such definitions are being used for different purposes. A universally accepted definition of leisure, tourism and recreation is an impossibility. Definitions will change according to their purpose and context. They are setting the 'rules

of the game' or 'engagement' for discussion, argument and research. By defining terms we give meaning to what we are doing.

Even given the subjective nature of leisure, however, at a larger scale it may still be possible to aggregate individual perceptions and activities to provide a collective or commonly held impression of the relationship between leisure, tourism and recreation. In this sense, tourism and recreation were generally regarded as subsets of the wider concept of leisure (Coppock 1982; Herbert 1988). Figure 1.3 illustrates the relationship between leisure, recreation and tourism. As Parker (1999: 21) eloquently explained, 'It is through studying leisure as a whole that the most powerful explanations are developed. This is because society is not divided into sports players, television viewers, tourists and so on. It is the same people who do all these things.'

This indicates the value of viewing tourism and recreation as part of a wider concept of leisure. Broken lines are used to illustrate that the boundaries between the concepts are 'soft'. Work is differentiated from leisure, with there being two main realms of overlap: first, business travel, which is seen as a work-oriented form of tourism in order to differentiate it from leisure-based travel; second, serious leisure, which refers to the breakdown between leisure and work pursuits and the development of leisure career paths with respect to their hobbies and interests (Stebbins 1979). As Stebbins observed:

leisure in postindustrial society is no longer seen as chiefly a means of recuperating from the travail of the job . . . If leisure is to become, for many, an improvement over work as a way of finding personal fulfillment, identity enhancement, self-expression, and the like, then people must be careful to adopt those forms with the greatest payoff. The theme here is that we reach this goal through engaging in serious rather than casual or unserious leisure.

(Stebbins 1982: 253)

An important third dimension that incorporates elements of work (especially with respect to sense of

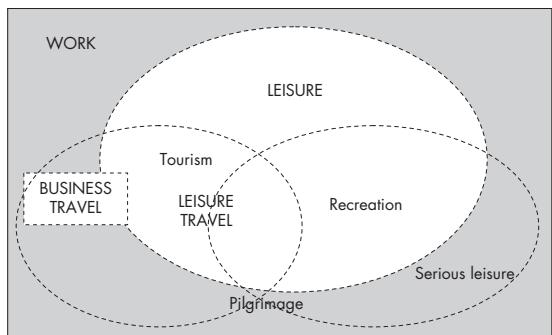


Figure 1.3 Relationships between leisure, recreation and tourism

obligation), leisure travel, tourism and serious leisure is that of pilgrimage, which is a major driver for tourism in countries such as India, Israel, Palestine, Saudi Arabia and the Vatican. Figure 1.3 also indicates the considerable overlap that exists between recreation and tourism which occurs with respect not only to conceptualising the field but also to the actual undertaking of activities. For example, D. Pearce (1987a: 1) observed that 'tourism constitutes one end of a broad leisure spectrum'.

Historically, research in outdoor recreation developed relatively independently of tourism research. As Crompton and Richardson (1986: 38) noted: 'Traditionally, tourism has been regarded as a commercial economic phenomenon rooted in the private domain. In contrast, recreation and parks has been viewed as a social and resource concern rooted in the public domain.' This has been very much influenced by traditional mid-nineteenth and twentieth century perspectives on recreation as a public good, although changes in the role of the state in the late twentieth century led to a more commercial outlook on recreation that has brought it closer to tourism's business foundations (Dredge and Jenkins 2007, 2011). Since the 1960s outdoor recreation studies have focused on public sector (i.e. community and land management agencies) concerns, such as wilderness management, social carrying capacity and non-market valuation of recreation experiences. In contrast, tourism tended to have a more 'applied orientation' which concentrated

on private sector (i.e. tourism industry) concerns, such as the economic impacts of travel expenditures, travel patterns and tourist demands, and advertising and marketing (Harris *et al.* 1987).

Although the division between public and private activities may have held relatively true from the end of the post-war period through to the early 1980s, in more recent years the division between public and private sector activities has been substantially eroded in western countries (Hall and Jenkins 1995; Dredge and Jenkins 2007; Hall 2011a). The distinction between tourism and recreation may therefore be regarded as one of degree. Tourism primarily relates to leisure and business travel activities that centre around visitors to a particular destination, which will typically involve an infusion of new money from the visitor into the regional economy (Hall 1995). From this perspective, tourism is a primary industry which, through visitor spending, increases employment opportunities and tax revenues, and enhances the community's overall economic base. On the other hand, recreation generally refers to leisure activities that are undertaken by the residents of an immediate region, with their spending patterns primarily involving a recycling of money within the community associated with day, overnight and extended-stay recreation trips.

Natural settings and outdoor recreation opportunities are clearly a major component of tourism, perhaps especially so since the development of interest in nature-based and ecotourism activities (e.g. Valentine 1984, 1992; Lindberg and McKercher 1997). Indeed, outdoor recreation and tourist resources should be seen as complementary contexts and resources for leisure experiences. The reality is that as tourism and recreation studies have grown and borrowed concepts from each other (Ryan 1991), and as society has changed, particularly with respect to the role of government, so the demarcation line between recreation and tourism has rapidly become 'fuzzy and overlap is now the norm' (Crompton and Richardson 1986: 38). As Pigram argued:

Little success has been afforded to those attempting to differentiate between recreation and tourism and such distinctions appear founded on the

assumption that outdoor recreation appeals to the rugged, self-reliant element in the population, whereas tourism caters more overtly for those seeking diversion without too much discomfort.

(Pigram 1985: 184)

Similarly, in a wider context, Jansen-Verbeke and Dietvorst (1987: 263) argued that, 'in the perception of the individual at least, the distinction between recreation and tourism is becoming irrelevant'. As with Shaw and Williams (1994), we would argue that this is not completely the case, particularly with respect to how individuals define their own activities as well as their economic significance. Aitchison (2006) has also sought to argue that leisure studies has also been a more critical and culturally informed disciplinary approach than tourism. Yet, this is a gross oversimplification of the fields and fails to recognise the potentially critical and counter-institutional value of quantitative and non-'cultural' research in tourism and leisure studies (Ayikoru *et al.* 2009; Peeters and Landré 2011; Hall 2012a). However, despite some misgivings by a few individuals, it is readily apparent that there is increasing convergence between the two concepts in terms of theory, activities and impacts, particularly as recreation becomes increasingly commercialised and the boundaries between public and private responsibilities in recreation and leisure change substantially. It is interesting to note the inclusion of a same-day travel, 'excursionist' category in official international guidelines for the collection and definition of tourism statistics, thereby making the division between recreation and tourism even more arbitrary (United Nations (UN) 1994). Tourism may therefore be interpreted as only one of a range of choices or styles of recreation expressed through either travel or a temporary short-term change of residence. Technical definitions of tourism are examined in more detail in Chapter 2.

A more recent approach to conceptualising tourism is to regard tourism as simply one, albeit highly significant, form of human mobility (Bell and Ward 2000; Coles *et al.* 2004; Hall 2005a, 2005b; Sheller and Urry 2006; Hannam 2008; Adey 2010), with Coles *et al.* (2004) arguing that research on tourism

must be willing to formulate a coherent approach to understanding the meaning behind the range of mobilities undertaken by *individuals*, not tourists. The notion of tourism as a form of mobility has therefore meant the development of an approach that relates tourism to other dimensions of mobility such as migration (King *et al.* 2000; Williams and Hall 2000; Hall and Williams 2002; Duval 2003), transnationalism and diaspora (Coles and Timothy 2004; Coles *et al.* 2004), second homes (Hall and Müller 2004; Müller 2006, 2011; Paris 2009) and long distance mobility (Frändberg and Vilhelmsen 2003). Such approaches parallel recent developments in sociology (Urry 2000, 2004) but actually have a far longer lineage dating to the work of geographers such as Hägerstrand (1970, 1984) and Pred (1977) on time geography, which itself was a major influence on sociology (Giddens 1984). Indeed, considerations of mobility in tourism are nothing new. For example, Wolfe (1966: 7) observed that 'most students of recreation concentrate on the reasons for travel, but few have much to say about the significance of mobility'. Mobility is 'at the very heart of certain aspects of leisure activity today—outdoor recreation in particular and, by definition, recreational travel'. Similarly, Cosgrove and Jackson, in writing on resort development, noted:

'Fashion' is therefore capable of analysis, and it can be shown to be motivated by social distinction, which is characterised by geographical segregation. Within the confines of such segregated areas individual initiative may then account for variations in development. The geographic mobility of the different social strata results in continuous changes in the location and extent of these segregated areas. The word 'mobility' is used here deliberately rather than accessibility, since access alone did not create the resorts of the nineteenth century. Only when incomes were sufficiently high and when free time was readily available could the facilities of access be fully exploited.

(Cosgrove and Jackson 1972: 34)

Cosgrove and Jackson's (1972) identification of time and income level is highly significant for the study of

tourism (Hall 2005a, 2005b), for while time budgets have been a major focus of time geography, their role in tourism has been relatively little explored. Arguably, one of the main reasons for this is that tourism is often portrayed as being an escape from the routine (Hall 2005a, 2005b). Yet space–time compression has led to fundamental changes to individual space–time paths in recent years. The routinised space–time paths of those living in 2014 are not the same as those of people in 1984 when Giddens was writing and even more so in the 1960s and 1970s when Hägerstrand (1970) was examining daily space–time trajectories (Hall 2005a, 2005c). Instead, for those with sufficient income and time, particularly in the developed world, extended voluntary leisure or business travel (what we would usually describe as tourism) is part of their routine on a seasonal or annual basis, and for some highly mobile individuals, on a weekly or even daily basis. Indeed, some have argued that tourism is part of a ‘mobility gap’ in which the ‘hypermobile’ or ‘kinetic elite’ travel ever more frequently while many do not travel far for leisure or business at all (Gössling *et al.* 2009c). For example, it is estimated that the percentage of the world’s population participating in international air travel is in the order of just 2–3 per cent (Peeters *et al.* 2006). Immobility is therefore just as important to understand as mobility (Adey 2006; Hall 2010a, 2011b). Accessibility and mobility have long been regarded as integral to the development process (e.g. Addo 1995). In the African context, Pirie has also powerfully noted that

The mobility gap may match the wide differentials of income and life chances on the continent; it is surely rooted in and expresses gaps in privilege and plenty. The condition presupposes what might be termed a ‘mobility morality’.

Super-mobile people are at one end of the mobility scale. At the other extreme are Africans stranded in rural villages where mobility deprivation is acute. They are the kinetic underclass.

(Pirie 2009: 22)

Pirie (2009: 21) also concludes that the ‘way we act on, and the way we think, talk and write about,

geographical mobility needs reconceptualising in terms of fairness, equity, environmental justice, and human rights’. Yet issues of who does not travel and why receives only passing interest in most mainstream tourism research, leading Hall (2005b) to argue that one possible interpretation of this is that the study of tourism is intrinsically the study of the wealthy, particularly given the relative lack of research in tourism as to those who do not travel and are relatively immobile – as you have to be relatively wealthy in time and money to be able to travel for leisure. But leaving such sanguine aside, the dominant discourse in tourism focuses on the ‘given’ of mobility and movement rather than immobility, and issues of social and economic exclusion are more likely to be dealt with in relation to destination communities in the developing world under the umbrella of pro-poor tourism than the exclusion of potential consumers from tourism opportunities *per se* because of wider economic disparities in society (Hall 2010a).

Despite the expansion of spatial mobility for many people, time constraints still operate; there is always only a finite amount of time in which people can travel in or take part in touristic activities (Hägerstrand 1970; Pred 1977; Hall 2005a). Through increased access to transport resources and the economic capacity to utilise them it may be possible to increase the amount of geographical space available to visit within a given time. Given that a travel money budget represents the fraction of disposable income devoted to travel, a fixed travel money budget establishes a direct relationship between disposable income and distance travelled, provided average user costs of transport remain constant (see Schafer and Victor 2000). If people are on a fixed time budget, then those who are willing to pay the increased costs will shift from one mode of transport to another so as to increase speed and therefore reduce the amount of time engaged in travelling relative to other activities within the constraints of the overall time budget (Schafer 2000; Hall 2005a), thereby challenging both conceptually and technically the commonly used approaches to defining tourism in time (see Chapter 2).

The issue of scale: empiricism, paradigms and transformations

The geographer's preoccupation with place, space and environment, all of which feature in many of the seminal studies of geography (e.g. Haggett 1979), reveals a preoccupation with the fundamental concept of scale (Del Casino and Hanna 2000). For the geographer, it is the scale at which phenomena are studied, analysed and explained which differentiates it from many other areas of social science. The ability to recognise phenomena at different geographical scales ranging from global, national, regional through to local scales and the interactions of processes and change at each scale have traditionally been the hallmark of an empiricist geography (see Johnston 1991 for more detail). The preoccupation with building and 'testing' models and theories in human geography and their application to tourism and recreation has largely mirrored trends in the main discipline, while new developments in behavioural geography, humanistic geography, spatial analysis, environmental studies and cultural geography have also influenced tourism and recreation geographers (Hall and Page 2009; Wilson 2012).

What began to develop during the 1990s and has now gathered momentum in tourism and recreation geography is the evolution of new paradigms (i.e. ways of thinking about and conceptualising research problems). As a result, developments in the 'new cultural geography' have begun to permeate, transform and redefine the way in which geographers approach tourism and recreation. Crouch (1999a) conceptualised leisure and tourism as an encounter, in the anthropological tradition, noting the geographer's contribution to this perspective, where the concern is between people, between people and space and the contexts of leisure/tourism. However, what is a fundamental redefinition of geographers' concern with space is the manner in which space is viewed and contextualised. Crouch (1999a) argued that space may be something material, concrete, metaphorical or imagined questioning the traditional notion of location and space, where activity is located. This new conceptualisation is reflected in that 'The country and the

city, the garden, the beach, the desert island, and the street hold powerful metaphorical attention in significant areas of leisure/tourism' (Crouch 1999a: 4).

This concern with conceptions from cultural geography, where space is something metaphorical, whereby it is something that shapes people's enjoyment of leisure/tourism, derives many of its origins from humanistic geography (Relph 1976, 1981) and cultural studies. For example, Squire (1994) argued that leisure and recreation practices are a reflection of the way in which people make maps of meaning of their everyday world. This concern with the individual or group, the human experience and the symbolic meaning of leisure and tourism in space, has opened a wide range of geographical avenues for research in tourism and recreation. For example, Cloke and Perkins (1999) examined representations of adventure tourism, exploring many of the issues of meaning and symbols.

Williams and Kaltenborn's (1999) analysis of the use and meaning of recreational cottages is significant in this context because it also questioned the traditional notion of geography and tourism, with the focus on tourism as a temporary phenomenon in time and space (see also Williams and Hall 2000). Indeed, they argued that tourism and leisure needs to be viewed as a more dynamic phenomenon, where the circulation and movement of people in space is the rule rather than the exception. The movement to tourism and leisure spaces therefore adds meaning, by allowing people to establish an identity and to connect with place. In other words, tourism and leisure are deeply embedded in everyday lives and the meaning that people attach to their lives, since changing work practices and less separation of work, leisure and pleasure have made tourism and recreation more important to people's lives (Hiltunen *et al.* 2013).

The influence of cultural geography is also to be found in studies of tourism in the urban context. Culture, and cultural tourism in particular, is integral to many urban regeneration strategies (Jayne 2006). Culture in this context can be understood both in a narrow commoditised sense with respect to specific cultural attractions, such as arts, heritage, museums

and events, as well as in the wider notion of the ways of life of those who live in particular locations (which, of course, may also be commoditised via advertising, promotion and visitor consumption) (Hall 2013b). Either way, the significant interactions between culture, urban political economy and regeneration have become enmeshed in the development of 'cultural economy' (Scott 2001). The contemporary importance of culture in urban political economy is therefore a result not only of the increasing explicit use of culture as an economic development strategy (e.g. European Capitals of Culture or the use of museums and art galleries as economic flagships), but also of the growth of postmodernism and new conceptualisations of the culture–economy relationship (e.g. gender studies, ethnic networks, postcolonialism, sexual identities, performativity, virtual space), what is sometimes referred to as the 'cultural turn' in the social sciences (Ribera-Fumaz 2009).

The development of new cultural geographies of leisure and tourism reflects the broader cultural turn in the wider discipline (Johnston and Sidaway 1997; Smith *et al.* 2012). Yet such 'turns' or paradigms are the norm in human geography and reflect tourism geography's connections with not only geography and the other social sciences but also changes in society. Furthermore, the absorption of such ideas does not necessarily mean that previous notions 'disappear'; rather, new synergies occur – as well as new debates and schisms. Such movements, as we will see, are very much the norm in the history of geography and tourism geography in particular, and the lack of a specific frame of reference or guiding research agenda to incorporate these perspectives into mainstream tourism and recreation geography should not necessarily be seen as a negative. Instead it means that debate is very much alive, although the key issue, of course, for any student of tourism geography, is to be able to understand the range of perspectives that are able to be applied to tourism problems and their relative advantages and disadvantages. With these issues in mind, attention now turns to the historical development of the geography of tourism and recreation and a discussion of many of the formative studies.

Development of the geography of tourism and recreation

Tourism and recreation have been the subject of research and scholarship in Anglo-American geography since the early twentieth century, with an early focus on demographic and economic issues (Cleveland 1910; Wrigley 1919; Whitbeck 1920; Allix 1922; Cornish 1930, 1934; McMurray 1930; Jones 1933; O'Dell 1935; Selke 1936; Carlson 1938), as well as the role of recreation in the national parks and national forest areas of the United States (e.g. Carhart 1920; Graves 1920; Meinecke 1929; Atwood 1931; Chapman 1938). Brown offered what he termed 'an invitation to geographers' in the following terms:

From the geographical point of view the study of tourism offers inviting possibilities for the development of new and ingenious techniques for research, for the discovery of facts of value in their social implications in what is virtually a virgin field.

(Brown 1935: 471)

However, as Campbell (1966: 85) wryly commented, 'it would appear that this invitation was declined'. As Deasy (1949: 240) observed: 'because of the inadequate attention to the tourist industry by geographers, there exists a concomitant dearth of techniques, adaptable to the collection, analysis, interpretation and cartographic representation of geographical data of the subject'. Yet the period from 1945 to the late 1960s is perhaps not as barren as Campbell would have us believe.

Building on the initial research on tourism and recreation in American economic geography in the 1930s, research was primarily undertaken in the post-war period in the United States on the economic impact of tourism both in a regional destination setting (e.g. Crisler and Hunt 1952; Ullman 1954; Ullman and Volk 1961; Deasy and Griess 1966) and on travel routes (Eiselen 1945). Although Cooper's (1947) discussion of issues of seasonality and travel motivations foreshadowed some of the geographical research of the 1980s and 1990s, interest in this topic lay dormant for many years. Nevertheless, the

geography of recreation and tourism was at least of a sufficient profile in the discipline to warrant a chapter in an overview text on the state of geography in the United States in the 1950s (McMurray 1954). (See also Meyer-Arendt's (2000) article on tourism as a subject of North American doctoral dissertations and master's theses from 1951 to 1998.)

In Britain, significant research was undertaken by Gilbert (1939, 1949, 1954) on the development of British seaside resorts, with geographers also contributing to government studies on coastal holiday development (*Observer* 1944). But, little further direct research was undertaken on tourism and recreation in the United Kingdom until the 1960s, although some doctoral work on resorts was undertaken (Butler 2004). There was certainly an interest from the generation of geographers studying patterns of tourism and recreation in postcolonial South Asia, as Robinson (1972) noted the contribution of earlier studies by Spencer and Thomas (1948), Withington (1961) and Sopher (1968). In Canada over the same period substantive geographical research on tourism was primarily focused on one geographer, Roy Wolfe (1964), whose early work on summer cottages in Ontario (Wolfe 1951, 1952), laid the foundation for later research on the geography of second home development (e.g. Coppock 1977a; Hall and Müller 2004) and tourism and migration (Williams and Hall 2000; Hall and Williams 2002).

While significant work was undertaken on tourism and recreation from the 1930s to the 1950s, it was not really until the 1960s that research started to accelerate, with a blossoming of publications on tourism and recreation in the 1970s. During the 1960s several influential reviews were undertaken of the geography of tourism and recreation (Murphy 1963; Wolfe 1964, 1966; Winsberg 1966; Mitchell 1969a, 1969b; Mercer 1970), while a substantive contribution to the development of the area also came from regional sciences (e.g. Guthrie 1961; Christaller 1963; Piperoglou 1966), and the conceptual developments and research undertaken on carrying capacity in a resource and land management context (Lucas 1964; Wagar 1964) still resonate in present-day discussions on sustainability and environmental management

(Coccosis 2004; Hall and Lew 2009). Nevertheless, even as late as 1970, Williams and Zelinsky (1970: 549) were able to comment that 'virtually all the scholarship in the domain of tourism has been confined to intra-national description and analysis'. Indeed, in commenting on the field of tourism research as a whole they observed:

In view of its great and increasing economic import, the probable significance of tourism in diffusing information and attitudes, and its even greater future potential for modifying patterns of migration, balance of payments, land use, and general socio-economic structure with the introduction of third-generation jet transport and other innovations in travel, it is startling to discover how little attention the circulation of tourists has been accorded by geographers, demographers, and other social scientists.

(Williams and Zelinsky 1970: 549)

Yet, in one sense, the focus of tourism and recreation geographers on domestic tourism should not be surprising given that the vast majority of people could not afford to travel internationally and those that could afford to take holidays did so domestically. It was not until the arrival of the age of mass aviation in the late 1960s that this picture would start to change substantially. Geographers were only reflecting their times. Nevertheless, Mercer's (1970: 261) comment with respect to leisure was definitely apt: 'Until recently geographers have had surprisingly little to say about the implications of growing leisure time in the affluent countries of the world. Even now, leisure still remains a sadly neglected area of study in geography.' Butler (2004: 146) noted that a large body of research on recreation and leisure was undertaken in North America by geographers and non-geographers alike, although 'Until the 1980s it was hard to find much research on tourism conducted in North America by geographers, except for the work of British ex-patriots (Butler, Marsh, Murphy and Wall, for example) and their students'.

During the 1970s and early 1980s, a number of influential texts and monographs appeared in the

geography literature (e.g. Lavery 1971c; Cosgrove and Jackson 1972; Coppock and Duffield 1975; Matley 1976; Robinson 1976; Coppock 1977a; Pearce 1981, 1987a; Mathieson and Wall 1982; Patmore 1983; Pigram 1983; Smith 1983a), giving the appearance of a healthy area of research. Indeed, a number of extremely significant concepts in the tourism literature, such as a tourism area life cycle (Butler 1980) and the notion of a tourism system (Board *et al.* 1978), emerged from geographers during this period before being taken on board and popularised in the work of other researchers such as Leiper (Hall and Page 2010). For example, in their 1972 study of leisure behaviour in the Dartmoor National Park, Board *et al.* commented:

The tourism system then consists of concentrations of visitors (nodes) and road networks (links) set within areas of varying character: the relationships between them are expressed in terms of flows of people. Researchers set out to examine a tourist system in inner Dartmoor . . . by making observations at all major nodes, several minor nodes and three sets of links in the network, here called circuits.

The information collected related to three basic properties of the system—the characteristics of the visitors, the activities they carry out at these various places and between various places within it.

(Board *et al.* 1978: 46)

However, despite the growth in publications by geographers on tourism and recreation, concerns were being expressed about the geography of tourism. In the introduction to a special issue of *Annals of Tourism Research* on the geography of tourism, Mitchell (1979: 235) observed that 'the geography of tourism is limited by a dearth of published research in geographical journals, the relatively few individuals who actively participate in the sub-discipline, and the lack of prestige the subject matter specialty has in geography'. In the same issue, Pearce (1979: 246), in an excellent historical review of the field, commented, 'even after half a century, it is difficult to speak of the geography of tourism as a subject with any coherence within the

wider discipline of geography or in the general field of tourism studies'. Smith, in a discussion of recreation geography, referred to the development of geographies of recreation and leisure in terms of Kuhn's (1969) notion of paradigms:

One might also argue that recreation geography is in a pre-paradigmatic state—The history of recreation geography is one of growing intellectual diversity with no convergence towards a set of unified theories and methods . . . If there is any special challenge that recreation geography is faced with as a field of intellectual activity it is not the lack of a paradigm.

(Smith 1982: 19)

Nevertheless, in a comment as appropriate now as it was then, he went on to note that there was 'a lack of appreciation and knowledge of past accomplishments and of the complexity of the field' (Smith 1982: 19).

Pearce (1995a: 3) also argued that 'the geography of tourism continues to lack a strong conceptual and theoretical base'; even so, models such as Butler's (1980, 2006) cycle of evolution and those reviewed in Pearce (1987a) have assisted to a limited degree in developing a conceptual understanding, while Mitchell (1991: 10) also expressed concern that 'there is no widely accepted paradigm or frame-of-reference that serves as a guide to tourism research'. Indeed, Butler (2000, 2004) has even argued not only that leisure, recreation and tourism (LRT) research may have a negative image in geography, but also that 'geography pales in terms of its influence in LRT compared to economics, sociology and even anthropology' (Butler 2004: 152; see also Meyer-Arendt and Lew 1999). These comments therefore raise questions about the contemporary status of the geography of tourism and recreation, and it is to these concerns that we now turn.

Status of the geography of tourism and recreation

Since 2005 there has been a burst of reflective reviews and collections on tourism geography (e.g. Gibson

2008, 2009, 2010; Nepal 2009a, 2009b; Wilson 2012). Several reasons can be given. Tourism geography is undergoing a significant generational change as those geographers who gained their doctorates in the 1970s or previous decades enter retirement (Hall and Page 2009). Such a change is leading to a 'stock take' of the field before cultural, disciplinary and personal memories fade (Hall and Page 2009, 2010; Smith 2010, 2011; Gill 2012). The generation that is now entering retirement is not the first generation of tourism geographers but, given the expansion of tourism as an academic field, it is the first generation whose work has simultaneously existed in both geography and tourism studies (Hall 2013a). Their work is also significant because they were the first generation whose publications become internationalised as a result of information and communication technology, and of the confirmation of English as the dominant language of the international academy (Hall 2013a). In addition, there has been a clear change in publishing style, with review papers given greater importance in tourism- and geography-related journals. This is perhaps related to the need for greater intellectual stocktaking at a time of rapidly expanding publication rates. The field has also been served with

multi-authored edited handbooks and companions on tourism geography (Lew *et al.* 2004, 2014; Wilson 2012), as well as other thematic volumes edited by geographers (Page and Connell 2012; Holden and Fennell 2013; Smith and Richards 2013; Hall *et al.* 2014).

The study of the geography of tourism and recreation does not occur in isolation from wider trends in geography and academic discourse, nor of the society of which we are a part. Tourism and recreation geographers are 'a society within a society', academic life 'is not a closed system but rather is open to the influences and commands of the wider society which encompasses it' (Johnston 1991: 1). The study of the development and history of a discipline 'is not simply a chronology of its successes. It is an investigation of the sociology of a community, of its debates, deliberations and decisions as well as its findings' (Johnston 1991: 11). Yet this also means that there is no 'view from nowhere'; knowledge is always 'local, situated and embedded' (Shapin 1998: 6). Recognition of how knowledge is produced and circulated is therefore fundamental to establishing its credibility, its beneficiaries and how it is read in different places (Hall 2013a). (See Box 1.1.)

BOX 1.1 PRODUCING GEOGRAPHICAL KNOWLEDGE

At a time when there is much emphasis on knowledge management and transfer in tourism geography (Cooper 2006; Coles *et al.* 2008; Shaw and Williams 2009; Williams and Shaw 2011) there is a need to understand how the knowledge of tourism geography travels and is made as it circulates. Agnew (2007) identifies four dominant approaches in considering knowledge production that inform thinking about tourism geographies (Hall 2013a): the market of ideas, conceptions of world geography, temporal periodicity and the categorisation of knowledge.

Knowledge may be regarded as a commodity like any other that competes and is exchanged in the 'marketplace of ideas'. Ideally, success is dependent on the truthfulness of the idea as it competes in the evolutionary competition of ideas in research institutes and universities as well as the users of such knowledge in the public and private sectors. Alternatively, it could be argued that the marketplace of ideas is not a level playing field and how knowledge becomes normalised or dominant – or marginal – has something to do with the proponent and where they are located (Agnew 2007) as well as the receptors and sponsors of knowledge (Truong and Hall 2013; Hall 2014). This perspective is important for not only describing the geography of knowledge transfer and the mobility of tourism and recreation knowledge, but also the marginality of ideas, including perhaps that of tourism geography itself (Hall 2013a).

The manner in which world geography is conceived is significant because it influences perspectives on ease of movement, directional bias and the role of time. The question of where and when ‘brings together a wide range of potential ontological and epistemological effects’ under the rubric of spatial and temporal difference (Agnew and Livingstone 2011: 7). Many theoretical positions contain within them specific grids of space and periods of time that can ‘disturb’ commonly held spatial and temporal designations, i.e. reference to a location such as ‘Asia’ or the ‘Mediterranean’, or a time period such as ‘modern’, that influence knowledge formation and reproduction (Deprest 2002; Hall, 2009a; Teo 2009; Winter 2009).

Space may be characterised in terms of progressive temporal periods. This is most closely associated with notions of developed and less developed countries and regions, but is also clearly tied in to intellectual ideas on tourism development processes (Butler 2006; Hall and Lew 2009). Finally, there is the contrast often drawn between space, the general and universal, and place, the local and specific. However, Cloke and Johnston (2005a) highlight the relationality of space and place and the deconstruction of concepts that are often presented as binary categories, including the categorisation of knowledge into ‘socially created’ academic disciplines. ‘In academic life, just as everywhere else, we simplify by creating categories – and then people identifying with those categories come into conflict’ (Cloke and Johnston 2005b: 4).

Academic communities argue on both empirical and theoretical grounds, and what constitutes evidence ‘becomes a way of challenging the very meaningfulness of a particular concept from those affiliated to . . . some competing concept or theory’ (Agnew and Livingstone 2011: 13). Claiming that tourism is atheoretical or poorly theorised (Franklin and Crang 2001) becomes a way of challenging or demeaning the value of research not undertaken within a particular theoretical context (Hall 2005a, 2005b). In addition, criticisms may also be grounded in disputes over method, social-normative qualities and ethics – concerns over the way knowledge is ‘made’ (Hall 2013a).

One other interesting aspect of the production of geographical knowledge is that it is important to recognise that not only ideas circulate but also tourism geographers. Of the 59 most cited (>5 publications) authors in Hall and Page (2006) and Wilson (2012) 22 had multiple institutional affiliations in different countries, with several having visiting positions in non-English speaking countries simultaneously with their permanent position. Such movement reflects not only the transfer of tourism geographers from geography departments to business schools (Hall and Page 2009; Smith 2010, 2011; Gill 2012), but also the interest of some institutions in non-English speaking countries in embedding the academic and linguistic capacities of Anglophone academics in their own knowledge production and promotion. The creation of such transnational networks is ‘less intense and durable than local networks’ (Lillis and Curry 2010: 86) but is intensely attractive to institutions and departments seeking to increase their international profile. Of course, individual mobility and linkages reflect academic interests, career development and personal lifestyle reasons as well as, in some cases, financial incentives. Whatever the reasons for the circulation and stickiness of ideas and academics, they will have undoubtedly effects on the institutional and disciplinary characteristics of tourism geography (Hall 2013a).

The problem in tourism and recreation is that the organisation, management and funding of research is primarily a public and private sector activity. In this sense, it raises moral dilemmas for the geographer since it is increasingly difficult to disengage from the public policy framework or economic/decision-making context in which research is commissioned or

undertaken. Indeed, detachment can lead to valid criticisms of academic ‘ivory towers’ and a fundamental failure to engage in critical public and private sector policy-making.

Tourism geographers are a sub-community of the geographic community within the wider community of academics, scientists and intellectuals, which is

itself a subset of wider society; that society has a culture, including a scientific subculture within which the content of geography and tourism is defined. Action is predicated on the structure of society and its knowledge base: research praxis is part of that programme of action, and includes tourism research. The community of tourism academics is therefore an ‘institutionalizing social group’ (Grano 1981: 26), a context within which individual tourism academics are socialised and which defines the internal goals of their sub-discipline in the context of the external structures within which they operate (after Johnston 1991). The content of the sub-discipline must be linked to its milieu, ‘so that disciplinary changes (revolutionary or not) should be associated with significant events in the milieu’ (Johnston 1991: 277). Similarly, Stoddart (1981: 1), in his review of the history of geography, stated, ‘both the ideas and the structure of the subject have developed in response to complex social, economic, ideological and intellectual stimuli’.

Although the above is recognised, there is relatively little overt discussion from academics within the tourism geography community and the wider tourism studies field as to the reasons why certain topics are studied and approaches developed (Coles and Hall 2006; Coles *et al.* 2006; Hall 2004a, 2010b; Tribe 2009, 2010; Smith 2010, 2011). Reflections on academic debates are often presented as part of a rational discourse in which the role of interests, ideologies and institutions are minimised or not noted at all, and in which the positionalitiy of disciplinary gatekeepers is ignored (Hall 2010c). According to Hall (2013a) this may be because of fears of professional repercussions, especially from gatekeepers such as journal editors, or the receipt of negative manuscript and publication reviews:

Rational accounts of disciplinary growth stands in stark contrast to the discussions that occur ‘back-stage’ at conferences, on emails and in general conversation between colleagues with respect to who and what is being published and research, where, how and why. You are not told who drank with who, who slept with who, and who is pissed off with who – and why.

(Hall 2013a)

It is also not how science really works (Feyerabend 2010). As Livingstone (1992: 2) observed, ‘Social context, metaphysical assumptions, professional aspirations, or ideological allegiances rarely feature in the textbook histories of the growth of geographical knowledge’. Barnes’ (2010: 1) comments with respect to economic geography arguably also hold true with tourism geography: ‘Its practitioners tend toward the “just do it” school of scholarship, in which a concern with the present moment in . . . geography subordinates all else.’

‘The contents of a discipline at any one time and place reflect the response of the individuals involved to external circumstances and influences, within the context of their intellectual socialization’ (Johnston 1983a: 4). See Table 1.7 for categorisations of the main approaches to the geography of tourism and recreation from the later 1970s to the 1990s and note, for example, that sustainable development was not a focal point until later in the period. Grano (1981) developed a model of external influences and internal change in geography that provides a valuable framework within which to examine the geography of tourism and recreation (Figure 1.4). The figure is divided into three interrelated areas:

- *knowledge* of the content of the geography of tourism and recreation studies;
- *action*: tourism and recreation research within the context of research praxis;
- *culture*: academics and students within the context of the research community and the wider society.

Knowledge

The Dictionary of Human Geography (Johnston *et al.* 1986) defines geography as ‘The study of the earth’s surface as the space within which the human population lives’ (Haggett 1986: 175). Such a concise definition is deceptively simple, and conceals the changing and contested nature of academic geography and, consequently, the geography of tourism and recreation. The academic domain of geography cannot easily be summarised in a brief, succinct statement as it spans the natural, biological, social and behavioural sciences as well as the humanities (Hall 2013a). There is as much

Table 1.7 Categorisations of main approaches to the geography of tourism and recreation 1979–98

Pearce (1979)	Smith and Mitchell (1990)	Mitchell and Murphy (1991)	Pearce (1995a)	Hall and Lew (1998)
Spatial patterns of supply	Spatial patterns	Environmental considerations	Tourism models	Environmental considerations
Spatial patterns of demand	Tourism in developing countries	Regional considerations	Demand for tourist travel	Regional considerations
Geography of resorts	Evolution of tourism	Spatial considerations	International tourism patterns	Spatial considerations
Tourist movements and flows	Impacts of tourism	Evolutionary considerations	Intra-national travel patterns	Evolutionary considerations
Impact of tourism	Tourism research methods		Domestic tourist flows	Tourism planning
Models of tourist space	Planning and development		Spatial variations in tourism	Urban tourism
	Coastal tourism		National and regional structures of tourism	Modernisation and development
	Tourism accommodation		Spatial structure of tourism on islands	Gender and identity
	Resort cycles		Coastal resorts	Place-marketing and promotion
	Tourism concepts		Urban areas	Globalisation and economic and cultural change
	Tourism destinations			Sustainable development

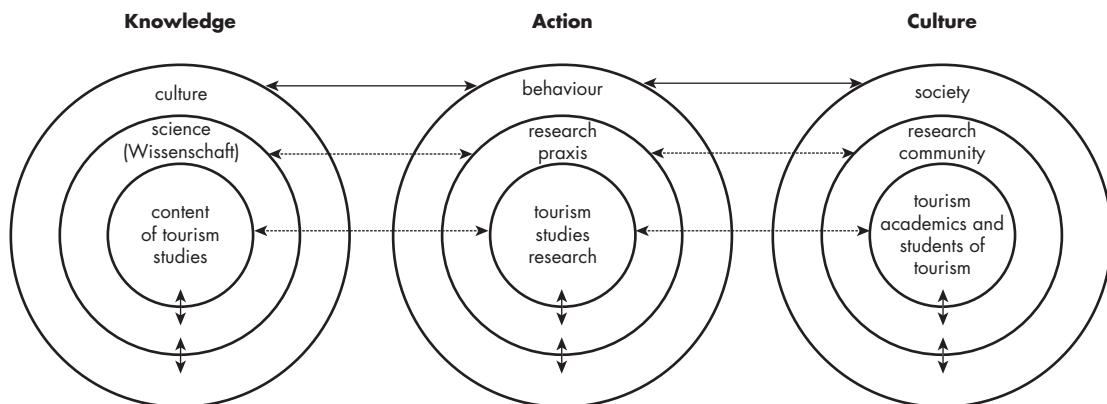


Figure 1.4 The context of tourism studies

Source: after Grano 1981.

contention and debate over what constitutes ‘geography’ as ‘tourism’. Emphasis has changed over time and, appropriately for geography, over space as well. Geographical scholarship is not neatly demarcated. Geography ‘is quintessentially an interdisciplinary tradition when its various “parts” (physical and human, cultural and economic, etc.) are considered together’ (Agnew and Livingstone 2011: 1).

The development of geography as an academic discipline and its ability to provide specialist educational contributions to knowledge can be dated to the 1870s when geography departments were established in Germany (Taylor 1985). Similar developments were closely followed in the UK and the USA, although the main growth of the discipline came in the twentieth century. James (1972) argued that the

establishment of specialised programmes of training marked the evolution of geography from the classical age as it entered the contemporary period. Freeman's (1961) *A Hundred Years of Geography* identified six principal trends within geography. These were:

- The encyclopaedic trend where new information about the world was collated for the rulers, mercantile classes and residents of western Europe and North America.
- The educational trend where an academic discipline began to establish its need to generate knowledge, determine relevance and ensure its own reproduction to derive its future. The development of geographical work in schools, colleges and universities characterised this trend.
- The colonial tradition in the early decades of the twentieth century characterised by a concern with the environment. In the UK, the focus on empire, and its spatial and political organisation from a metropolitan hub, made extensive use of geographical skills.
- The generalising trend describes the use to which data are put, generated through the encyclopaedic and colonial tradition. The methods used to interpret these data formed the basis of the early paradigms of the discipline's development.
- The political trend was indicative of the way in which contemporary uses of geographical expertise were used for political purposes (e.g. the redrawing of the map of Europe after the First World War).
- The specialisation trend was the natural corollary of the expansion of knowledge in geography and the inability of one person to be an expert in every field. The expansion of more rigorous research training required geographers to specialise.

Following on from these trends, Johnston (1991: 38) argued that 'some of these trends represent philosophies, some methodologies, and some ideologies with regard to the purpose of academic geography'. However, Johnston regarded three particular paradigms as being especially important in the development of human geography: exploration, environmental determinism and possibilism, and the region.

Exploration

Exploration refers to the situation where unknown areas of the world (to those who live outside them) are explored to collect and classify information. Many of these activities were financed by geographical societies as well as by philanthropists. The Royal Geographical Society of London (RGS) is one such example, and even nowadays the RGS is a major sponsor of expeditions, a focus only enhanced by the role of high profile television geographers such as Michael Palin, Nick Crane and Benedict Allen within the RGS. However, the theme of exploration remains significant in tourism geography, particularly as the images of places conveyed by explorers and the media to the metropolitan regions have served to create destination images that remain to the present day.

Environmental determinism and possibilism

Environmental determinism and possibilism were two competing approaches which, according to Johnston (1991), were early attempts at generalisation in the modern period. These approaches sought explanations rather than just descriptions of patterns of human occupation on the earth. The underlying assumption was that human activity was controlled by the elements in the physical environment within which it was located. Environmental determinism can be dated to interpretations of the research by Darwin and *On the Origin of Species* (published in 1859), where ideas on evolution were used by an American geographer William Morris Davies to develop the model of landform development. The nineteenth century also saw a number of geographers become protagonists of environmental determinism, especially the German geographer Friedrich Ratzel (1844–1904), and the American geographer Ellen Churchill Semple (1863–1932), whose book *Influences of Geographic Environment* (1891) stated that 'man is the product of the earth's surface'.

The response to determinism was the counter-thesis of possibilism. French geographers presented arguments to show that people perceive a range of alternative uses to which the environment could be put.

This was, in part, determined by cultural traditions and predispositions. The debate on possibilism and determinism continued into the 1960s and has had some influence on tourism geography because of the extent to which concepts such as place, cultural landscape and heritage underlie much debate about tourism's impacts. Arguably some elements of environmental determinism are to be found in some of the discussions on the role of climate in tourism behaviour (Paul 1972; Adams 1973; Mieczkowski 1985; de Freitas 1990, 2003; Scott and Lemieux 2010; Gössling *et al.* 2012c) and the potential impact of climate change (Wall *et al.* 1986; Wall and Badke 1994; Hall and Higham 2005; Gössling *et al.* 2010; Scott *et al.* 2012).

The region

Ideas of the region and regional geography dominated British and American geography until the 1950s, based on the principle that generalisations and explanations were best derived from an areal approach. Johnston (1991) points to the role of Herbertson (1905) in dividing the earth into natural regions and the attempt to examine areas at a smaller scale to identify particular characteristics. In North America, the influence of Richard Hartshorne's ongoing research established the focus of geography as a concern for areal differentiation so that the principal purpose of geographical scholarship is synthesis, an integration of relevant characteristics to provide a total description of a place as a powerful focus for the discipline which remained a feature of many school, college and university programmes even in the 1990s. In the new millennium the region has become integrated into what Murphy and Le Heron (1999: 15) describe as the "new regional geography" which incorporates elements of the earlier regional geography and new elements from political economy, geography, feminist geography and geographic information systems'. The development of regional synthesis required topical specialisms in geography to contribute to the regional paradigm.

Regional concepts continue to play a major role in the geography of tourism and recreation and underlie five main areas of research and scholarship:

- *Regional tourism geographies*: a number of collections of regional material have been developed by geographers since the late 1980s, in part influenced by the development of regional economic and political blocs, which serve as frameworks for the development of baseline studies of contemporary tourism processes as well as primers for college level geographies of travel and tourism (Lew *et al.* 2011). Major regional reviews of tourism have been undertaken by geographers on western Europe (Williams and Shaw 1988); Canada (Wall 1989); eastern Europe (D.R. Hall 1991); Europe (Montanari and Williams 1995); polar regions (Hall and Johnston 1995; Hall and Saarinen 2010; Grenier and Müller 2011); Australia (Hall 1995, 2003a); Asia (Winter *et al.* 2009); China (Lew and Wu 1995); India (Hannam and Diekmann, 2010); Nordic countries (Hall *et al.* 2009); South Africa (Rogerson and Visser 2004; Visser and Rogerson 2004; Hottola 2009; Saarinen *et al.* 2009), Oceania (Cooper and Hall 2005); the South Pacific (Hall and Page 1996); the Pacific Rim (Hall *et al.* 1997); and South and South-East Asia (Hall and Page 2000). However, it is important to note that the constitution of such regions is often not uncontested (Hall 2009a; Winter *et al.* 2009).
- *Destination regions*: given the importance of the destination as an analytical concept in tourism, significant effort has been given to the ways in which destination regions can be conceptualised, identified, managed and marketed (see Smith and Brown 1981; Smith 1983a, 1987b, 1995; Mitchell 1984; Heath and Wall 1992; Dredge 1999; Jenkins *et al.* 2011).
- *Regional planning and development*: the delineation of political and administrative regions provides a focus for administrative and planning research as well as a focus for the encouragement of development efforts through tourism and recreation. There is a longstanding body of research in this area, particularly with reference to Europe and the overall focus by government on tourism as a tool for economic development (see e.g., Pearce 1988a, 1992a, 1995a, 1995b; Williams and Shaw 1988; D.R. Hall 1991; Heath and Wall 1992; Hall *et al.* 1997; Hall 1999, 2008a; Hall and Boyd 2005; Müller and Jansson 2006; Dredge and Jenkins

- 2007; Grenier and Müller 2011; Jenkins *et al.* 2011).
- *Synthesis and integration:* the importance of synthesis and integration within regions has proven to be an important component in the development of approaches to integrated resource management within a regional context (see, e.g., Lang 1988; Wight 1993, 1995; Pearce 1995b; Hall 1999, 2008a).
 - *Regional reviews of progress:* in the development of the sub-discipline (e.g. Pearce 1979; Butler 2004) and specific progress reports for individual countries such as the UK (Duffield 1984), Spain (Bote Gomez 1996), Germany (Kreisel 2004), Australasia (Pearce and Mings 1984; Pearce 1999a), China (Bao 2002, 2009; Bao and Ma 2010), Japan (Takeuchi 1984), France (Barbier and Pearce 1984; Iazzarotti 2002), South Africa (Rogerson and Visser 2004; Visser and Rogerson 2004) and the USA (Mitchell 1969a, 1979, 1984; Smith and Mitchell 1990; Mitchell and Murphy 1991).
- Geographical trends and the geography of tourism and recreation**
- Johnston (1991) also charts the development of geography as a discipline, focusing on a number of other trends which provided a direction for development, including:
- The growth of *systematic studies* and adoption of a scientific method, where methods of investigation are developed.
 - The development of a new focus around *spatial variables* and the analysis of spatial systems in the 1960s and 1970s, where spatial analytical techniques were developed and systems theory was introduced.
 - The development of *behavioural geography* as a response to the spatial science approaches, recognising that human behaviour cannot easily be explained using logical positivist models. Behavioural geography focuses on the processes which underlie human decision-making and spatial behaviour rather than the outcomes which are the focus of much conventional spatial analysis (J. Gold 1980).
 - The rise of *humanistic geography*, with its emphasis on the individual as a decision-maker. The behavioural approach tended to view people as responses to stimuli to show how individuals do not correspond to models built to predict possible human outcomes. In contrast, humanistic geography treats the individual as someone constantly interacting with the environment that changes both self and milieu (Johnston 1991). It does not use any scientifically defined model of behaviour, with each paradigm recognising appropriate contexts where the respective approaches are valid.
 - *Applied geography*, which refers to 'the application of geographical knowledge and skills to the solution of economic and social problems' (Johnston 1986: 17).
 - *Radical approaches to geography*, often with a neo-Marxist base (Peet 1977a, 1977b), but which broadened in the 1980s and 1990s to consider issues of gender, globalisation, localisation, identity, post-colonialism, postmodernism and the role of space in critical social theory (e.g. Harvey 1987, 1988, 1989a, 1989b, 1990, 1993; Soja 1989; Benko and Strohmmayer 1997; Crouch 1999b; Blom 2000). Arguably the development of poststructural perspectives that arise out of 'radical' geography have, together with more humanistic approaches, also given a strong impetus to the 'cultural turn' in geography (Johnston and Sidaway 1997) and also in tourism (Richards 1996; Richards and Wilson 2006; Smith and Richards 2013), especially in relation to the urban cultural economy (Hall 2013b) and cultural geographies of tourism (Crang 2014).

All of the above approaches to geography have relevance to the study of tourism and recreation. However, their application has been highly variable, with the greatest degree of research being conducted in the areas of spatial analysis and applied geography (Table 1.8). However, it is also important to note that there are some significant emerging approaches, such as those that relate strongly to integrated resource management and sustainable tourism, which has emerged out of applied geography, and the research theme of environmental change. Both of these emerging themes have strong links to physical geography and environmental studies (Hall 2013a).

Table 1.8 Approaches to geography and their relationship to the study of tourism and recreation

Approach	Key concepts	Exemplar publications
Spatial analysis	Positivism, locational analysis, maps, systems, networks, morphology	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> spatial structure: Fesenmaier and Lieber 1987 spatial analysis: Smith 1983b; Wall <i>et al.</i> 1985; Hinch 1990; Ashworth and Dietvorst 1995; Chhetri <i>et al.</i> 2008 tourist flows and travel patterns: Williams and Zelinsky 1970; Corsi and Harvey 1979; Forer and Pearce 1984; Pearce 1987a, 1990, 1993b, 1995a; Murphy and Keller 1990; Oppermann 1992; McKercher <i>et al.</i> 2008 gravity models: Malamud 1973; Bell 1977 morphology: Pigram 1977 regional analysis: Smith 1987b
Behavioural geography	Behaviouralism, behaviourism, environmental perception, diffusion, mental maps, decision-making, action spaces, spatial preference	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> mental maps: Walmsley and Jenkins 1992; Jenkins and Walmsley 1993 environmental cognition: Aldskogius 1977 tourist spatial behaviour: Carlson 1978; Cooper 1981; Debbage 1991 tourist behaviour: Murphy and Rosenblood 1974; Arbel and Pizam 1977; Pearce 1988a; Gössling <i>et al.</i> 2012c; Hibbert <i>et al.</i> 2013 environmental perception: Wolfe 1970; Kaltenborn <i>et al.</i> 2011 recreational displacement: Anderson and Brown 1984 social marketing and behaviour change: Barr <i>et al.</i> 2011; Hall 2013e, 2014; Truong and Hall 2013
Humanistic geography	Human agency, subjectivity of analysis, hermeneutics, place, landscape, existentialism, phenomenology, ethnography, lifeworld	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> placelessness of tourism: Relph 1976 historical geography: Wall and Marsh 1982; Marsh 1985; Towner 1996
Applied geography	Planning, governance, remote sensing, Geographic Information Systems (GIS), public policy, cartography, regional development, carrying capacity	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> planning: Murphy 1985; Getz 1986a; Dowling 1993, 1997; Hall 2000a, 2008a; Dredge and Jenkins 2007, 2011 regional development: Coppock 1977a, 1977b; Pearce 1988b, 1990, 1992a tourism and development: Pearce 1981, 1989; Cooke 1982; Lew 1985; Murphy 1985; Cater 1987; Saarinen <i>et al.</i> 2011 indigenous peoples: Mercer 1994; Butler and Hinch 1996; Lew and van Otten 1997 rural tourism and recreation: Coppock and Duffield 1975; Getz 1981; Glyptis 1991; Page and Getz 1997; Butler <i>et al.</i> 1998 urban tourism and recreation: Ashworth 1989, 1992b; 1993, 1996; Page 1995a; Hinch 1996; Murphy 1997; Page and Hall 2003 food and culinary systems: Hall and Mritchell 2002; Mitchell and Hall 2003; Baird and Hall 2013; Gössling and Hall 2013; Hall 2013f health: Clift and Page 1996

(Continued)

Table 1.8 (Continued)

Approach	Key concepts	Exemplar publications
Traditional approaches		<ul style="list-style-type: none">• medical tourism: Connell 2006, 2011; Hall and James 2011; Hall, 2012b• destination marketing: Dilley 1986; Heath and Wall 1992• place marketing: Ashworth and Voogd 1988; Madsen 1992; Fretter 1993• small business and entrepreneurship: Buhalis and Cooper 1998; Page <i>et al.</i> 1999; Ateljevic and Doorne 2000; Getz and Carlsen 2000; Getz <i>et al.</i> 2004• innovation and knowledge transfer: Cooper 2006; Hall and Williams 2008; Shaw and Williams 2009; Williams and Shaw 2011; Weidenfeld 2013• public policy and administration, governance: Cooper 1987; Pearce 1992b; Jenkins 1993; Hall 1994; Hall and Jenkins 1995; Bramwell and Lane 2000; Hall 2011a, 2011f• security: Hall 2002; Hall <i>et al.</i> 2003b• tourism life cycle: Butler 1980, 2005; Cooper and Jackson 1989; Debbage 1990; Agarwal 1994• attractions: Lew 1987• second homes: Aldskogius 1968; Coppock 1977a; Gartner 1987; Hall and Müller 2004; Müller 2006, 2011• GIS: Kliskey 1994; Elliott-White and Finn 1998; van der Knapp 1999;• Silberman and Rees 2010• tracking tourists: Shoval and Isaacson 2007• accessibility: Tóth and Lóránt 2010• natural hazards/disaster response: Biggs <i>et al.</i> 2012a, 2012b; Mulligan <i>et al.</i> 2012• resource evaluation: Sæþórssdóttir and Ólafsson 2010a, b.
Emerging approach: sustainability/ integrated resource management	Integrated resource management, sustainable development, sustainable tourism	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• tourism impacts: Pigram 1980; Mathieson and Wall 1982; Edington and Edington 1986; Edwards 1987; Wall and Mathieson 2006; Hall and Lew 2009; Scott 2011• outdoor recreation management: Pigram and Jenkins 1999• heritage management: Gale and Jacobs 1987; Lew 1989; Ashworth and Tunbridge 1990, 1996; Hall and McArthur 1996, 1998; Graham <i>et al.</i> 2000• sustainable tourism: Butler 1990, 1991, 1992, 1998; Pigram 1990; Ashworth 1992b; Bramwell and Lane 1993; Carter 1993; Dearden 1993; McKeercher 1993a, 1993b; Carter and Lowman 1994; Murphy 1994; Mowforth and Munt 1998; Hall and Lew 1998; Aronsson 2000; Saarinen 2006; Weaver 2006• ecotourism: Weiler 1991; Eagles 1992; Carter and Lowman 1994; Blamey 1995; Weaver 1998; Fennell 1999; Page and Dowling 2001• national parks: Nelson 1973; Olwig and Olwig 1979; Marsh 1983; Calais and Kirkpatrick 1986; Cole <i>et al.</i> 1987; Davies 1987; Hall 1992a; McKeercher 1993c• weather and climatological information: de Freitas 2003; Scott and Lemieux 2010• transition management: Gössling <i>et al.</i> 2012a• water use: Gössling <i>et al.</i> 2012b• biosecurity: Hall and Baird 2013• co-management: Plummer and Fennell 2009

Table 1.8 (Continued)

Approach	Key concepts	Exemplar publications
Emerging approach: environmental change	Global environmental change, ecological footprint	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Global environmental change: Gössling 2002; Gössling and Hall 2006a• Ecological footprint analysis: Gössling <i>et al.</i> 2002• Climate Change: Smith 1990; Wall and Badke 1994; Hall and Higham 2005; Gössling and Hall 2006b; Scott <i>et al.</i> 2008, 2012; Steiger 2012; Gössling <i>et al.</i> 2013; Tervo-Kankare <i>et al.</i> 2013• Carbon management: Gössling 2011• Tourism's contribution to change: Peeters <i>et al.</i> 2007
'Radical' approaches	Neo-Marxist analysis, role of the state, gender, globalisation, localisation, identity, postcolonialism, postmodernism poststructuralism, role of space	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• political economy: Britton 1982; Ley and Olds 1988; Williams 2004; Bramwell 2011• social theory: Britton 1991; Shaw and Williams 1994, 2002, 2004• semiotic analysis: Waitt 1997• place commodification: Ashworth and Voogd 1990a, 1990b, 1994; Kearns and Philo 1993; Waitt and McGuirk 1997; Chang <i>et al.</i> 1996; Tunbridge and Ashworth 1996
Emerging approach: 'cultural turn'		<ul style="list-style-type: none">• cultural identity: Byrne <i>et al.</i> 1993; Crouch 1994; Squire 1994• gender: Adler and Brenner 1992; Kinnauld and Hall 1994; Aitchison 1997, 1999, 2000• new cultural studies': Aitchison 1999, 2000; Crouch 1999b• postcolonialism: Hall and Tucker 2004; Winter 2007, 2009• the mundane: Edensor 2004, 2007• performativity: Coleman and Crang 2002; Edensor 2007; Molz 2010• automobility: Edensor 2004• the body/senses: Obrador 2007; Waitt and Duffy 2010; Barratt 2011• sexuality: Waitt <i>et al.</i> 2008; Qian <i>et al.</i> 2012• visual methods: Jenkins 2003; Scarles 2010

It is useful to note that two of the most influential books on the geography of tourism and recreation in the 1980s and early 1990s – Pearce (1987a, 1995a) on tourism and S. Smith (1983a) on recreation – primarily approach their subjects from a spatial perspective, although both give an acknowledgement to the role of behavioural research. In contrast, the text on geographical perspectives on tourism by Shaw and Williams (1994) provides a far more critical approach to the study of tourism, with acknowledgement of the crucial role that political economy, production, consumption, globalisation and commodification plays in the changing nature of tourism. Such a critical perspective is also reflected in Britton's (1983) review of the first edition of Pearce's (1981) *Tourism Development*, where he emphasised that the spatial structures of tourism

cannot be adequately theorized about without a clear understanding of the organization and structure of the tourism product group, or, for example, the profound impact of the inclusive package tour travel mode on long-distance, especially third world, tourism and its association with multi-national companies. Due recognition must be given to the fact that, like other sectors of advanced capitalist enterprise, tourism capital is immersed in competitive pressures and motivated by the maximization of market shares and profits. In turn these forces have led to the progressive centralization, concentration and internationalization of tourism enterprises while non-tourism capital (banks, breweries and multifaceted industrial conglomerates) is increasingly buying into the industry. Tourism is moving towards more monopolistic forms of organization. Similarly, the notion of 'development', tourism or otherwise, is not simply an exercise in technical planning but involves conflict and compromise between classes and sub-groups in society which, usually, have unequal capacity to achieve their goals or preserve their interests. Some of these issues Pearce mentions in passing. But they are not considered in depth, fully understood or used as a basis for empirical analysis. If one takes the position that spatial structures realize social structures, then the dynamics of tourism

can only be fully understood with reference to its wider societal contexts.

(Britton 1983: 620)

In one sense, Pearce (1995a) and Shaw and Williams (1994, 2002, 2004) were representative of two of the most significant strands in tourism and recreation geography at the end of the twentieth century. The former, dominant approach represents a more 'traditional' form of spatial analysis and 'applied' geography (in the sense that it may be immediately useful to some public sector and commercial interests). The latter, emerging approach represents more discursive and reflexive forms of analysis with a broader perspective on what the appropriate focus for the study of tourism and recreation should be, although arguably Crouch (1999b) represents another reflexive form of analysis that has taken a different direction through its focus on identities, encounters and people as socialised and embodied subjects, but which may act as a bridge for greater communication between tourism and cultural geography. Undoubtedly, leisure and tourism are 'beginning to be rendered visible, situated and placed within the rapidly evolving discourses of post-positivist or post-structuralist geographies' (Aitchison *et al.* 2000: 1).

The 'cultural turn' in human geography has substantially influenced tourism research (Debbage and Ioannides 2004), particularly with respect to issues of performance, the body, gender, postcolonialism (Hall and Tucker 2004), power (Church and Coles 2007; Hall 2010d) and the study of cultural activities (Richards and Wilson 2006; Hall 2013b). Arguably, the terrain of human geography has shifted so much that it is rather debatable whether the 'radical' geography of Johnston (1991) can really be described as radical any more, at least within a disciplinary context. This is also significant criticism of the applied vs theoretical 'divide' as the notion of there being a simple binary relationship between applied and theoretical geographies is increasingly being questioned (Clove and Johnston 2005a, 2005b; Hall 2013a). Indeed, it can be argued that in some cases the notion of being 'applied' can be read as being 'thematic' and theoretically grounded rather than being 'atheoretical'. For example, recent research on

medical tourism by geographers, while looking at particular issues, is strongly grounded in understandings of transnationalism and mobility (e.g. Connell 2006, 2011; Hall 2011d; 2012b; Ormond 2011, 2012).

Much of the tourism geographer's interest in applied geography is part of a desire to be 'relevant' and engage with broader public, community and business issues. For example, in many ways Shaw and Williams (1994, 2002, 2004) represent an explicit response to Britton's (1991) call for a theorisation of geography of tourism and leisure that explicitly recognises, and unveils, tourism as a predominantly capitalistically organised activity driven by the inherent and defining social dynamics of that system, with its attendant production, social and ideological relations. An analysis of how the tourism production system markets and packages people is a lesson in the political economy of the social construction of 'reality' and social construction of place, whether from the point of view of visitors and host communities, tourism capital (and the 'culture industry') or the state – with its diverse involvement in the system (Britton 1991: 475).

The 'applied vs theory' debate

The 'applied vs theory' debate is germane to broader discussions in tourism research and the social sciences (Tribe 2009). It also reflects the emergence of concepts, i.e. creative class, experience economy, service-dominant logic, co-creation, destination competitiveness, and 'isms' or 'turns' that are sometimes uncritically adopted (Bianchi 2009; Hall 2010c) as part of the discourses of tourism geography. Many 'turns' have antecedents within geography that are unacknowledged (Hall and Page 2009). It is not clear if this is a product of a loss of collective and individual memory, a failure to teach the history of a discipline, the relatively poor availability of pre-1990 geography books in libraries or on Google Scholar, or just deliberate ignorance (Hall 2011c, 2013a). But it does highlight the embeddedness of tourism geography in academic fashion cycles, 'which plays out through a particular industrial actor-network of academic knowledge production, circulation and reception' (Gibson and Klocker 2004: 425); within which

'Dedicated followers of fashion hurry to buy the new . . . book, an act of discernment and discrimination that starkly reveals the truism that identity is constructed in and through the consumption of commodities' (Barnett 1998: 388).

While it is quite easy to agree with Matley's (1976: 5) observation that 'There is scarcely an aspect of tourism which does not have some geographical implications and there are few branches of geography which do not have some contribution to make to the study of the phenomenon of tourism' (see also Mercer 1970), one must also note that the relative influence of these branches has proven to be highly variable since the late 1920s. One of the great difficulties has been that while tourism and recreation geographers have seen the significance of relationships to other geographical sub-disciplines and, indeed, other disciplines, such relationships are not reciprocal (Mercer 1970; Debbage and Ioannides 1998; Ioannides 2006; Gibson 2008; Hall 2013a). Perhaps the most significant indicator of the way the geography of tourism and recreation is seen by the wider discipline can be found in various editions of Johnston's (1991; Johnston and Sidaway 1997, 2014) standard work on post-war Anglo-American geography. Here the terms leisure, recreation and tourism are absent from the index, while the only comment on the subject is three lines in the environmentalism section of the chapter on applied geography: 'A topic of special interest was the study of leisure, of the growing demand for recreation activities on the environment', followed by reference to the work of Patmore (1970, 1983) and Owens (1984). The lack of reference to tourism and recreation is commonplace in many publications on the history of geographical thought. For example, the only mention of tourism by Peet is in relation to its perceived irrelevancy by Marxist geographers in the 1960s:

There was a growing intolerance to the topical coverage of academic geography, a feeling that it was either an irrelevant gentlemanly pastime concerned with esoterica like tourism, wine regions, or barn types, or it was an equally irrelevant 'science' using quantitative methods to analyze spatial trivia like shopping patterns or telephone

calls, when geography should be a working interest in ghettos, poverty, global capitalism, and imperialism.

(Peet 1998: 109)

It is probably an appropriate comment on the perception of the standing of tourism and recreation geography in Anglo-American geography that the only area where tourism and recreation are considered significant is in rural areas, with its longstanding tradition of recreational analysis (Patmore 1983), where, perhaps, tourists and recreationists are seen as a nuisance! There are no tourism geographers who are *Key Thinkers on Space and Place* (Hubbard *et al.* 2004). If textbooks are regarded as terrains of struggle over power and control (Silverman 1992), tourism geography is excluded from the landscape.

Interestingly, tourism geography is much better received in tourism studies than in geography, with tourism geographies being among the most highly cited tourism authors. For example, 15 of the 58 most cited tourism authors from 1970 to 2007 had PhDs in geography, including four of the ten most cited (McKercher 2008). As Gibson (2008: 418) observes, tourism geography 'still struggles to pervade publishing in "global" [geography] journals, and yet, when eventually appearing elsewhere, tourism geography appears to be on the whole more cosmopolitan. To me this seems an important – even defining – contradiction of tourism in contemporary geography'. The reasons for this paradoxical situation are manifold but perhaps lie in the cultural and action dimensions of geographical research discussed in more detail below.

Action: development of an applied geography of tourism and recreation

One consequence of geography's development in the 1950s and 1960s and the rise of a more 'applied' focus was the increasing move towards narrow specialisation, which appears to have reached its peak in the 1990s. Johnston (1991) outlines an increasing tension within geography in the 1960s and 1970s over the focus of the discipline, which in part transcended

the debate over radical approaches (see Harvey 1974). The basic tension related to how geographers should contribute their skills to the solution of societal problems. This questioned the philosophical basis of geography – who should the geographer benefit with an applied focus?

Both British and American geography conferences in the 1970s saw an increasing debate and awareness of the value of geographers contributing to public policy. Coppock (1974) felt that policy-makers were unaware of the contribution geographers could make to policy-making. But critics questioned the value of advising governments, which were the paymasters and already constrained what geographers could undertake research on. Harvey (1974) raised the vital issue of 'what kind of geography for what kind of public policy?', arguing that individuals involved in policy-making were motivated by

personal ambition, disciplinary imperialism, social necessity and moral obligation at the level of the whole discipline, on the other hand, geography had been co-opted, through the Universities, by the growing corporate state, and geographers had been given some illusion of power within a decision-making process designed to maintain the status quo.

(Johnston 1991: 198)

Indeed, Pacione's defence of applied geography reiterates many of the inherent conflicts and problems which the 'purists' in human geography raise, in that

Applied geography is concerned with the application of geographical knowledge and skills to the resolution of real-world social, economic and environmental problems. The underlying philosophy of relevance of usefulness and problem-orientated goals of applied geography have generated critical opposition from other 'non-applied' members of the geographical community. Particular criticism of the applied geography approach has emanated from Marxist and, more recently, postmodern theorists who reflect the potential of applied geography

to address the major problems confronting people and places in the contemporary world.

(Pacione 1999a: 1)

The emergence of the ‘new cultural geography’ highlights the increasing tensions within the discipline where ‘the idea of applied geography or useful research is a chaotic concept which does not fit with the recent “cultural turn” in social geography or the postmodern theorising of recent years’ (Pacione 1999a: 3). In fact, Pacione claimed that it was a matter of individual conscience as to what individual geographers study. What is clear is that some research is more ‘useful’ than other forms, and the application to tourism and recreation phenomenon is certainly a case in point. Although the ‘concept of “useful research” poses the basic questions of useful for whom? Who decides what is useful’ (Pacione 1999a: 4) is part of the wider relevance debate which continues in human geography as paradigm shifts and new ways of theorising and interpreting information question the central role of the discipline. In P.J. Taylor’s (1985) provocative and thoughtful analysis of ‘The value of a geographical perspective’, a cyclical function emerged in the development of eras of pure and applied research. What Taylor observed was that when external pressures are greatest, problem-solving approaches are pursued within the discipline. Conversely, in times of comparative economic prosperity, more pure academic activity is nurtured. Taylor related these trends to longer-term trends in the world economy, identifying three distinct periods when applied geography was in its ascendancy: the late nineteenth century, the inter-war period and the mid-1980s.

Sant (1982) argued that applied geography was not a sub-discipline but had a dependent relationship with academic geography. It has a different *modus operandi*. It is intended to offer prescription, has to engage in dialogue with ‘outsiders’ not familiar with the discipline, its traditions, problems and internal conservatism, and has an ability to overtly criticise developments which are not central to the prevailing paradigm. While the discipline has published a range of journals with an applied focus (e.g. *Applied Geography*) and offers a number of applied courses in

universities, the term is used loosely. As Sant (1982: 136) argued, ‘the crux of applied geography is (at the risk of tautology) fundamentally that it is about geography. That is, it deals with human and physical landscapes.’

In applied geography, theory provides the framework for asking questions, managing the problem, and deriving solutions (Pacione 2004; Stimson and Haynes 2012). As Livingstone (1992: 3) commented, ‘Too often the practical outworkings of theory are overlooked’. Much applied spatial analysis appears to be criticised because it is grounded in a different set of scientific theory, usually in a quantitative and empirical vein, than those who criticise it (Hall 2012a). As Forer (1999: 96) argued, ‘New geographic information technology is becoming ubiquitous, and is revolutionising what we measure and how we measure it’. In fact, as Tarrant and Cordell (1999) noted in their examination of outdoor recreation in US national forest areas, the use of GIS can be an extremely valuable tool in the analysis of environmental justice and equity, issues that are often not associated with quantitative analysis. Yet Wyly (2009) emphasises that the alignment between positivist epistemology, quantitative methodology and conservative political ideology was contingent and contextual, and was not a necessary outcome of quantitative and applied studies. Post-positivists committed to progressive politics have also suggested ways in which the critical/quantitative binary can be at least partially eclipsed, and emphasise that spatial and quantitative analysis and critical geographies are not mutually exclusive (Kwan and Schwanen 2009; Schwanen and Kwan 2009). Hall (2013c) is more provocative, suggesting that in

focussing on the qualitative [alone] as being critical there is a danger that the potential critical powers of quantitative research . . . are undermined or, just as significantly, lead to accusations that those who advocate the qualitative without appreciating the quantitative do so only because they cannot do or understand statistics or mathematical modelling.

(Hall 2013c)

In the case of recreation and tourism, many geographers involved in these areas may also no longer be based in geography departments in universities. However, they maintain and extend the value of geographical analysis and understanding for the wider field of recreation and tourism studies. The discipline of geography, in the UK at least, paid very little attention to the growing role of geographers in the educational and research environment of tourism. Only in the 1990s did organisations such as the Institute of British Geographers acknowledge the significance of recreation and tourism as a serious area of academic study. In contrast, the Association of American Geographers and the Canadian Association of Geographers have been much more active, with their study groups being established since the 1970s. International organisations such as the International Geographical Union (IGU) Study Group on the Geography of Tourism, Leisure and Global Change (formerly the IGU Study Group on the Geography of Sustainable Tourism, and IGU Commission on Tourism and Leisure) provided another forum for research developments and interaction by geographers and non-geographers with similar research interests. Nevertheless, despite such initiatives, the relationship of the geography of tourism and recreation to the broader discipline of geography has suffered three major problems:

- the rise of applied geography within the discipline, and tourism and recreation geography within it, has seen some critics, often from outside of the field altogether, view it as rather ephemeral and lacking in substance and rigour;
- in some countries (e.g. the UK and Australia), national geographical organisations and geography departments have often failed to recognise the significance of recreation and tourism as a legitimate research area capable of strengthening and supporting the discipline;
- national research assessment exercises may primarily define the assessment of tourism research in the narrow context of business studies, rather than in a geographical or wider social scientific framework (Hall 2011e).

One consequence is that many geographers who developed recreational and tourism research interests in the 1980s and 1990s have moved to fresh pastures where autonomous tourism research centres or departments have eventuated. For example, a significant number of geographers are now based in business schools or tourism, recreation or leisure departments, where their research interests are aligned within a multidisciplinary environment that can cross-fertilise their research and support an applied focus. Indeed, in some respects, history is perhaps repeating itself all over again, as where planning emerged as a discipline and split from some of its geographical roots and where the development of environmental studies departments has also led to a departure of geographers to such centres. For example, in New Zealand, with one or two exceptions, all the geographers with a tourism or recreation focus are now located in business schools, departments of tourism and recreation or other non-geographical departments. This situation is not dramatically different from that in Australia, where educational expansion in tourism has made extensive use of professional geographers to develop and lead such developments (Weiler and Hall 1991). As Janiskee and Mitchell concluded:

This is certainly an interesting and exciting time to be a recreation geographer. After a slow start, the subdiscipline has achieved a critical mass and seems destined to enjoy a bright future . . . There is no question that the application of recreation geography knowledge and expertise to problem solving contexts outside academia offers potential rewards of considerable worth to the sub-discipline: more jobs for recreation geographers, a stimulus to academic research with implications for problem solving, a more clearly defined sense of purpose or social worth, and greater visibility, both within and outside academic circles.

(Janiskee and Mitchell 1989: 159)

It is interesting to note that Janiskee and Mitchell also perceive that

since there is no clear distinction between 'basic' and 'applied' research, nor any appreciable threat

to quality scholarship, there is no simmering argument on the issue of whether applied research is good for recreation geography. Rather, the real question is whether recreation geographers will have the resources and the zeal to move into the problem solving domain on a much more widespread and consistent basis.

(Janiskee and Mitchell 1989: 159)

While this may be true in a North American context, it is certainly not the case in the UK, and a number of other countries where applied geographical research in recreation and tourism has been viewed as dissipating the value and skills of the geographer for pecuniary reward, or without contributing to the development of the discipline. Ironically, however, the proliferation of 'dabblers' (i.e. people who do not consider themselves recreation geographers, but contribute articles to journals using simplistic notions of tourism and recreation) has grown and still abounds in the geography and, to a lesser extent, in the recreation and tourism journals.

Gibson (2008) used the Social Science Citation Index (SSCI) (now Web of Science) to analyse tourism within selected geography journals and found that very little work was conducted in the 1960s and 1970s:

Growth occurred in the late 1980s and particularly into the 1990s, as human geography itself diversified. About 40 articles have been published annually [in the 1990s and 2000s], across the selected geography journals (not including the specialist *Tourism Geographies*), and their breadth and diversity is striking.

(Gibson 2008: 409)

Gibson's analysis suggested an equivalent of about one paper per Indexed geography journal examined each year. A slightly higher rate was found by Hall (2013d) in an analysis conducted of tourism articles in selected leading geographical journals from 1998 to 2009, with *Geografiska Annaler, Series B: Human Geography* and *Geographical Research* (formerly *Australian Geographical Studies*) having the largest number of papers. Nevertheless, as Gibson (2008: 409) noted, 'many

researchers featuring in the SSCI bibliography would probably not consider themselves tourism geographers or may not even list tourism as a specialist research interest'.

Indeed, tourism and recreation have been 'discovered' by geographers and other social scientists in the late 1980s and 1990s as tourism is utilised by governments to respond to the effects of global economic restructuring and increasing concerns over conserving the environment (Hall and Lew 1998). Such contributions, according to Janiskee and Mitchell (1989: 157), 'although welcome, are not a satisfactory substitute for output of a substantial number of specialists doing scientific-theoretical-nomothetic research which is needed for the area to progress'. Calls for a 'heightened awareness and appreciation of problem solving needs and opportunities outside the traditional bounds of scholarly research' (Janiskee and Mitchell 1989: 159) are vital if academics are to connect with the broad range of stakeholders and interests that impinge upon geography and academia. Geographers with knowledge and skills in the area of tourism and recreation research need to develop a distinctive niche by undertaking basic and applied research to address public and private sector problems, which illustrates the usefulness of a spatial, synthesising and holistic education. Even so,

the list of research undertaken by applied geographers is impressive, but there are no grounds for complacency [as] the influence of applied geography has been mixed, and arguably less than hoped for ... Several reasons may account for this [including] the eclectic and poorly focused nature of the discipline of geography and the fact that 'geographical work' is being undertaken by 'non-geographers' in other disciplines. This undermines the identity of geography as a subject with something particular to offer.

(Pacione 1999a: 10–11)

Culture

The cultural dimensions of the geography of tourism and recreation – the sociology of knowledge of the

sub-discipline – as with that of tourism and recreation studies as a whole, have been little studied. This is extremely unfortunate as it means there is a very incomplete comprehension of where the sub-discipline has been, which must also clearly affect our understanding of where it might go. As Barnes commented:

Social, technical and economic determinants routinely affect the rate and direction of scientific growth . . . It is true that much scientific change occurs despite, rather than because of, external direction or financial control . . . Progress in the disinterested study [of certain] . . . areas has probably occurred just that bit more rapidly because of their relevance to other matters.

(Barnes 1982: 102–3)

Similarly, Johnston observed that

the study of a discipline must be set in its societal context. It must not necessarily be assumed, however, that members of academic communities fully accept the social context and the directives and impulses that it issues. They may wish to counter it, and use their academic base as a focus for their discontent. But the (potential) limits to that discontent are substantial. Most academic communities are located in universities, many of which are dependent for their existence on public funds disbursed by governments which may use their financial power to influence, if not direct, what is taught and researched. And some universities are dependent on private sources of finance, so they must convince their sponsors that their work is relevant to current societal concerns.

(Johnston 1991: 24–5)

As noted above, research into the geographical dimensions of tourism has received relatively little attention in the wider fields of academic geography. Several related factors can be recognised as accounting for this situation:

- there is only a narrow set of official interest in conducting research into the geography of tourism;

- tourism is not regarded as a serious scholarly subject;
- there is no theoretical and epistemological consensus in conducting geographical studies of tourism and recreation;
- tourism and recreation geographers have had little success in promoting their sub-discipline in the broader geographical context;
- many tourism and recreation geographers are now operating in non-geography departments or in the private sector.

Unlike some areas of tourism research, such as politics and public policy, for example (Hall 1994; Hall and Jenkins 1995), there is some government support for research and consulting on the geography of tourism and recreation. However, such research support tends to be given to the analysis of spatial patterns of tourist flows and issues of infrastructure location rather than areas of applied geographical research in gender and social impacts that may produce unwanted political results. Indeed, even support for research on the environmental impacts on tourism has the potential to produce politically contestable results, particularly if the results are not seen as supportive of industry interests. Despite the apparent lack of interest in studies of the broader dimensions of tourism by government and industry, and the community conflicts that occur in relation to tourism development, it is important to recognise that such research may be of an extremely practical nature. The results of such research may help facilitate and improve tourism planning through an increased understanding of decision-making processes (Dredge and Jenkins 2007, 2011; Hall 2008a), and help maintain the long-term viability of tourist destinations.

Despite the extensive growth of research on tourism and recreation in the 1980s and 1990s, many people still do not regard tourism as a serious subject of study, often equating it with booking a holiday at a travel agency or learning how to pour a beer. Indeed, research on tourism is often seen as frivolous. The observation of Matthews (1983: 304) that ‘at a typical American university, a political scientist with a scholarly interest in tourism might be looked upon as dabbling in frivolity – not as a serious scholar but as an

opportunist looking for a tax-deductible holiday', holds almost universal applicability. Similar to V.L. Smith's (1977: 1) observations on the anthropology of tourism in the 1970s, it is a topic that still appears to be thought by many in the discipline to be unworthy of consideration by the serious geography scholar. Indeed, L.S. Mitchell, a noted scholar within tourism and recreation geography, in a personal communication following a discussion on RTSnet (the newsgroup of the recreation, tourism and sport speciality group of the Association of American Geographers) regarding the position of recreation and tourism in American geography, argued that

Recreation geography, has never been a valued member of the establishment, because, it is believed, it is impossible to be serious about individuals and groups having fun. Note the subtitle of the feminist oriented tourism conference being held in California this month ('Tourism is not about having fun'). In spite of the fact that tourism is the number one economic activity in the world, that recreation (especially passive recreation) takes up a large portion of the population's time, and that sport is almost a religion for many in this country, geographers who study these phenomena are not highly regarded.

(Mitchell 1997)

There are also substantial methodological, theoretical and spatial problems in conducting geographical research. Problems have arisen because of the multiplicity of potential frameworks for analysis as well as relatively weak theorisation by some. As Ioannides (1996: 221) notes, 'Although tourism geography has long been an established specialization, the weak theoretical grounding associated with this research area relegates it to the discipline's periphery'.

The lack of a clearly articulated or agreed-upon methodological or philosophical approach to geography per se, let alone the geography of tourism and recreation, may create an intellectual and perceptual minefield for the researcher, particularly as the value position of the author will have an enormous bearing on the results of any research. Burton (1982: 323–4), for example, argued that leisure and tourism

research is plagued by problems of 'lack of intellectual co-ordination and insufficient cross-fertilization of ideas among researchers; an inadequacy of research methodologies and techniques; and a lack of any generally agreed concepts and codes in the field'. However, in contrast, Hall (1994: 7) argued that 'In fact, the debate which marks such concepts should probably be seen as a sign of health and youthful vigour in an emerging area of serious academic study and should be welcomed and encouraged rather than be regarded as a source of embarrassment'. Indeed, it can be argued that the post-disciplinary characteristics of much tourism research by geographers enhance its capacity to engage with a wide range of theoretical approaches and ideas (Coles *et al.* 2006).

Another factor which may have influenced the standing of the geography of tourism and recreation is the extent to which the sub-discipline is being promoted to the discipline as a whole. For example, in the American context, Mitchell argued:

There is no one individual superstar in the US who has popularized the subject matter through publications and/or personality. From my perspective a lot of good geographic research has been published and the research frontier has been advanced, however, little of this research has appeared in the geographic literature; rather it tends to be found in specialty or multi-disciplinary journals . . . Lots of publications are produced but they do not engender the kind of interest or reputation that leads to widespread recognition.

(Mitchell 1997)

In the British context, the publication of *Critical Issues in Tourism* by Shaw and Williams (1994) as part of the Institute of British Geography Studies in Geography Series helped raise the profile of the area. Nevertheless, the situation remains that the key academic audience of the majority of research and publications by tourism and recreation geographers are people within tourism and recreation departments rather than geography. However, there are some signs that this situation may be changing. First, there is the publication of the journal *Tourism Geographies* in 1999 (edited by Alan Lew and published by Routledge),

which seeks to promote the sub-discipline both within its immediate audience and beyond. To some extent the emergence of this specialist journal may be regarded as a sign of maturity of the field akin to other specialist geography journals (e.g. *Applied Geography*, *Journal of Transport Geography*). Second, there are activities of the IGU Study Group on the Geography of Tourism, Leisure and Global Change and its forerunner, the Study Group on the Geography of Sustainable Tourism, which has co-hosted a number of conferences and special sessions with other IGU Commissions, such as Sustainable Rural Systems, and with national associations, such as the Association of American Geographers. Third, the increased significance of tourism and recreation in urban and rural environments in contemporary society as well as being a mechanism for economic development has led to a greater appreciation of the potential significance of the field. In other words, tourism is now such a significant activity in the cultural and economic landscape that it would be difficult for other geographies to ignore it for much longer. Finally, tourism and recreation geographies are now arguing that they have something to contribute to the wider discipline, particularly in such areas as understanding the service economy, industrialisation, innovation and regional development (e.g. Ioannides 1995, 1996; d'Hauteserre 1996; Hall and Williams 2008; Hall 2009b; Shaw and Williams 2009; Shaw *et al.* 2011; Williams and Shaw 2011; Weidenfeld 2013), as well as more traditional resource management concerns and sustainability (e.g. Zurick 1992; Hall and Lew 1998). Indeed, this last element is extremely important as it highlights the growing links of tourism geographers with physical geography and environmental studies.

Tourism, the environment and physical geography

Perceptions of tourism geography are affected more by the intellectual debates of human geography than physical geography (Hall 2013a, 2013d). Nevertheless, a longstanding theme in geography (Johnston 1983b), and in tourism geography, is the relationship between physical and human geography. 'Frequently

physical and human geography are separated out from one another as if they had completely different historical trajectories. Yet, over a fairly long period of time, it is their very co-existence that is one of the things that has helped to constitute the field at large' (Agnew and Livingstone 2011: 1).

A core reason for the sometime unease between physical and human geographers is their different methods, reasons and foci (Valentine *et al.* 2010). The physical/human binary, with the quantitative scientific methods of physical geography at one extreme and the qualitative, poststructuralist, humanistic methods of human geography at the other, revisits many elements of the applied/theoretical binary. Gregory (1978: 75) influentially suggested that the integration of human and physical geography was an ontological problem, in that, even though they are connected by social practices, 'there is nothing in this which requires them to be connected through a formal system of common properties and universal constructs'.

Ontological differences raise fundamental questions about how the environment can actually be understood, the ethical relationships between humans and the environment, as well as criticism of instrumental science (Demeritt 2006). Despite often little ontological common ground, there is a substantial history of multi-method and interdisciplinary approaches in tourism geography, including environmental perception, natural hazards research, tourism impacts and resource evaluation. Tourism geographers have also made substantial contributions to research on sustainable tourism (Weaver 2006), including in developing regions (Saarinen *et al.* 2011). However, its most substantial contemporary contribution is arguably in the complex areas of global environmental change (Gössling and Hall 2006a) and climate change (Scott *et al.* 2010, 2012) that necessitate integrated physical and human geographic approaches (Demeritt 2009).

Inside/outside

The final factor influencing the standing of the sub-discipline is the extent to which geographers in

the field are increasingly undertaking employment outside geography departments and in tourism, recreation and leisure studies departments, business schools, and environmental studies and planning departments. Across most of the western world, tourism has become recognised as a major employer, which, in turn, has placed demands on educational institutions to produce graduates with qualifications relevant to the area. Therefore, there has been a substantial growth in the number of universities and colleges that offer undergraduate and graduate qualifications in tourism, recreation and hospitality, which provide potential employment for tourism and recreation geographers. The opportunity to develop a career path in tourism and recreation departments which are undergoing substantial student growth, or in a new department, will clearly be attractive to individuals whose career path may be slower within long-established geography departments and who carry the burden of being interested in a sub-discipline often on the outer edge of mainstream geographic endeavour. As Johnston (1991: 281) recognised, 'this reaction to environmental shifts is undertaken by individual scholars, who are seeking not only to defend and promote their own status and careers within it'.

The massive growth of tourism and recreation studies outside geography also means that increasingly many geographers publish in tourism and recreation journals rather than in geography journals. Such publications may be extremely significant for tourism studies but may carry little weight within geography beyond the sub-discipline (e.g. Butler's (1980) hugely influential article on the destination life cycle). This has therefore meant that geographers who work in non-geography departments may find themselves being drawn into interdisciplinary studies with only weak linkages to geography. The question that of course arises is: does this really matter? Disciplines change over time, areas of specialisation come and go depending on intrinsic and extrinsic factors. As Johnston observes:

The continuing goal of an academic discipline is the advancement of knowledge. Each discipline

pursues that goal with regard to particular areas of study.

Its individual members contribute by conducting research and reporting their findings, by integrating material into the disciplinary corpus, and by pedagogical activities aimed at informing about, promoting and reproducing the discipline: in addition, they may argue the discipline's 'relevance' to society at large. But there is no fixed set of disciplines, nor any one correct division of academic according to subject matter. Those disciplines currently in existence are contained within boundaries established by earlier communities of scholars. The boundaries are porous so that disciplines interact. Occasionally the boundaries are changed, usually through the establishment of a new discipline that occupies an enclave within the preexisting division of academic space.

(Johnston 1991: 9)

However, to borrow the title of a leading geography textbook of the 1980s, *Geography Matters!* (Massey and Allen 1984), it matters because concepts at the heart of geography such as spatiality, place, identity, landscape and region are critical, not only to the geography of tourism and recreation but also to tourism and recreation studies as a whole. Indeed, the growing interest in the concept of mobility among the social sciences (e.g. Bell and Ward 2000; Urry 2000; Adey 2010) is testimony to the long focus that tourism and recreation geographers have had on leisure mobility (Wolfe 1966; Hall 2005a). In commenting on work undertaken by geographers in the tourism field, Britton noted that they have

been reluctant to recognise explicitly the capitalistic nature of the phenomenon they are researching . . . This problem is of fundamental importance as it has meant an absence of an adequate theoretical foundation for our understanding of the dynamics of the industry and the social activities it involves.

(Britton 1991: 451)

However, such a criticism of tourism and recreation studies by geographers arguably does not hold as

BOX 1.2 THE GEOGRAPHY OF TOURISM AND RECREATION OUTSIDE THE ANGLO-AMERICAN TRADITION: THE 'MARGIN OF THE MARGIN'?

While this book concentrates on the geography of tourism and recreation within the English speaking world, what is sometimes referred to as the Anglo-American tradition (Johnston and Sidaway 1997), it is important to note that the interest of geographers in tourism and recreation is also occurring within other geographical traditions. The internationalisation of the tourism and recreation academic community through such organisations as the IGU Study Group on Tourism, the growth of student and academic exchanges within the European Union and the use of English as the international language of scholarship have also meant a growing interchange between native English speaking and English as a second language scholars. Academic journals in English are now increasingly being produced in countries where English is not the native tongue, for example *Anatolia* in Turkey and *Tourism Today* in Cyprus. Nevertheless, the market of ideas in tourism geography is clearly affected by 'the uneven geographies of international journal publishing spaces' (Paasi 2005: 769) that are shaped by different national and institutional research agendas as well as language, leading to what Hall (2013a) described as the possibilities of non-English geographies of tourism becoming the 'margin of the margin'.

An analysis by Hall (2013d) found that the 25 most cited papers in Scopus under 'tourism and geography/ies' were mainly from authors with institutional affiliations in the UK, New Zealand, Canada and the USA. Even given the inclusion of more non-English journals in Scopus, authors based at institutions in primarily English speaking countries accounted for 57.6 per cent of institutions contributing two or more papers of all publications listed in Scopus under tourism and geography/ies up to the end of 2010. The leading countries (≥ 5 per cent) being the UK (21.8 per cent), USA (14.1 per cent), China (10.3 per cent), Australia (7.2 per cent), Canada (6.5 per cent), New Zealand (6.5 per cent) and France (5 per cent) (Hall 2013d). However, when the total number of Scopus listed publications was categorised according to language of publication an even higher proportion (68 per cent) were in English (French being the next most used, 8.1 per cent), reflecting concerns not only about the peripheralisation of non-English publications (and hence ideas) in the 'international' discourse of tourism geography (Hall 2013a; Wilson and Anton Clavé 2013), but also about the emerging linguistic and institutional monopolisation of international publishing spaces (Paasi 2005).

The paramount status of English as the international language of ideas reflects not only the unreality of level playing fields in the knowledge market but also the extent to which the local and specific affects the geography of reading (Hall 2013a). It also indicates a problem for some linguistically defined bodies of tourism geography knowledge at a time when there are increasing demands from policy-makers and university administrations to figure in international subject and university rankings – which tend to be in English (Mohrman *et al.* 2008). No matter how important local and national knowledge is within a specific spatial context, unless it is conveyed in English it has little chance to enter the global marketplace and be reproduced and recirculated. Somewhat ironically, given the desire to give voice to local and indigenous perspectives, unless that voice can be spoken in English it is likely not to be heard (Hall 2013a). It is also notable that, in returning to Hall's (2013d) analysis, while China accounts for over 10 per cent of all tourism geography publications in Scopus, only a little over one-quarter of these are actually in Chinese, reflecting the efforts of Chinese institutions to compete internationally (Bao and Ma 2010). Although the hegemony of the centre in the knowledge production process has long been acknowledged (Canagarajah 1996), the

English language has become part of the 'ideological complex' that produces and maintains the increasing hegemony of the English speaking academy (Tietze and Dick 2013), including with respect to the geographies of tourism and recreation.

In examining the tourism and recreation literature of a number of languages and countries, it may be noted that the growth of publishing on tourism and recreation in English is mirrored in these other traditions, along with some of the disciplinary differences and issues noted above (Rubio 1998–9; Kraas and Taubmann 2000; Wayens and Grimmeau 2003; Kreisel 2012).

French speaking geography also has a strong tradition of research on tourism and recreation (Iazzarotti 2002; Coëffé 2007) that was, arguably, much further advanced in the 1960s and 1970s in terms of both theoretical development and extent of publication than the Anglo-American tradition. One reason for this advanced interest possibly lay in the long recognition of tourism as a factor in the economic development of French alpine regions and its impact on the cultural and physical landscape (e.g. Knafo 1978). In addition, the growth of tourism on the Mediterranean coast provided a basis for research on coastal resort development (e.g. Burnet 1963; Barbaza 1966), while the significance of second homes for tourism and leisure also has a strong research tradition. More recently, French speaking geographers have written substantive works regarding the impacts of tourism (e.g. Michaud 1983, 1992; Escourrou 1993; Debarbieux 1995), urban tourism (e.g. Iazzarotti 1995; Potier and Cazes 1996, 1998), as well as the social construction of tourism (e.g. Boyer 1996; Deprest 1997, 2002; Gagnon 2007; Kadri 2008). In a review of the geography of tourism and leisure in France, Knafo (2000) notes the diversity of approaches and topics that exist. Indeed, an examination of several French language texts and readings (e.g. Lozato 1985; Clary 1993; Dewailly and Flament 1993; Deprest 1997; Baron-Yellés 1999; Coëffé 2007) suggests that, as in Anglo-American human geography, traditional spatial approaches to studying tourism geography are increasingly under challenge from perspectives strongly influenced by postmodernism (Knafo *et al.* 1997; Deprest 2002) and ideas of mobility (Dehoorne 2002) (see also Morisset *et al.* 2012).

Dutch and Nordic geographies have been much more influenced by Anglo-American tourism and recreation geography than their French and German counterparts to a great extent because of the role of English as a second language and the publication of much of their research in English (Hall *et al.* 2009). Coastal tourism, rural tourism and regional development are particularly strong themes in Dutch tourism geography (Ashworth and Dietvorst 1995; Dietz and Kwaad 2000), while the work of Greg Ashworth has had a major influence on the fields of urban and heritage tourism (e.g. Ashworth 1989, 1999; Ashworth and Tunbridge 1996; Ashworth and Ennen 1998) (see also Chapter 5). Nordic tourism and recreation geography has had considerable influence in the areas of tourism in peripheral regions and second home development (e.g. Finnveden 1960; Aldskogius 1968; Jaakson 1986; Halseth and Rosenberg 1995; Kaltenborn 1997a, 1997b, 1998; Müller 1999, 2006, 2011; Aronsson 2000; Saarinen 2001, 2003, 2006; Hall and Müller 2004; Saarinen and Hall 2004; Müller and Jansson 2006; Hiltunen *et al.* 2013) and global environmental change and contemporary mobility (Gössling 2002; Frändberg and Vilhelmsen 2003; Gössling and Hall 2006a; Tervo-Kankare *et al.* 2013). Nevertheless, as with Anglo-American tourism geography, a number of geographers are not based in departments of geography and are instead located in business schools, schools of service management or departments of tourism (e.g. Gössling 2011; Hultman and Hall 2012). Asian tourism geographers have also been substantially influenced by Anglo-American publications and research, although unfortunately there is much Asian research which is yet to be published in English. For example, reviews of Korean human geography (Kim 2000) and applied geography (Lee 2000) indicate a

large body of literature in Korean on event tourism, rural tourism, coastal tourism and resort development. There is also evidence of a growing interest in the geography of tourism in China (e.g. Lew and Wu 1995; Guo *et al.* 2000; Bao 2002, 2009; Bao and Ma 2010; Li *et al.* 2012), although, as noted above, much of this is being published in English.

One area which has shown a massive growth in tourism research by geographers is Southern Africa. Although some areas of South African geography were undoubtedly substantially influenced by developments in Anglo-American geography, relationships also existed with Dutch and German geographical traditions, while the apartheid years also contributed to a reduced contact with the international academic community. The removal of apartheid reconnected South African geography with the wider field (perhaps best indicated in the hosting of an IGU regional conference in South Africa in 2002, with tourism being one of the largest stream of papers at the conference) as well as reinforcing the importance that South African tourism and recreation geographers would be able to connect with specific development issues in the new South Africa in a manner that responded to local issues as much as international concerns (Rogerson and Visser 2004; Visser and Rogerson 2004). Significantly, research on sub-Saharan Africa has since expanded dramatically (Saarinen *et al.* 2009; Hottola 2009; Rogerson and Visser 2011).

The above discussion is by no means a comprehensive review of the enormous body of literature of tourism and recreation which exists outside English. Nevertheless, it does indicate that there appears to be almost universal growth in research on tourism and recreation by geographers regardless of language, and that several of the tensions existing in Anglo-American tourism and recreation geography exist elsewhere. Moreover, there is also increasing crossover between the different literatures as English continues to expand its academic influence, as indicated by both the growing literature by non-native English speakers in journals published in English and the continued growth in attendance at IGU and other conferences in which papers are primarily presented in English. However, such growth may be problematic for some non-English geographical traditions, especially as more English tourism texts are translated into other languages than the other way around. The long-term implications of this for tourism and recreation geographies may be substantial and this is an issue that we will return to in the concluding chapter (Chapter 10).

firmly some 20 years later, although the lack of an agreed theoretical foundation does mean that debates over theory will remain with us for a considerable time yet.

Transforming the geography of tourism and recreation

The situation described in this chapter is that of an area of academic endeavour which is at a critical point in its evolution. Tourism and recreation geography is a relatively applied area of study that is at the periphery of its own discipline but with strong connections to academic research and scholarship outside the area.

Dominated by systematic spatial analysis, it has historically had a relatively weak theoretical base that exacerbated its inability to influence wider disciplinary endeavours. Nevertheless, since the late 1980s there has been a gradual transformation in its character and fortunes. First, there has been a major growth in the number and quality of publications by tourism and recreation geographers, which, although not greatly influencing geography outside the sub-discipline, has had a major impact on the direction of tourism and recreation studies, and has also informed broader social scientific debates on mobility, transnationalism, services, heritage and regional studies; and increasingly environmental science debates on conservation and environmental change. Second, there is

clearly a conscious attempt to provide a stronger theoretical base to tourism and recreation geography which would both be informed by and contribute to contemporary social theory, particularly with respect to such issues as globalisation, localisation, commodification, restructuring and sustainability. Third, tourism and recreation geographers are seeking to promote their work more actively in academic and non-academic spheres, especially as international and domestic temporary mobility continue to expand. Finally, in a time of increased theoretical, epistemological and policy fluidity the cosmopolitan nature of tourism and recreation geography (Gibson 2008; Hall and Page 2009; Hall 2013a) has come to be recognised as a strength rather than a weakness, allowing greater engagement in a range of intellectual debates and business, social and environmental issues.

This book reinforces several of the above themes. At one level it seeks to highlight the scope, nature and contribution of geography and geographers to the study of tourism and recreation. However, at another it also aims to provide some insights into the nature of the theoretical transformations which are occurring in the field. Figure 1.5 provides an overall framework for many of the key issues discussed in the book. The figure attempts to illustrate the relationships between some of the foci of the geography of tourism and recreation, including the opportunity spectrum that exists in relation to home-based leisure, recreation and tourism, and corresponding factors of demand and supply. These are themselves influenced and mediated by regulatory structures and the institutional arrangements that govern tourism. The impacts that occur through the intersection of supply and

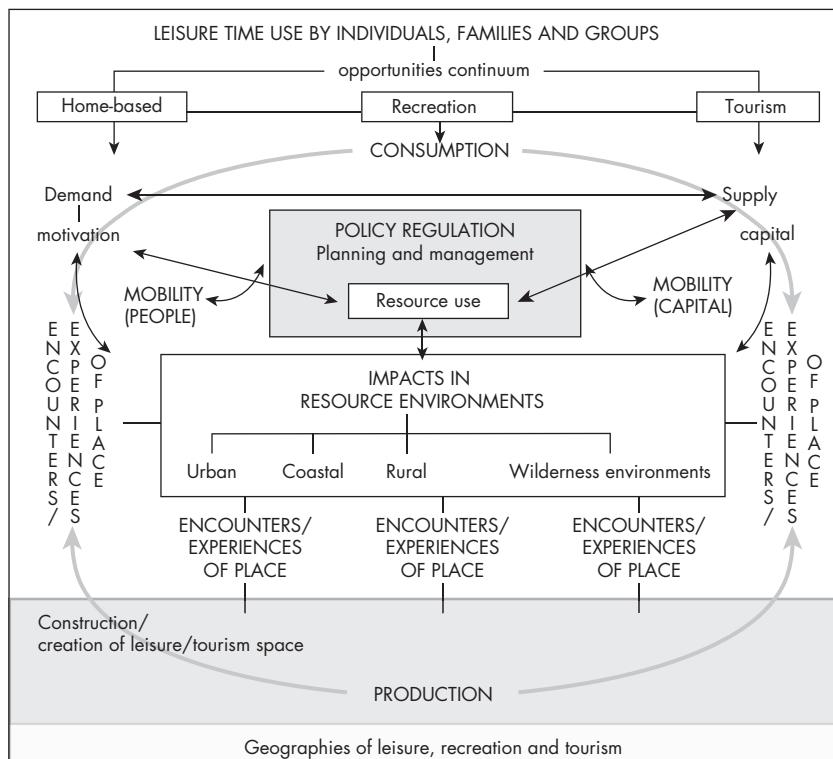


Figure 1.5 Organising framework for the book

demand, consumption and production are located in a range of different environments which each provide separate experiences of place and constructed leisure/tourism spaces.

The following two chapters examine the demand and supply elements of tourism and recreation. Chapter 2 examines how the demand for tourism and recreation is conceptualised and analysed, the concepts developed to derive a focus for research and the implications for a geographical analysis. In Chapter 3, the main techniques and methods of evaluating tourist and recreational resources are discussed as a basis for Chapter 4, and the chapter looks at the interactions of demand and supply variables in relation to the impacts of tourism and recreation. The role of the state and government policy as a determinant of tourist and recreational opportunities is examined, as are issues of access to public and private space for tourists and recreationists.

Chapter 4 examines the differing types of impacts generated by tourist and recreational activities and the way in which different methodologies have been devised to analyse the environmental, socio-cultural and economic impacts. The following four chapters (Chapters 5–8) consider the distinctive nature of tourist and recreational activities in a variety of environmental contexts (urban, rural, wilderness, coastal and ocean areas), emphasising their role in shaping and influencing people's tourist and recreational opportunities, and the effects of such activities on the places in which they occur.

One of the strongest contributions of geography in the tourism and recreation field is in terms of the development of planning and policy analysis. Chapter 9 reviews the need for developing a planning and policy framework at different geographical scales, with particular concern for the different traditions of tourism planning which exist. Chapter 10, the final chapter, examines the future prospects of the field and the potential contributions which geography and geographers may make to understanding tourism and recreation phenomena. Tourism and recreation have been the direct subject of geographical analysis since the late 1920s. In that time methodologies and philosophies have changed, as has the subject matter. Tourism

is now regarded as one of the world's largest industries and is forecast to continue growing in the foreseeable future. Tourism and recreation are complex phenomena with substantial economic, socio-cultural, environmental and political impacts at scales from the global through to the individual. It is now time for geographers not only to develop a deeper understanding of the processes which led to the spatial outcomes of tourism and recreation, but also to convey this understanding to other geographers, students of tourism and recreation, the public and private sectors and the wider communities which are affected by these phenomena.

Further reading

Useful introductions to some of the main approaches to the field of the geography of tourism and recreation include a number of recent reviews of the field, such as:

Bianchi, R. (2009) 'The "critical turn" in tourism studies: a radical critique', *Tourism Geographies*, 11: 484–504.

Gibson, C. (2008) 'Locating geographies of tourism', *Progress in Human Geography*, 32: 407–22.

Gibson, C. (2009) 'Geographies of tourism: critical research on capitalism and local livelihoods', *Progress in Human Geography*, 33: 527–34.

Gibson, C. (2010) 'Geographies of tourism: (un)ethical encounters', *Progress in Human Geography*, 34: 521–7.

Hall, C.M. (2013) 'Framing tourism geography: notes from the underground', *Annals of Tourism Research*, DOI: 10.1016/j.annals.2013.06.007.

Hall, C.M. and Page, S.J. (2009) 'Progress in tourism management: from the geography of tourism to geographies of tourism – a review', *Tourism Management*, 30: 3–16.

There are also a number of edited collections that provide good thematic introductions to various issues

and concepts in the geographies of tourism and recreation. See:

Lew, A., Hall, C.M. and Williams, A. (eds) (2014) *The Wiley-Blackwell Companion to Tourism*, Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell Publishers (a large collection of essays on various major research themes and traditions in the geography of tourism as well as the wider tourism literature).

Wilson, J. (ed.) (2012) *The Routledge Handbook of Tourism Geographies*, London: Routledge.

Wilson, J. and Anton Clavé, S. (eds) (2013) *Geographies of Tourism: European Research Perspectives*, London: Emerald.

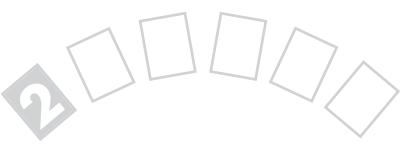
For recent tourism statistics, see:

United Nations World Tourism Organization (The UN body responsible for tourism): www.unwto.org/

World Travel & Tourism Council (an international organisation of travel industry executives promoting travel and tourism interests worldwide): www.wttc.org/

Questions to discuss

- 1 Is geographical knowledge more important than ever? What is its relevance to understanding the contemporary world?**
- 2 'This is an interesting time to be a recreational geographer.' Discuss.**



The demand for recreation and tourism

Understanding why human beings engage in recreational and tourism activities is an increasingly important and complex area of research for social scientists. Historically, geographers have played only a limited part in studying the behavioural aspects of recreational and tourists' use of free time (Jackson 1988), tending to have a predisposition towards the analysis of aggregate patterns of demand using quantitative measures and statistical sources as well as novel techniques (e.g. Xiaa *et al.* 2011). In only a few cases have more qualitative approaches been used (e.g. Stokowski 2002) which embody notions of leisure and place, and few studies have developed the behavioural geography advances of the period since the 1970s in human geography and applied them to the subject area.

This almost rigid demarcation of research activity has, with a few exceptions (e.g. Goodall 1990; Mansfeld 1992), meant that behavioural research in recreation and tourism has only since the early 1990s made any impact on the wider research community (see, e.g., Walmsley and Lewis 1993 on the geographer's approach to behavioural research), with notable studies (e.g. Walmsley and Jenkins 1992; Jenkins and Walmsley 1993) applying spatial principles to the analysis of recreational and tourism behaviour. But these remain the exception rather than the norm, given that the 'cultural turn' (see Chapter 1; Wilson 2012) has dominated the production of outputs, with little critical impact on advancing our knowledge of tourism behaviour (Hall and Page 2009). Nevertheless, at least three significant advances can be recognised. First, geographers have begun to identify how the demand for leisure and tourism has resulted in *geographies* of leisure and tourism specific to certain

social, ethnic, gendered and marginalised groups (e.g. disabled people) and the meanings they attach to the spaces they consume in their leisure time, or are unable to consume due to barriers and constraints. As McAvoy's (2002) work demonstrates, there are distinct place meanings attached to the ways that Native American Indians and white Americans value and use leisure resources. The results are a series of leisure and tourism landscapes, socially, culturally and politically constructed for different groups of people (Aitchison *et al.* 2000). Second, work undertaken at the intersection of behavioural and spatial analytical approaches has resulted in new geographies of spatial tracking and geomatics (Shoval and Isaacson 2007; Hall 2012a). Third, studies of the way in which demand for tourism may need to be modified in relation to sustainable consumption strategies and concerns over climate change as they challenge thinking about the logic of sustainability where discretionary travel contributes directly to climate change (Gössling *et al.* 2012c).

Geographers and demand: historical and temporal perspectives

Even historians of tourism and recreation, such as Durie (2003: 1), note: 'There has been in the last few years a major sea change in the literature on tourism'. Quite a number of substantial studies have been published on the history of tourism, many of which have described the evolution of tourism and recreation in different eras, typically as monographs (e.g. Walton 1983, 2009; Gold and Gold 1995; Durie 2003). These types of historical studies have been apparent in

the tourism and recreation literature in the English speaking and French literature (e.g. McGibbon 2000; Tissot 2000). Yet geographers are beginning to make a greater contribution to developing the historical analyses of tourism and recreation demand, building on seminal studies such as Towner (1996) which are based upon two important processes of development: continuity in the patterns and nature of demand through time, and contextual changes as the continuity in tourism and leisure phenomena is shaped by evolving social, political, cultural and economic forces within society (Page 2003a). An important transformation in modern societies was observed by Pred (1981) in the way urban industrial society separated the home and production. This led to a spatial and temporal demarcation of leisure and productive activities, as time discipline provided coupling constraints in the nature of leisure consumption, which we will explore in more detail on pp. 65–67. Historical analysis, as Page and Connell (2010) demonstrate, is fundamental to understanding the emergence of tourism and recreation through time, as well as how transformations in different eras of society (e.g. wartime – see Page and Durie 2009) can create distinctive geographies of leisure and tourism.

The interconnection between historical geography and history and the methodologies used to analyse tourism and recreation phenomena remain hugely undervalued in geographical analysis but are frequently referred to, to contextualise the complexity of modern leisure phenomena. This is reinforced by the arguments that the past is the key to the present. Such an approach can also question current assumptions on prevailing interpretations of modern leisure. For example, Bayliss' (2003) study of leisure on two Unwin-designed quasi-rural council estates in outer London in the inter-war period used oral histories and documentary evidence to reconstruct the leisure lives of residents. It illustrates the complexity of generalising about inter-war council estates, which provided over one million homes in the period 1919–39. These estates were often seen by researchers as social failures in the post-war period, being desolate areas devoid of community feelings and spirit. Bayliss (2003) showed the diversity of leisure pursuits in the two contrasting

estates studied, the importance of organisations and social groups in promoting formal and informal leisure, and the ideology and rhetoric of attempts at social control in the physical planning of such estates to create leisure spaces designed to promote the enrichment of life, to educate and promote physical recreation as well as the provision of gardens and allotments. The results were far from indicative of such estates as social failures as oral histories suggest. Bayliss (2003) also illustrated how the inter-war years saw the evolution of home-based forms of leisure demand, as the radio became a commonplace item of mass consumed media, shaping leisure behaviour and social interaction. In contrast, Figure 2.1 depicts community leisure life during the 1920s in an inner city area of the East End of London (not more than five miles from the location described by Bayliss (2003)). In contrast to Bayliss (2003), it is evident time–space compression occurred in leisure and coupling constraints in the East End of London as observed by the anthropological observations by Harris (1927). What Figure 2.1 also identifies is the notion of the home and out-of-home as spatial contexts for leisure, including community-based leisure.

Similarly, Dias and Melo's (2011) analysis of leisure and industrialisation in Brazil illustrates how similar processes of change depicted by Pred (1981) were replicated in a modern setting where later urban industrial development transformed the leisure lives of the urban dwellers. It highlights the importance of understanding the demand for leisure and recreation historically and how changes through time affect the way demand is shaped and conditioned.

The geographers' contribution to demand-based research: an overview

Within the recreational literature, the geographers' contributions have largely been subsumed into social science perspectives, such as sociology, psychology and planning, so that the spatiality and placefulness of their contribution has been implicit rather than explicit. This chapter discusses some of the key behavioural issues associated with recreation and tourism demand and some of the new concepts being

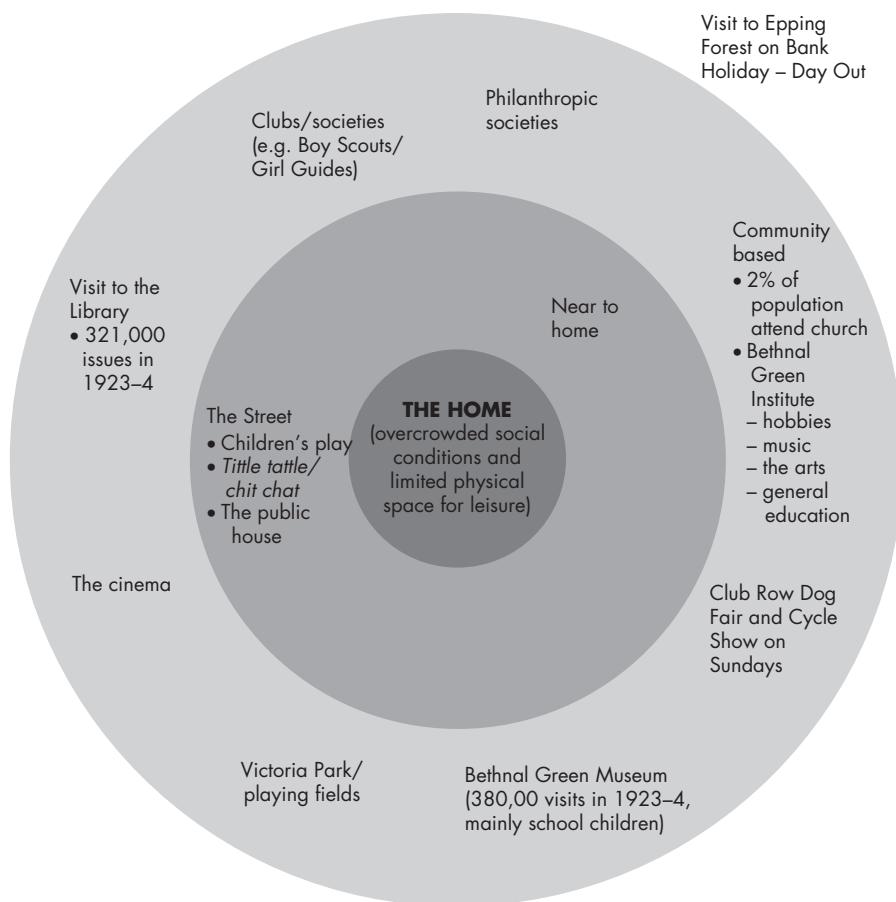


Figure 2.1 Inventory of the supply of leisure in a working class community, Bethnal Green, East London 1925–6

Source: Page and Connell 2010: 203.

used to understand why certain social groups are not able to participate in leisure (i.e. social exclusion) and how this shapes leisure patterns. The spatiality of leisure has been implicit in much of the research on leisure spaces (e.g. Shields 1991; Urry 1995). This discussion is followed by an analysis of the major data sources which researchers use, emphasising how the geographer has used and manipulated them to identify the patterns, processes and implications of such activity. Running parallel to this and perhaps in a supplementary role is the growing volume of qualitative research typically using very small sample sizes,

focusing on highly specialised themes and lacking the generalities of the much larger-scale quantitative research. The challenge for current research is to integrate and blend somewhat polarised views of how to study social science phenomena to understand how human behaviour is conceptualised and analysed. Recent reviews of tourism and leisure within the journal *Progress in Human Geography* have largely accentuated these polarised views and not offered a roadmap or way to develop this agenda more productively.

Within the literature on recreation and tourism, there is a growing unease over the physical separation

of the theoretical and conceptual research that isolates behavioural processes and spatial outcomes, and fails to derive generalisations applicable to understanding tourism in totality (see Chapter 1). According to Moore *et al.* (1995: 74) there are common strands in the 'relationships between the various motivating factors applicable to both leisure and tourism'; as Leiper (1990) argued, tourism represents a valued category of leisure, where there is a degree of commonality between the factors motivating both tourist and recreational activities and many of the needs, such as relaxation or being with friends, can equally be fulfilled in a recreational or tourism context (Page and Connell 2010). Although there is some merit in Leiper's (1990) approach, grouping leisure into one amorphous category assumes that there are no undifferentiated attributes which distinguish tourism from leisure. As Pigram and Jenkins (1999: 19) confirm, 'the term recreation demand is generally equated with an individual(s) preferences or desires, whether or not the individual has the economic and other resources necessary for their satisfaction'. In this respect, it is the preference–aspiration–desire level, reflected in behaviour or participation in activities. It is interesting to note that Leiper's (1990) approach has a great deal of validity if one recognises that some tourism motivations may in fact differentiate tourism from leisure experiences, just as the reverse may be true, and that ultimately the particular range of motives associated with a tourism or recreational activity will be unique in each case despite a range of similarities. For this reason, the following examines recreational demand, emphasising many of the explanations commonly advanced in the recreational literature, then discusses the tourism context and the issues raised, bearing in mind the need to compare and contrast each literature base in the light of the seminal arguments advanced by Moore *et al.* (1995) and Leiper (1990).

Recreational demand

Human activity related to recreation and tourism is a function of an individual's or group's willingness or

desire to engage in such pursuits. Yet understanding this dimension in recreation and tourism requires a conceptual approach which can rationalise the complex interaction between the desire to undertake leisure activities, however defined, and the opportunities to partake of them. As Coppock and Duffield argued:

the success of any study of outdoor recreation depends on the synthesis of two contrasting elements: the sociological phenomenon of leisure or . . . that part of leisure time which an individual spends on outdoor recreation [and tourism] and . . . the physical resources that are necessary for the particular recreational activities

(Coppock and Duffield 1975: 2)

Coppock and Duffield acknowledged the need to recognise the interrelationship between human *demand* as participation or a desire to engage in recreation and tourism, and *the supply* of resources, facilities and opportunities which enable such demand to be fulfilled. As Lipscombe (2003) outlined, there are various forms of leisure demand, comprising:

- *effective demand*, sometimes referred to as participation;
- *latent demand*, which is demand that has been constrained for various reasons and could be realised if the variables that restrict participation are removed;
- *future demand*, which may occur if further provision of resources becomes available in future;
- *induced demand*, where latent demand is converted into effective demand where new facilities or resources become available;
- *diverted demand*, which is demand that can be supplanted or displaced by the provision of a new facility whereby the participants move to a new resource or form of provision;
- *substitute demand*, where people may relocate their demand to alternative provision.

(Source: developed from Lipscombe 2003: 106–7; Page and Connell 2010)

The concepts of demand and supply have largely been developed and applied to conventional market

economies, where the individual has a choice related to the consumption of recreation and tourism (for a discussion of these issues in non-market economies such as the former Soviet Union, see Vendenin 1978; Shaw 1979; Riordan 1982). As Roberts *et al.* (2001) show, since the 1980s the former Soviet Union (now Russian Federation) has gone from one of the most equal societies to one of the most unequal, but leisure still makes a significant contribution to the Russian quality of life, despite inequalities in leisure provision. In numerous reviews of Soviet geography in the post-war period, the impact and influence of Russian research has been deemed to have had little impact on the development of geography internationally (excluding theoretical debates on Soviet ideology and Marxism). Yet within the field of leisure and recreation there has been a strong tradition of the study of leisure demand and an ongoing interest in leisure phenomena, as various studies attest (Nefedova and Zemlianoi 1997; Tchistiakova and Cabanne 1997; Ioffe and Nefedova 2001; Kruzhalin 2002), as well as wider social science contributions such as Gvozdeva's (1999) study exploring the expansion of women's leisure time in post-communist Russia. Indeed, Koenker (2003) pointed to the transition from a collective tourism experience in Soviet tourism and leisure to a search for more autonomy in the post-reform period. However, Sedova (2011) observed that leisure and free time still command a secondary position in Russian society in juxtaposition to the role of work.

Patmore (1983: 54) acknowledges that 'leisure is far more easily recognised than objectively analysed . . . the difficulties are only in part conceptual: equally important are the nature and limitations of available data', which this section will seek to explain in a recreation context. According to Pigram (1983) there is a general lack of clarity in the use of the term *demand* in the recreational literature. One can distinguish between demand at a generic level, where it refers to an 'individual's preferences or desires, whether or not the individual has the economic or other resources necessary for their satisfaction' (Pigram 1983: 16), reflecting behavioural traits and preference for certain activities. At another level, there are the specific

activities or participation in activities often expressed as visitation rates and measured to reflect the actual observed behaviour. One factor that prevents observed demand equating with participation is the concept of latent demand (the element which is unsatisfied due to a lack of recreational opportunities). Knetsch (1969) identified the mismatch and confusion between participation and demand, arguing that one cannot simply look at what people do and associate it with what people want to do, so ideally any analysis of demand should also consider why people do not participate, and examine ways of overcoming such obstacles by the provision of new resources as well as understanding social and cultural barriers.

Attempting to summarise the factors which influence the decision to participate in recreation led Pigram (1983) to construct Figure 2.2, which highlights the complex range of variables that affect the process. Most research has examined effective demand, which is actual participation, rather than latent demand, and the geographers' contribution has largely been related to the spatial and temporal expression of demand in relation to supply (i.e. demand at specific sites). This is very much resource specific, and dates back to the geographical tradition of resource identification, use and analysis, which can be traced to at least the 1930s. However, Coppock and Duffield (1975) also distinguish between passive recreation and active recreation, thereby beginning to differentiate between different forms of demand. While passive recreation is by far the most important type numerically, it is difficult to study due to its diffuse and often unorganised nature.

As Pigram and Jenkins argued,

In the real world, recreation demand rarely equals participation. The difference between aggregate demand and actual participation (or expressed, effective, observed, revealed demand) is referred to as latent demand or latent participation – the unsatisfied component of demand that would be converted to participation if conditions of supply of recreation opportunities were brought to ideal levels.

(Pigram and Jenkins 2006: 26)

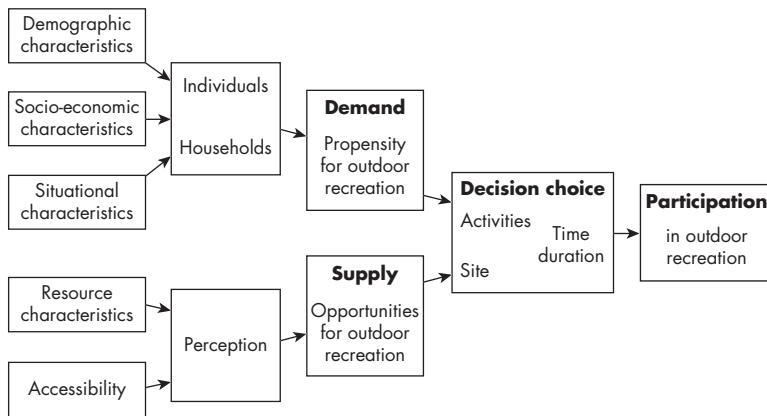


Figure 2.2 The decision-making process in outdoor recreation

Source: Pigram 1983.

But what motivates people to engage in recreational activities?

Argyle (1996) argues that part of the reason why people undertake leisure and recreational activities can be found in the process of socialisation and personality traits, where childhood influences such as parents and peers are forms of social influence and learning that affect future activity choice. In fact, nearly half of adult leisure interests are acquired after childhood, and personality factors influence preferences towards specific forms of recreation. However, understanding the broader psychological factors which motivate individuals to undertake forms of recreation is largely the remit of psychologists, being an intrinsic form of motivation (i.e. something one is not paid to undertake).

A simplistic approach to recreational motivation is to ask recreationalists what actually motivates them. For example, Crandall (1980) outlined 17 factors from leisure motivation research, and among the most frequently cited by other studies of leisure motivation were included enjoying nature and the outdoors, space from everyday routine, exercise, relaxation, contact with other people and spending time with one's family, though Argyle (1996) argues that specific motivations are evident in particular forms of recreation. Torkildsen (1992: 79), however, posits that

homeostasis is a fundamental concept associated with human motivation where people have an underlying desire to maintain a state of internal stability. Human needs, which are 'any lack or deficit within the individual either acquired or physiological' (Morgan and King 1966: 776), disturb the state of homeostasis. At a basic level, human needs have to be met where physiological theory maintained that all human behaviour is motivated. This leads to one of the most commonly cited studies in relation to recreation and tourism motivation – Maslow's hierarchy of human needs.

Maslow's hierarchy model of human needs and recreational and tourist motivation

Within the social psychology literature on recreation and tourism, Maslow's (1954) needs hierarchy remains one of the most frequently cited theories of motivation. It follows the principle of a ranking or hierarchy of individual needs (usually illustrated as in Figure 2.3, although Maslow never used this figure himself), based on the premise that self-actualisation is a level to which people should aspire, although it should be noted that Maslow never actually used such a diagram in his own work. Maslow argued that if the lower

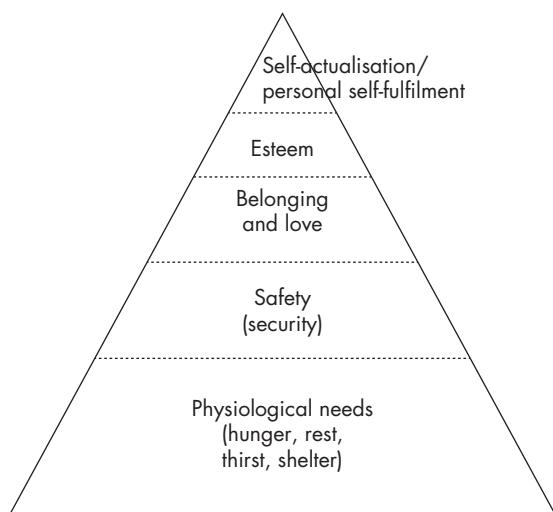


Figure 2.3 Maslow's hierarchy of needs

needs in the hierarchy were not fulfilled they would dominate human behaviour. Once these were satisfied, the individual would be motivated by the needs of the next level of the hierarchy. In the motivation sequence, Maslow identified 'deficiency or tension-reducing motives' and 'inductive or arousal-seeking motives' (Cooper *et al.* 1993: 21), arguing that the model could be applied to work and non-work contexts. Despite Maslow's research shaping much of the recreation and tourism demand work, how and why he selected five basic needs remains unclear, though its universal application in recreation and tourism appears to have a relevance with regard to understanding how human action is related to understandable and predictable aspects of action compared to research which argues that human behaviour is essentially irrational and unpredictable.

While Maslow's model is not necessarily ideal, since needs are not hierarchical in reality because some needs may occur simultaneously, it does emphasise the development needs of humans, with individuals striving towards personal growth. Therefore, Maslow assists in a recreational (and tourism) context in identifying and classifying the types of needs people have. Tillman (1974) summarised some of the broader

leisure needs of individuals within which recreational needs occur, and these may include the pursuit of:

- new experiences (i.e. having an adventure);
- relaxation, escape and fantasy;
- recognition and identity;
- security (being free from thirst, hunger or pain);
- dominance (controlling one's environment);
- response and social interaction (relating and interacting with others);
- mental activity (perceiving and understanding);
- creativity;
- a need to be needed;
- physical activity and fitness.

A different perspective was offered by Bradshaw (1972), who argued that social need is a powerful force, explaining need by classifying it as normative, felt, expressed and comparative need. Mercer (1973), Godbey (1976) and McAvoy (1977) extended Bradshaw's argument within a recreational context, modifying the four categories of need by adding created, changing and false needs. Normative needs are based on value judgements, often made by professionals who establish that what individuals feel is appropriate to the wider population. Felt needs, which individuals may have but not necessarily express, are based on what someone wants to do and are a perceived need. Expressed needs relate to those needs and preferences for existing recreational activities which are often measured but can only be a partial view of demand, since new recreational opportunities may release latent demand. Comparative needs are apparent where existing provision for the general population is compared with special groups (e.g. disabled or elderly people, or ethnic minorities) to establish if existing provision is not fulfilling the needs of the special group. Created needs may result from policy-makers and planners introducing new services or activities which are then taken up by the population. A false need is one that may be created by individuals or society, and which is not essential and may be marginal to wider recreational needs. Changing needs, however, are a recognition of the dynamic nature of human needs, which change through time

as individuals develop and their position in the life cycle changes. Thus what is important at one point in the life cycle may change through time as an individual passes through four key stages (Ken and Rapoport 1975):

- youth (school years);
- young adulthood;
- establishment (extended middle age);
- final phase (between the end of work and of life).

Other researchers (e.g. Iso-Ahola 1980; Neulinger 1981) prefer to emphasise the importance of perceived freedom from constraints as a major source of motivation.

Argyle (1996) synthesises such studies to argue that intrinsic motivation in leisure relates to three underlying principles:

- social motivation;
- basic bodily pleasures (e.g. eating, drinking, sex and sport);
- social learning (how past learning explains a predisposition towards certain activities).

One useful concept which Csikszentmihalyi (1975) introduced to the explanation of motivation was that of *flow*. Individuals tend to find a sense of intense absorption in recreational activities, when self-awareness declines, and it is their peak experience – a sense of flow – which is the main internal motivation. The flow is explained as a balance resulting from being challenged and skill which can occur in four combinations:

- where challenge and skill are high, flow results;
- where the challenge is too great, anxiety results;
- if the challenge is too easy, boredom may occur;
- where the challenge and skill level are too low, apathy may result.

But this does not mean that everyone always seeks recreational activities that provide forms of high arousal. Some recreational activities may just fulfil a need to relax, being undemanding and of low arousal.

As Ewert and Hollenhurst (1989) reported, those who engaged in outdoor recreational sports with a high risk factor (e.g. white-water rafting) viewed the sport as providing a flow experience, and the study predicted that as their skill level improved they would increase the level of participation and risk. Yet even though this occurred, the internal motivation of the group remained unchanged, where low and high arousal seem to be juxtaposed. Thus levels of arousal vary from time to time, a factor which can be used by adventure tourism operators to manage the adventure experience and increase the level of satisfaction of participants (Hall and McArthur 1994; Egner 2002; Page *et al.* 2005).

Recreation may also lead to an enhanced self-image, where the identity becomes a basis for motivation because recreational activities can lead to a sense of belonging to a particular and identifiable group. Some activities may also require the development of special skills and enhanced self-esteem. Where recreational activities require a degree of competency, Bandura (1977) proposed that perception of one's ability to perform the skill is a motivator and may result in self-efficacy, a form of self-confidence and judgement of one's ability.

In spite of the significance of motivation, it is apparent that no single theory or even a clear consensus exists in relation to recreation. Instead, 'in theories of motivation need is seen as a force within the individual to gain satisfactions and completeness. There appear to be many levels and types of need, including the important needs of self-actualisation and psychological growth' (Torkildsen 1992: 86). An understanding of needs and intrinsic motivation and some of the ideas implicit in studies of recreational motivation may offer a range of insights into why people engage in recreational activities. However, it is necessary to understand not only why people engage in recreation, but also what factors or barriers may inhibit them from participating. Torkildsen (1992) outlines the influences on leisure participation in terms of three categories: personal, social and circumstantial, and opportunity factors. These influences (Table 2.1) are also of value in understanding some of the constraints on recreation.

Table 2.1 Influences on leisure participation

<i>Personal</i>	<i>Social and circumstantial</i>	<i>Opportunity factors</i>
Age	Occupation	Resources available
Stage in life cycle	Income	Facilities – type and quality
Gender	Disposable income	Awareness
Marital status	Material wealth and goods	Perception of opportunities
Dependants and ages	Car ownership and mobility	Recreation services
Will and purpose in life	Time available	Distribution of facilities
Personal obligations	Duties and obligations	Access and location
Resourcefulness	Home and social environment	Choice of activities
Leisure perceptions	Friends and peer groups	Transport
Attitudes and motivation	Social roles and contacts	Costs: before, during, after
Interests and preoccupations	Environment factors	Management: policy and support
Skill and ability – physical, social and intellectual	Mass leisure factors	Marketing
Personality and confidence	Education and attainment	Programming
Culture born into	Population factors	Organisation and leadership
Upbringing and background	Cultural factors	Social accessibility
	Political factors	Political policies

Source: Torkildsen 1992.

Barriers to recreation

Within the wider literature on recreation and leisure, a specialist research area has developed, focused on constraints, namely those factors, elements or processes which inhibit people from participating in leisure activities. From the diverse range of studies published, two forms of constraint have been identified: intervening constraints, namely those which intervene between a preference and participation, and antecedent constraints, which influence a person's decision not to undertake an activity.

Although the constraints on recreation and leisure literature can be dated to the 1960s, the 1980s saw a range of studies published, a number of which (e.g. Crawford and Godbey 1987; Crawford *et al.* 1991) have set the research agenda in recent years. In the initial formulation, Crawford and Godbey (1987) proposed that constraints were associated with intrapersonal, interpersonal and structural constraints. In the subsequent reformulation of their thinking, Crawford *et al.* (1991) proposed a hierarchical process model, with their three types of constraint integrated. As a consequence of their model, they proposed that:

- participation in leisure is a negotiation process, where a series of factors became aligned in a sequence;

- the order in which constraints occur leads to a 'hierarchy of importance', where intrapersonal constraints are the most powerful in a sequence ending with no structural constraints;
- social class has a strong influence on participation and non-participation, leading to a hierarchy of social privilege, i.e. social stratification is a powerful conditioning factor and may act as a constraint.

This research has provided a framework for further evaluations of constraints (e.g. Samdahl and Jekubovich 1997, and subsequent criticisms by Henderson 1997). In fact, research by Jackson *et al.* (1993) suggested that the real key to understanding leisure constraints was embedded in the negotiation process, namely how an individual will proceed with experiencing an activity even when constraints are apparent. In a fascinating review of poor rural women's leisure experiences in Bangladesh by Khan, it is evident that 'the conventional approach to leisure studies which has a myopic view of leisure as free or non-obligatory time' (Khan 1997: 18) is meaningless due to blurring of boundaries between free or non-work time and obligatory activities which are often cumbersome and all-encompassing in everyday life. At an empirical level, a range of notable studies have highlighted the prevailing constraints to recreation. For example,

Kay and Jackson's (1991) study of 366 British adults' recreational constraints identified:

- 53 per cent who cited money as the main constraint;
- 36 per cent who felt lack of time was the main limitation;
- conflicts with family or work, transportation problems and health concerns as other contributory factors.

Barriers may be negotiable or solvable, as Kay and Jackson (1991) suggest. Patmore (1983) summarises the main physical barriers to recreation in terms of:

- seasonality;
- biological and social constraints;
- money and mobility;
- resources and fashions;

with the availability of time also being a major constraint.

Coppock and Duffield (1975) recognised the principal variations which exist in terms of demand due to variable uses of leisure time budgets by individuals and groups in relation to the day, week and year. Both Coppock and Duffield (1975) and Patmore (1983) used similar data sources, for example the UK's Pilot National Recreation Survey (British Travel Association and University of Keele 1967, 1969) and sociological studies of family behaviour in the pioneering study by Young and Wilmott (1973), to examine time budgets, variations in demand and constraining factors. One of the most important distinctions to make is that 'the weekend thus represents a large increase in the time that can be committed to leisure pursuits, which in turn affects the weekend time budget' (Coppock and Duffield 1975: 14). Yet when one looks beyond the day and week to the individuals and groups concerned, a wider range of influences emerge which are important in explaining recreation patterns.

Argyle (1996: 33) highlights the fact that one of the main reasons for examining constraining and facilitating factors is to understand 'how many people engage in different kinds of leisure, how much time they spend on it, and how this varies between men

and women, young and old, and other groups'. This is because some groups such as

women, the elderly and unemployed face particular constraints which may affect their ability to engage in leisure and recreational activities which people do because they want to, for their own sake, for fun, entertainment or self-improvement, or for goals of their own choosing, but not for material gain.

(Argyle 1996: 33)

Seasonality

Patmore argued that

one of the most unyielding of constraints is that imposed by climate, most obviously where outdoor activities are concerned. The rhythms of the seasons affect both the hours of daylight available and the extent to which temperatures are conducive to participant comfort outdoors.

(Patmore 1983: 70)

This is reflected in the seasonality of recreational activity, which inevitably leads to peaks in popular seasons and a lull in less favourable conditions. Patmore (1983) identified a continuum in recreational activities, from those which exhibit a high degree of seasonality to those with a limited degree of variation in participation by season. The first type, which is the most seasonal, includes outdoor activities (often of an informal nature) which are weather dependent. The second, an intermediate group, is transitional in the sense that temperature is not necessarily a deterrent since a degree of discomfort may be experienced by the more hardened participants (e.g. when walking and playing sport). The final group is indoor activities, which can be formal or informal, and have virtually no seasonality. In addition, the physical constraints of season, climate and weather inhibit demand by curtailing the periods of time over which a particular resource can be used for the activity concerned (Patmore 1983: 72), although resource substitution (e.g. using a human-made ski slope instead of a snowclad one) may assist in some contexts, but often the human-made resource

cannot offer the same degree of excitement or enjoyment.

Financial resources and access to recreational opportunity

Argyle (1996) observed that while many studies emphasised lack of money as a barrier to engaging in recreational activities, Coalter (1993) found that it had little impact on participation in sports. In fact, Kay and Jackson (1991) also acknowledged that money or disposable income was a barrier to undertaking activities which were major consumers of money (drinking and eating socially) whereas it had little impact on sport, which was comparatively cheap. Bittman (2002) noted in Australia that the results of a time use survey highlighted that time to participate in leisure was determined by hours of employment, family responsibilities and gender. The research found that household income had no significant impact on available leisure time. Income, occupation and access to a car combined have a significant impact on participation (see also Hall 2010a).

As Page (2009a: 1) argues, 'Our desire to travel is underpinned by three distinct methods of human transport: self-propelled modes (e.g. walking); augmented modes (using technology or tools to amplify our bodily effort such as skiing); and fuelled modes (especially motorised transport) as outlined by Stradling and Anable (2008)'. These modes have shaped the spatial occurrence of leisure and recreation (as well as tourism activity). Above all, it is the car which has provided the greatest degree of personal mobility and access to a wider range of recreational opportunities in time and space since the 1960s in many developed countries (and earlier in some cases such as the USA and Canada).

The issue of accessibility and financial resources also raises issues of social inclusion, which are dealt with more fully below. However, as Mather (2003) observed, participation in outdoor recreation (as opposed to leisure *per se*) is closely correlated with socio-economic status and affluence, which posits that lower socio-economic groups have a lower participation rate, due to constraints such as a lack of

supply and limitations from financial resources. In a rural context, Slee (2002) noted that in a survey of visits to the countryside in 1998, among the 17 per cent of the sample respondents who did not visit, no interest and no appeal were key reasons for not visiting rather than financial reasons. Therefore, arguments that supply should be increased to meet perceived demand due to constraints may not necessarily be valid. Mather (2003) debates the implications of legislation in England and Wales (the Countryside and Rights of Way Act 2000) and Scotland (the Land Reform (Scotland) Act 2003) which extended the legal basis and public access to land more widely. Some of the complex arguments associated with these new approaches to making recreational access to land more widely available relate to health goals, for promoting exercise, reflected in the growth of footpaths and walking. Even so, Mather (2003) suggests that the opening of land for recreation will not lead to massive increase in recreational activity.

Gender and social constraints

The influence of gender on recreation remains a powerful factor influencing participation, a feature consistently emphasised in national surveys of recreational demand. As Argyle argues,

there is an influential theory about this topic, due to a number of feminist writers, that women have very little or no leisure, because of the demands of domestic work and the barriers due to husbands who want them at home . . . [and] that leisure is a concept which applies to men, if it is regarded as a reaction to or contrast with paid work.

(Argyle 1996: 44; see also Deem 1986)

Thus women with children appear to have less time for recreation, while those in full- and part-time employment have less time available than their male counterparts (Argyle 1996). These general statements find a high degree of support within the recreational literature, with gender differences in part explained by the male free time occurring in larger blocks and

in prime time (e.g. evenings and weekends) (Pigram 1983). Even so, studies by Talbot (1979) explore this theme in more detail. Recent analyses informed by cultural geography have suggested that different types of body with gendered, classed, aged and sexed meanings may encourage or discourage an individual's participation in specific forms of leisure. In other words, it illustrates the importance of theorising the setting for leisure as spaces which individuals engage in through both body and mind (Mowl and Towner 1995; Scraton *et al.* 1998). In terms of sexed meanings, Pritchard *et al.* (2002) examined the example of Manchester's gay village as one such setting.

Age also exerts a strong influence on participation in recreation, with Hendry *et al.* (1993) describing adolescence as the peak time of leisure needs. Therein lie two key explanations of participation and constraints. However, there is a growing body of evidence on ageing and leisure that contests these notions and assumptions (Mansveld 2005). Stages in the life course present a useful concept to explain why women with young children appear to have fewer opportunities for recreation than adolescents. Likewise, physical vigour and social energy are traditionally explained in terms of a decline in the later stages of adulthood resulting in a decline in active recreation throughout later life, but there is also a need to consider the significance of the life cycle in relation to changes or 'triggers' (Patmore 1983), illustrated by recent studies of ageing and leisure such as that by Pereira (2008) and the analysis of the leisure habits of specific age groups. One such trigger is retirement, and while it is sometimes interpreted as a stressful life event, what Argyle (1996: 63) emphasises from studies of retirement is that 'people carry on with the same leisure as before, though they are more passive and more house-bound, and do not take up much new leisure'. Interestingly the growing international interest in the onset of dementia and its rise as a global health issue amongst the aged has seen a rise in leisure research that has started to assess the positive benefits of leisure and recreation (e.g. Schreiner *et al.* 2005) in slowing down onset/progress through active lifestyles. But active interests in leisure participation may be affected by barriers, as the next section illustrates.

The geography of fear in recreation and leisure spaces: gender-based barriers to participation

Since the 1980s, there has been a growing interest in the role of fear, personal safety and the spatial implications in the urban environment (e.g. Fyfe and Banister 1996; Koskela and Pain 2000; England and Simon 2010; Abrahamsson and Simpson 2011). There has also been an accompanying interest in the gender dimensions of personal safety (Smith 1987a; Valentine 1989), which has important implications within an urban environment in relation to the use of public leisure resources such as open space and urban parks (Beebejaun 2009). For example, in the context of Bolivia, Wright Wendel *et al.* (2012) point to the gender inequalities and use of urban parks and open space. In fact, the concern with such issues may be traced to the changes in the discipline of geography 'and transformative developments both resulting from, and contributing to, a number of new and competing philosophies with the social sciences' (Aitchison 1999: 20), although as noted in Chapter 1 such concerns with relevant social research have been a theme in geography since at least the late 1960s. In relation to leisure and recreation geography, this transformation effect can be related to the concern with gender relations and theoretical perspectives associated with the new cultural geography as a mechanism to conceptualise and theorise leisure space. One of the central tenets of this approach is embodied in Green *et al.*'s (1990: 311) comment where 'A significant aspect of the social control of women's leisure is the regulation of their access to public places, and their behaviour in such places'. These perspectives have only recently begun to emerge in tourism geography (Crouch 2000), where empirical approaches to personal safety have paid little attention to gender and public places.

In conceptual terms, the analysis of the geography of fear, particularly the implications for gender, is a good illustration of the participation issues for particular groups of women. The application of this perspective to recreational and leisure spaces in the city reveals the male domination of public leisure space (Aitchison 1999). The new cultural geographies have

seen some leisure and recreational geographers move away, albeit slowly, from a positivist paradigm and the model building era as new perspectives were conceptualised and theorised as well as identifying the implications for new groups where fear is an issue, such as older children (e.g. Bromley and Stacey 2012). The rise of feminist perspectives in leisure studies by geographers is also a notable development (e.g. Talbot 1979; Deem 1986; Green *et al.* 1987).

One of the principal problems with the emergence of a new cultural geography is epitomised in Shurmer-Smith and Hannam's (1994: 13) comments: 'Place is a deceptively simple concept in geographical thought. We want to make it difficult, uneasy.' Criticisms of this perspective by Hamnett dispute the value of such approaches by geographers who

simply treat theory and concepts as a sort of intellectual game which has become increasingly detached from real world problems and concerns . . . Under the guise of liberation, empowerment and giving voice to those hitherto excluded, [this trend] simply reinforces the privileges of the intellectual elite to play an elaborate language game written by and for a tiny minority of participants

(Hamnett 2001: 160–1)

Herein lie many of the criticisms of the new cultural geography: one must have a sound grounding in social theory, cultural studies and a knowledge of the new terms underpinning the debates. One consequence is that

the new cultural geography as it has been referred to since the early 1990s demonstrates that space, place and landscape – including landscapes of leisure and tourism – are not fixed but are in a constant state of transition as a result of continuous, dialectical struggles of power and resistance among and between the diversity of landscape providers, users and mediators.

(Aitchison 1999: 29)

This means that the focus is on agency rather than structure, criticising earlier geographical studies of

leisure and recreation which did not problematise space or recognise the human element in the landscape. This perspective – and one has to recognise it is only one perspective in geographical research – emphasises the diversity, differences and nuances in cultural phenomena, which is the antithesis of logical positivist geographical thought, which searches for certainty, coherence and generalisations in relation to patterns, forms and processes of spatial phenomena. As a consequence the new interest in leisure and tourism as cultural phenomena in the

post-positivist geography [is such] that the new cultural geography has emerged and become merged with sociological and cultural studies analyses which are now combining to investigate the multiplicity of behaviours, meanings, consumption trends and identities constructed in and through leisure and tourism.

(Aitchison 1999: 30)

Box 2.1 focuses on the sexuality dimension. Given the growing interest in feminism within the leisure constraints literature (e.g. Henderson 1997) and the concern with constraints to participation (e.g. Jackson 1994), it is timely to focus on the issue of fear.

Social exclusion: conditioning leisure participation

Box 2.1, the constraints on participation derived from fear, highlights societal constraints on leisure participation – social exclusion. Byrne (1999) traces the emergence of this new phrase in political terms, which is used to explain how changes in the whole of society affect particular people and groups. This is indicative of systematic problems in the structure of society, which determines the lives of certain groups. This has superseded earlier arguments and explanations of poverty related to an underclass (see Page 1988), replacing simpler notions of poverty. Poverty has been viewed as an absence of resources, notably income, as a factor conditioning participation in society. Exclusion, in contrast, is a more dynamic

BOX 2.1 THE GEOGRAPHY OF FEAR AND RECREATIONAL PARTICIPATION IMPLICATIONS FOR EXCLUSION

Urban parks are estimated to be used by 40 per cent of the British population (Garner 1996) on a regular basis, but critics argue that urban parks as a recreational resource are being avoided by the general public (Vidal 1994). This is particularly acute for certain groups of the population (e.g. women, children and ethnic groups), where fear acts as a constraint on use. As Ravenscroft and Markwell (2000) point out, the accessibility of parks to ethnic young people is notable, if they are properly maintained and managed. This is reiterated by Gobster (2002) in the USA, while notions of environmental justice and leisure resources emerge from such discussions (Floyd and Johnson 2002), where certain groups are able to use or prohibited from using such resources. In fact Woolley and Ul-Amin's (1999) study of Pakistani teenagers' use of public open space in Sheffield considered the diverse passive and active uses made of these spaces. This adds a new dimension to the recreational constraints literature compounded by a declining investment in measures to make these spaces safe to use.

In the 1990s there was a growing body of evidence urban parks were not perceived as peaceful sanctuaries for recreational and leisure pursuits among the wider population. Burgess *et al.* (1988a) documented the dimensions of fear which included antisocial behaviour among teenagers and vandalism that reduced local enjoyment and participation. Similar concerns of insecurity, fear and use of parks and open spaces have also been evident in reviews of the park literature (e.g. Byrne and Wolch 2009). Research also shows how women, black people, elderly people and the gay community may be excluded from using urban space as freely as other subgroups of the population (Adler and Brenner 1992; Maitland 1992). As Burgess *et al.* (1988a: 472) remarked 'many people expressed feelings of insecurity and vulnerability in open spaces, reflecting fears of personal attack and injury. Among the Asian community, these feelings are exacerbated by the growing incidence of racially motivated attacks in public open spaces.' The outcome, as Madge (1997: 238) recognised, was that 'This fear, which reflects structural inequalities in society, is translated into spatial behaviour which usually involves a reluctance to occupy certain public spaces at certain times of the day'. For the geographer, it is the spatial manifestation of that fear and its implications for recreational resource use that are significant (Page *et al.* 1994).

The geography of fear and urban park use in Leicester

Leicester, located in the English East Midlands, is a medium-sized city of around 270,000 people, which is 73.09 km² in spatial extent. What is notable is its diverse ethnic mix: 72 per cent of the population are white, 24 per cent are Asian, 2 per cent African Caribbean, 2 per cent Chinese and other 'ethnic groups'. Despite the city's urban-industrial development (see Pritchard 1976; Page 1988), it is widely acknowledged that the city has an enviable distribution of public open space (i.e. over 1,200 ha of open space, which comprised 20 per cent of the total city area). This is a significant level of provision within an international context, and certainly enhances the city's green and open feel. Madge (1997) identified 10 main constraints which influenced park use. In order of importance they were: fear, weather, lack of time due to work, family constraints, lack of transport, lack of interest, limited awareness of facilities available, housework, distance of parks/too far away, physically unable to get to the parks. Some 43 per cent of respondents said fear was a 'very important' factor constraining their use of parks. The gender difference was

striking, with 75 per cent of women compared to 50 per cent of men stating fear was a major constraint on park use. This is in line with Westover's (1985) finding in North America, where 90 per cent of female respondents felt unsafe if alone in parks. Studies of victimisation in Leicester (e.g. Willis 1992) recognise that women have a greater sense of insecurity due to their vulnerability to crime.

When ethnicity was examined, Asian groups expressed higher levels of fear compared with white and African Caribbean groups, reflecting victimisation statistics on racial abuse and attacks in the urban environment. In terms of age, those aged over 45 years of age expressed the greatest levels of fear. As Madge (1997: 241) rightly acknowledged, 'The result of fear of crime is, however, concrete: the elderly are less likely to use public parks for recreation'.

In terms of causes of fear, Madge (1997) observed that the main causes of fear of park use were anxieties related to actual or potential bodily harm (e.g. mugging, sexual attack, loitering people, gangs of youths, dogs and racial attack). Women's fears were greatest in relation to fear of sexual attack by men. These findings reflected the prevailing levels of fear of sexual violence which women in Leicester harbour, particularly the high level of sexual harassment. In fact 77 per cent of female respondents were fearful of sexual attacks in parks, a much higher figure than in similar surveys in Edinburgh (Anderson *et al.* 1990) and Seattle (Warr 1985). Fear of racial attack was also much higher for African Caribbean and Asian groups than for white groups.

The implications of these findings are reflected in behaviour and the use of parks. Women tended to avoid large open spaces, unlit areas and those areas with dense undergrowth and trees. The onset of nightfall also elevated fear of using such places, especially if they were alone. As Madge suggested:

Fear is a significant factor structuring the use of public parks in Leicester. The intensity and cause of fear varied with social traits of gender, ethnicity and age and affected spatial behaviour regarding use of parks. The geography of fear is mediated through a set of overlapping social, ideological and structural power relations which become translated into spatial behaviour.

(Madge 1997: 245)

Although Madge (1997) criticises the existing recreational literature for neglecting this issue, fear is a more profound issue in urban environments. Koskela and Pain (2000) point to the problems and failures of designing out fear from the urban environment, given the extent to which fear of crime pervades city spaces. In a review of surveillance Lyon (2007) recognised the growth in the surveillance of public spaces to improve security, which could lead to a return to private spaces and attempts to modify social behaviour in recreational spaces. This is a feature which Giddens (1990: 20) recognised, whereby 'surveillance is a means of levering the modern social world away from traditional modes of social activity'. In a wider context, Button (2003: 227) noted that 'during the post-war period there has been a growth in what has been termed "mass private property" encompassing large shopping malls, leisure facilities, gated communities, airports . . . These facilities, which are usually private but freely open to the public, have created new debates concerning . . . what is termed "quasi-public" or "hybrid" space. The result is that public access to these spaces is at the discretion of the landowner.' Critiques of such spaces for leisure (e.g. Uzzell 1995) illustrate that even private spaces, such as malls, provide social places and spaces which meet many psychological needs and preferences, particularly in terms of leisure consumption. This space is controlled, replacing a former communal culture and public spaces which met many informal needs for leisure like

parks and open spaces. These mall spaces have been seen as leading to a sense of placelessness (Relph 1976), as they do not develop a relationship with the place/space for leisure. Therefore, highly managed and secure areas like malls may reduce the perception of fear, but conversely these privately managed spaces will detract from people developing a positive relationship with the space, that people do with urban open spaces.

Indeed, Koskela and Pain (2000: 279) argued that 'Geographers and planners should take greater account of the complexity of fear . . . Places have some influence on fear, but perhaps of equal or greater significance is the ways in which fear shapes our understanding, perception and use of space and place.' This is certainly a truism in the case of recreational use of urban parks in Madge's (1997) findings, which have a wider application to urban recreational resource use in the developed world. A great deal of progress will need to be made in addressing fear of crime and recreational and leisure spaces in urbanised societies before Koskela and Pain's (2000: 274) analysis that 'Green urban spaces and woodlands are commonly perceived as dangerous places and feelings of insecurity often have a deterrent effect on women's use of them' is no longer a valid assessment. Yet simply providing synthetic and artificially created leisure spaces such as malls as a substitute will not meet such informal leisure needs, since many private leisure spaces within cities are highly designed environments connected with and motivated by consumption, which by their very nature may also exclude some groups who are unable to access the resources to be consumers.

concept which implies that people are shut out (fully or partially) from the systems in society that allow full integration and participation in society. In political terms, exclusion may also be seen as denying the rights of individuals as citizens. In a post-industrial society, theoretical explanations of exclusion are attributed to the changing nature of work in society, increased insecurity in employment, a growing service sector and reconstructed welfare state systems to reduce public expenditure, where ethnic origin may also be a further factor contributing to exclusion and access to goods and services. For example, in the USA the National Poverty Centre points to the changing geography of exclusion arising from a rise in the numbers of people in poverty since 2000, now around 15 per cent of households. An added dimension recognised is the high numbers in poverty segregated from the non-poor in inner city neighbourhoods along with the rise of rural poor among ethnic groups moving to rural localities. In the UK, around 13.5 million of the population are living on low incomes.

Consequently, social exclusion is a multifaceted process, like poverty, but embodies exclusion from participation in decision-making that allows access to the means of being a citizen, employment, and engagement in the social and cultural processes which the majority of citizens have access to. In geographical terms, such exclusion has been characterised by its concentration in particular neighbourhoods (e.g. areas of multiple deprivation). Multiple deprivation has been mapped by geographers to identify the intersection of poverty and other social conditions (e.g. poverty, unemployment, poor housing conditions and education, high levels of crime and poor health), thereby creating a distinct geography of exclusion. As Sletten (2010) observed in a study of Norwegian 13–16 year olds living in poor families, this led to the loss of leisure opportunities and growing social isolation, which is a dimension of exclusion and leisure. Social well-being is, according to Rodgers (1993: 126), 'a strong influence on both the volume and structure of leisure demand and on the relative roles of public and commercial provision in meeting it'.

Using the Department of the Environment (DoE) Social Deprivation Index (for a discussion of deprivation indices, see Page 1988), which derives negative indices based on unemployment, overcrowding, single-parent and pension households, housing quality and ethnic origin, Rodgers (1993) ranked the districts in the North West of England on this composite measure of social stress and also included levels of car ownership. The results were used to identify a range of geographically based leisure markets which were strong or weak in terms of demand, particularly in relation to their capacity to pay for recreational activities in a market-driven local leisure economy.

Not surprisingly, government agencies concerned with leisure (e.g. the Department for Culture, Media and Sport in the UK) have turned to new ideologies such as the government's shift towards communities and third sector bodies to realise ambitions for a Big Society to target groups at risk of social exclusion in terms of tourism, leisure and sport. The *Count Me In* report (Long 2002) identified the contribution which leisure could make to social inclusion through sports, arts, media, heritage and outdoor activities by increased involvement of social groups at risk of exclusion (e.g. unemployed people, older people and women) through personal development (e.g. self-esteem, interpersonal skills and relationship building), social cohesion (civic pride, celebrating one's own culture and relationship building with other cultural and social groups) and in promoting active citizenship, through taking greater responsibility and in exercising one's rights as well as promoting human potential. In fact recent developments in time geography (McQuaid and Dijst 2012) argue for a greater integration of time–space and experiences of poverty to address the understanding of exclusion. But the problem with these debates, as Cameron (2006) argues, is the difficulty of using the term exclusion (and conversely inclusion as the antithesis of exclusion) because of the way it fails to highlight who is affected and what action is needed to remove the often structural constraints that create conditions of exclusion amongst different sections of society. In geographical terms this has led to a preoccupation with localism in the spatial understanding of geographies of exclusion.

Resources and fashions

Traditional models of participation and obstacles to recreation have attempted to predict the probability of people participating in activities, using variables such as age, sex, marital status and social variables (e.g. housing tenure, income and car ownership), but predictions decline in accuracy when attempting to identify individual activities (e.g. golf). What such recreational models often fail to acknowledge is the role of choice and preference given a range of options. In this respect, geographical proximity to recreational resources and access to them is a major determinant. This is demonstrated by Burton (1971), who found that in Britain people were three times as likely to use a recreational resource if they lived between half and three-quarters of a mile away, a feature emphasised by Patmore (1983) and Page *et al.* (1994) in research on urban parks. Veal (1987) expressed this using classic distance-decay theory, reproduced in Figure 2.4 (see also Baxter 1979; Greer and Wall 1979; Chavas *et al.* 1989; McKercher and Lew 2003; Hall 2005a, 2006a; Lew and McKercher 2006). This shows that the proximity to a recreational resource increased the propensity for use at a swimming pool, yet for leisure centres where people used cars to visit them, the distance-decay function had a less rapid decline in attendance in relation to distance. Outside urban areas, the occurrence of recreational resources is more varied in its spatial distribution, and recreational opportunities need to be closely examined in relation to demand and supply. More recently, Colwell *et al.* (2002) examined the influence of recreation demand on residential location. Their research argued that consumers may live in areas according to their preference for recreational activities, and the trade-offs in terms of wages, location to live and recreation. What they also point to is the significance of second home ownership in areas of recreation preference. However, even here distance plays a major factor in recreational decision-making (Hall and Müller 2004).

In the Swedish case Jansson and Müller (2003) demonstrated that 25 per cent of all second home owners have their property within 14 km of their primary residence, 50 per cent less than 37 km from

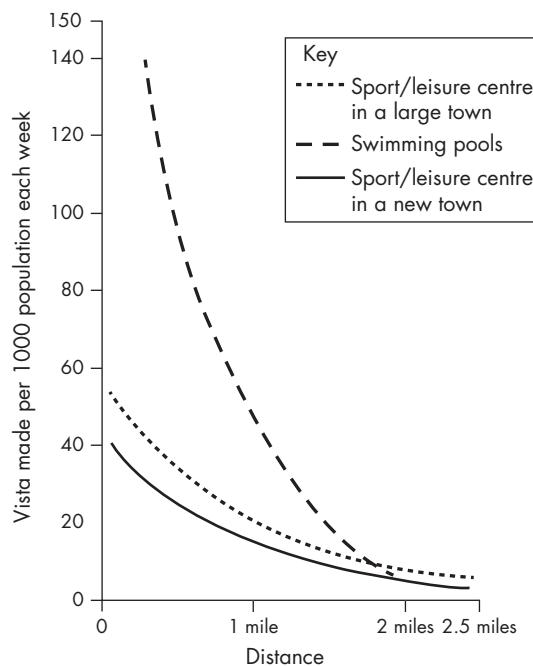


Figure 2.4 The impact of distance and geographical catchment areas on the provision of leisure facilities

Source: based on Veal 1987.

their property, and 75 per cent less than 98 km. The time sensitivity of leisure travel means that the location of overnight stays from a generating region tends to cluster at a location related to time/distance from a point of origin (Hall 2005a, 2005b). This means that second home ownership outside the weekend leisure zone is relatively independent of the location of the primary residence; the second home is visited once or twice annually. However, second home location is not dependent solely on travel times. Instead, second home locations are also influenced by the geography of amenity rich landscapes that concentrates the geographical patterns of at least purpose-built second homes in coastal and mountain areas. Furthermore, fashions and tastes can act as a powerful influence on demand, as the following example of walking suggests.

Walking as a leisure pursuit: a function of resources and fashion

Walking is a human necessity for able-bodied people to achieve mobility, to engage in work, social activities and non-work functions. Although the industrial and post-industrial period has seen a move towards more mechanised forms of transport such as the car, giving people a greater spatial reach and flexibility in travel patterns, walking remains a key activity in everyday life and as a leisure activity. As Short (1991: 4) noted, 'Walking has created roads, trade routes; generated local and cross-continental senses of place; shaped cities; parks; generated maps . . . This history of walking is an amateur history, just as walking is an amateur act.' The desire to walk as a leisure pursuit is the result of history over the last 300 years and according to Short (1991) is based on specific beliefs, tastes and values. Prior to the eighteenth century, walking for pleasure was the pastime of a leisured elite, many of whom resided in mansions, castles and palaces and who walked within the confines of corridors or enclosed garden spaces, many of which were formally designed. The eighteenth and nineteenth centuries saw the rise of Romantic notions of nature through the writing of Wordsworth in the Lake District (such as the 1807 *Poems in Two Volumes*) and of other Romantic poets, where the taste for the natural, long-distance walks, admiring natural features and the associated landscaping of country house estates in the natural style of landscape designers such as Capability Brown, created environments with opportunities for views, solitude, natural surroundings and the removal of traditional designs with geometric layouts (see also Chapter 7 and the implications of this for perceptions of wilderness and the natural environment). De Botton (2003: 138) argues that Wordsworth's poetry led to 'regular travel through nature as a necessary antidote to the evils of the city'. The significance of such surroundings for pleasure walking was also extolled in Jane Austen's novels, where escapism from house-based social groups and gatherings could allow leisurely strolls. Such virtues gradually permeated the evolving middle classes in the urban industrial cities of the western world in the nineteenth

century (see Chapter 5) and eventually the working classes, as more leisure time was made available after the 1850s.

The provision of urban parks and other spaces for walking allowed for formal walks or promenading on Sunday afternoons, which was governed by social rules and norms. This also manifests itself in the day trips to the coast, with formal areas provided for promenading for the Victorians and Edwardians at leisure. Gradually, walking clubs and organised groups emerged which saw the spatial extent and dispersion of leisure walking as rambling (British term), bushwalking (Australia) and tramping (New Zealand) evolve into popular culture and an important factor in gaining increased access to the countryside and the creation of parks, reserves and walkways (see Box 2.2 on the New South Wales bushwalking movement and the creation of national parks in Australia).

The pursuit of walking as a leisure activity in the urban environment in the twenty-first century has seen a significant transformation, as Short argues:

Walking is about being outside, in public space, and public space is also being abandoned and eroded in older cities, eclipsed by technologies and services that don't require leaving home, and shadowed by fear in many places . . . In many new places, public space isn't even in the design: what was once public space is designed to accommodate the privacy of automobiles; malls replace main streets, streets have no sidewalks; buildings are entered through their garages . . . Fear has created a whole style of architecture and urban design, notably in Southern California, where to be a pedestrian is to be under suspicion in many of the subdivisions and gated communities.

(Short 1991: 10)

BOX 2.2 MYLES DUNPHY AND THE AUSTRALIAN BUSHWALKING MOVEMENT

Myles Dunphy has been described as the 'father of conservation in New South Wales' (Barnes and Wells 1985: 7). Dunphy was born in Melbourne in 1891, the eldest child of an Irish father and a Tasmanian mother. The family moved to Sydney in 1907 but because of the economic pressures in a large family, Dunphy left school early to join the workforce as a draughtsman, a career that would stand him in good stead to influence the public's appreciation of wilderness through high quality maps and drawings (Thompson 1986). Although not a follower of organised religion, Dunphy did appreciate the spiritual significance of wilderness. Thompson (1985: 26–7), on studying an old notebook of Dunphy, observed that Dunphy had scribbled, 'For a knowledge of God, study nature', lines reminiscent of the Romantic ecological writings of John Muir (Hall 1992a).

Dunphy's central importance in any account of the development of parks in Australia lies in his contribution to the development of the bushwalking movement. Along with friends Herbert Gallop and Roy Rudder, Dunphy formed the Mountain Trails Club in October 1914 (Dunphy 1979b: 55). As revised in 1924, the objects of the club combined an aim 'to reach and enjoy the canyons, ranges and tops of the wildest parts of this country' with an intention to 'establish a definite regard for the welfare and preservation of the wildlife and natural beauties' (Prineas and Gold 1983: 29). According to Dunphy (1979a), the Mountain Trails Club 'had become a kind of bush brotherhood . . . They liked to travel quietly and see wildlife. It was good to boil the billy in the welcome shade of river oaks harping in the breeze to watch wood smoke drift down the reach, and the bars where the stream purled over the lapstones' (Dunphy 1979a: 30).

The 'Trailers', as they were known, eschewed 'the roads of the crowd' and practised 'a kind of religion [of] mateship, self-reliance, endurance, protection of wildlife and bushland . . . a way of life close to the manifestations, beauties and outstanding miracles of nature' (Dunphy 1973, in Bardwell 1979: 16). The fervent espousal of the Australian tradition of mateship was well reflected in the club's refusal to admit women to its ranks and in membership being by invitation only; although this strategy was recognised as being flawed in assisting the club to be open to wider conservation and bushwalking interests (Dunphy 1973: 3). Nevertheless, the Mountain Trails Club played a major regional role in developing an ethic of nature appreciation and walking experiences in New South Wales comparable to that of the Appalachian Mountain Club in the eastern United States (Manning 1985) and the Sierra Club in the west (Duncan and Burns 2009).

The Romantic notion of wilderness and the belief that contact with nature was beneficial were not isolated to the Mountain Trails Club and reflected broader changes in society with respect to mental and physical health and outdoor recreation. In response to letters from Mr J. Debbitt in the *Sun* newspaper advocating the formation of a 'hikers' club', a Miss Jess Scott wrote that 'with the approach of spring the beauties of the countryside seem to lift their voices appealingly to the "hiker", calling him to view their unadorned splendour'. However, pressures on the Mountain Trails Club to provide information on walking tours helped lead to the formation of a new bushwalking club (Dunphy 1973: 3), although 'its members would not damage their bush brotherhood' and decided to 'render a public service by forming a new walking club with an easy constitution and easy conditions of membership, with the definite object of being a recreational walkers' club, purely and simply, and open to members of both sexes' (Dunphy 1973: 4).

Initially called the Waratah Walking Club, the new club changed its name to the Sydney Bush Walkers at its second meeting on 8 December 1927 (Dunphy 1973: 5). The new walking club had an important part to play in the evolution of an appreciation of wild country as it enabled many people, both men and women, to become involved in an organisation which consciously supported the idea of nature conservation. The establishment of the Sydney Bush Walkers also served as the catalyst for the creation of several other clubs, notably the Bush Tracks Club and the Coast and Mountain Walkers. In 1932 the walking clubs combined to form the New South Wales Federation of Bushwalking Clubs. However, also of significance was the bushwalkers' contribution to the establishment of the National Parks and Primitive Areas Council (NPPAC) in the same year, with Myles Dunphy as secretary.

Among its objectives the NPPAC was concerned with advocacy of 'the protection of existing tracks, paths and trails in use, particularly those having scenic and historical interests and values' (Dunphy 1973: 7–8, in Bardwell 1979: 17). Although the council viewed wilderness from a recreational perspective (see Chapter 7), the NPPAC was extremely concerned with preserving wilderness in a similar fashion to the United States. Indeed, the NPPAC, along with Myles Dunphy, was strongly influenced by American conservation initiatives (Hall 1992a). In 1932 Dunphy obtained a supply of booklets on American national parks which served to promote the national park idea in Australia and the establishment of parks and natural walking areas.

Upon its creation the NPPAC focused upon the preservation of two primitive areas – the Blue Mountains and the Snowy-Indi area – both regions of major personal concern to Myles Dunphy. Dunphy had first put forward the idea of a national park to protect the Blue Mountains wilderness areas as early as 1922 when a park proposal was discussed and adopted by the Mountain Trails Club (Prineas 1976–7; Dunphy 1979b). However, even at this stage Dunphy (quoted in Colley 1984: 29) recalled it had taken '10 years

or so to appreciate all the damaging forces at work in this country and to become aware of the need to protect it'. In 1927 the proposal was adopted by the Sydney Bush Walkers (Dunphy 1979b), yet it was not until the 1930s that a major campaign for a Blue Mountains park got underway.

In 1931 the Mountain Trails Club, the Sydney Bush Walkers and the Wildlife Preservation Society joined forces and bought a 40-acre lease to prevent the ringbarking of a Blue Gum forest on the Grose River. The romantic nature of the bushwalkers who helped save the Blue Gums is indicated in the reflections of the poet Roland Robinson on the Grose River area:

No Greek temple, no Gothic cathedral could have been so bountiful. Here we set up our tents, and here the possums came down out of the trees with their babies on their backs to be fed by us. Because today the vulgar and ignorant 'Yankee Australians' will destroy anything in order to make a fast buck, this is one place that, thanks to the bushwalkers, is preserved in its primal Aboriginal state.

(Robinson 1973: 163)

The preservation of the Grose River Blue Gums provided a basis for the NPPAC on which to campaign for further reservations in the Blue Mountains. The NPPAC's Greater Blue Mountains National Park Scheme probably represented the first major attempt of an Australian conservation group to mobilise mass support for the preservation of wilderness. On 24 August 1934, the NPPAC paid for a four-page supplement, complete with maps and photographs, to be included in the *Katoomba Daily*. The supplement was highlighted by Myles Dunphy's map of a proposed Blue Mountains National Park with 'primitive areas':

The Blue Mountains of Australia are justly famous for their grand scenery of stupendous canyons and gorges, mountain parks and plateaux up to 4400 feet altitude, uncounted thousands of ferny, forested dells and gauzy waterfalls, diversified forest and river beauty, much aloof wilderness – and towns and tourist resorts replete with every convenience for the comfort and entertainment of both Australian and overseas visitors.

(*Katoomba Daily*, 24 August 1934)

That the supplement attempted to link the scenic attractions of the area with tourism is hardly surprising. Australia was then in the grips of a depression and linking preservation and walking with positive economic benefits was a logical ploy. However, it is also interesting to note that in 1934 the NPPAC argued that the sandstone country of the Blue Mountains 'is potentially desert land', thereby reinforcing the 'worthless' lands concept of wilderness (see Chapter 7). Dunphy (1979a: 30) himself noted that 'the great Blue Mountains barrier region providentially was rugged and unproductive in general'. Yet the NPPAC also put forward in 1934 some positive values of wilderness, noting the necessity of providing for wilderness within regional planning in order to prevent stream erosion and land degradation. Otherwise, 'a rocky, useless and repulsive region unsuitable for either forestry, water conservation, residential, recreation, stock-raising, or other useful purposes will be created'. Despite the appeal to the values of 'progressive' conservation the main thrust of the supplement undoubtedly relied on the aesthetic, health and spiritual aspects of outdoor recreational experiences. However, no action was taken on the park proposal until 25 September 1959, when the Blue Mountains National Park of 62,000 ha in the central Blue Mountains was gazetted. The area is now part of the Blue Mountains World Heritage area and a major tourist attraction and walking area.

Despite some success for Dunphy and the NPPAC in having areas reserved for wilderness recreation, the outlook of government towards land use was still dominated by utilitarian need. Nevertheless, it was in the inter-war period when walking clubs flourished that the first tentative steps towards nature conservation in Australia were made, especially in the more populous and urbanised states of Victoria and New South Wales. National parks during this period were generally perceived by governments as 'revenue producing tourist resorts in scenic surroundings' (Bardwell 1982: 5) rather than as areas of scientific and ecological importance. For instance, in 1926 a request for the protection of flora as well as fauna within national parks was rejected by the West Australian Department of Lands and Survey, 'for the primary inducement for people to go to the reserves . . . is to gather the wildflowers with the object of adorning their homes and taking part in the wildflower shows' (Under Secretary to Minister of Lands and Surveys, Lands and Surveys Department (Western Australia), File No. 13479/98, 19 October 1926, in Hall 1992a) – a far cry from the motto of the Sydney Bush Walkers: 'The bushland was here before you; leave it after you' (Dunphy 1979b: 60).

Consequently walking in many urban industrial societies has seen a move into rural settings and become embodied as a recreational activity, where the rural environment is encountered both physically and mentally, rather than just as a visual contemplation (Edensor 2000).

Therefore, to understand how specific activities are shaped by fashions, culture, societal changes, economic transformations and the rise of new technology (e.g. the multimedia home-based entertainment systems associated with television, Gershuny 2002), the role of constraining and facilitating factors and the trends associated with leisure, attention now turns to: how demand is measured, the problems it raises for geographers, and the ways it can be analysed at different geographical scales from the national and regional down to the local level or micro scale.

Measuring recreational demand

Most geographers acknowledge the continued lack of suitable data on recreational demand. Although studies, such as the US Outdoor Recreation Resources Review Commission (1962), had a number of limitations – they were 'one-off' studies, the methods of

data collection did not allow comparability of the data for each survey, and the results are often dated on publication due to the time required to analyse the results – they were a valuable starting point for analysing demand. Yet since 1972 no major survey specifically focusing on leisure has been undertaken in the UK, although the General Household Survey (GHS), which normally occurs every four years (see Parker 1999), has included a number of questions on leisure.

Problems and methods of measuring recreational demand

When seeking to understand their recreational habits, asking individuals questions about their recreational habits using social survey techniques remains the most widely used approach. A landmark study by Rowntree and Lavers (1951) of *English Life and Leisure* provides a good illustration of the early use of a diverse range of research methods and sources to construct patterns of participation in leisure and recreation in post-war Britain. Even so, researchers recognise that precision is needed to identify participation, non-participation and the frequency of each. For this reason, questions on surveys need to follow the type of format used on the GHS, to provide both a

temporal and quantitative measure of demand. Patmore (1983: 57) cites the GHS, which begins by asking respondents: 'What . . . things have you done in your leisure time . . . in the four weeks ending last Sunday?'

Survey data rarely record all the information a researcher seeks (e.g. respondents' recall ability may not accurately record the full pattern), or respondents have a different understanding of a term from that intended by the researcher. As a result, a variety of survey techniques are necessary to derive a range of complementary and yet unique insights into recreation demand. Within the recreation literature, three techniques have primarily been used:

- A continuous record of recreation activities of a sample population for a given time period which involves respondents keeping a diary of activities (the time budget approach). This has a long history of use in social science and leisure research as outlined by Gershuny (2011) which can be dated to nineteenth century Russia and its use in the UK by Pember-Reeves (1913) and Sorokin and Berger (1939) in the USSR, with more recent studies of leisure such as Zuzanek *et al.*'s (1998) cross-national survey of Dutch and Canadian use of time.
- Questionnaire surveys which require respondents to recall activities either in the form of an individual case study, which is detailed and sometimes contains both qualitative and quantitative questions and which is inevitably small scale due to the time involved in in-depth qualitative interviews.
- Questionnaire surveys which are large scale, enabling subsamples to be drawn which are statistically significant. Such surveys may be derived using simple and unambiguous questions which focus on a specific recreation activity or one that covers the entire spectrum of leisure activities.

To illustrate how these techniques have been used and the way such data have been analysed, the time budget approach and national surveys of recreational activities are now examined.

Time budget survey techniques

Leisure time budgets

Recreation takes place in that portion of people's lives in which they are free (within constraints) to choose their activities, that is, their leisure time, [and] how they spend their time (time-budgets) is of paramount importance in any attempt to establish recreational demand, since it determines where recreational activities are possible.

(Coppock and Duffield 1975: 5)

Time budget analysis is a vital tool in analysing demand (Anderson 1971; Fukaz 1989; Pentland *et al.* 2002). Time budgets provide a systematic record of a person's use of time. They describe the duration, sequence and timing of a person's activities for a given period, usually of between a day and a week. When combined with the recording of the location at which activities occur, the record is referred to as a space-time budget. Time budget studies provide for the understanding of spatial and temporal behaviour patterns which may not be directly observable by other research techniques because of either their practicality or their intrusion into individual privacy. Such studies are often undertaken through the use of detailed diaries which are filled in by participants (see Jäckal and Wollscheid 2004; Aguiar and Hurst 2009; Gershuny 2011). However, this method has not been widely used in comparison with more traditional survey techniques due to the difficulty for individuals of accurately keeping records. Glyptis (1981a) used a diary technique which examined a sample of 595 visitors to the countryside. Respondents kept a diary record spanning three days and five evenings, recording the dominant pursuit in half-hour periods. While respondents identified up to 129 different leisure activities, each cited an average of 11. The value of the study was that through the use of cluster analysis to statistically analyse the sample and to group the population, it identified the leisure lifestyles of respondents with distinct groupings, where people of different social classes engaged in similar activities.

Tourism time budgets

In tourism studies, this technique has been used to provide a systematic record of a person's use of time over a given period, typically for a short period ranging from a single day to a week (Pearce 1988a; Debbage 1991). One of the fundamental assumptions in using this research method is that tourist behaviour and activities are the result of choices, a point illustrated by Floor (1990). Where questionnaire surveys have addressed such issues, the results have often failed to provide a comprehensive assessment of tourist activities, both formal/informal, and the relative importance of each. Thrift (1977) provides an assessment of three principal constraints on tourists' daily activity patterns, which are:

- *comparability constraints* (e.g. the biologically based need for food and sleep);
- *coupling constraints* (e.g. the need to interact and undertake activities with other people);
- *authority constraints* (e.g. where activities are controlled, not allowed or permitted at a certain point in time).

Thus both Chapin (1974) and Thrift (1977) identify choices and constraints which will influence the specific activities and context of tourist daily activities, which has similarities with the leisure constraints literature discussed earlier. The use of time budgets via diaries to record tourists' activity patterns has been used in a number of contexts (Gaviria 1975; Cooper 1981; P.L. Pearce 1981; D.G. Pearce 1986; Debbage 1991; McInnis and Page 2009). Methodological issues raised by these studies highlight the problem of selecting appropriate temporal measures to record tourists' activities. P.L. Pearce (1981) used three main time periods (morning, afternoon and evening), with Gaviria (1975) selecting quarter-hour periods and Cooper (1981) using five time sequences. While the recording of activities by time is a demanding activity for tourists, the main methodological concerns for such surveys are the type of technique to be used, the period to be covered and the type of sample selected. In addition, Chapin (1974) argues that such studies

can choose to use three main survey techniques as follows:

- *a checklist technique*, where respondents select the list of activities they engage in from a precategoryed list;
- *the yesterday technique*, where subjects are asked to list things they did the previous day, and where and when they did them;
- *the tomorrow technique*, where participants keep a diary on what they do, and where and when.

Although time budget studies may still be viewed as experimental in tourism research, they do offer great potential to gain a detailed insight into tourists' use of time and their activity patterns (Woo 1996). In particular, recent advances in technology, particularly mobile tracking technology (see Shoval and Isaacson 2007) and ICT, offer potentially substantial insights into recreational and tourism activities and mobility (Hall 2012a).

The UK 2000 Time Use Survey (ONS 2002), which set out to measure how people spent their time, comprised a representative sample of households and individuals within households, based on a household questionnaire survey and diaries, and a one week work and education time sheet. It was undertaken in 2000–1. What is interesting is the aggregated results which were used to produce time spent on main and secondary activities, by category of time use. The profile of time use based on the main activities over a day is shown in Figure 2.5. Whilst this is now dated and has seen the impact of new technologies, it highlights the general principles of time use and leisure. This shows that almost 44 per cent of male and just over 44 per cent of female time is spent on personal care and sleeping each day, followed by employment as the next major time use. This varied between almost 15 per cent of male and almost 9 per cent of female time being devoted to employment-related activities, while family and household care accounts for almost 17 per cent of female time and less than 10 per cent of male time. In terms of time spent on leisure activities (e.g. sport, hobbies, games, social life, entertainment and mass media), 20 per cent of male and 20.33 per cent

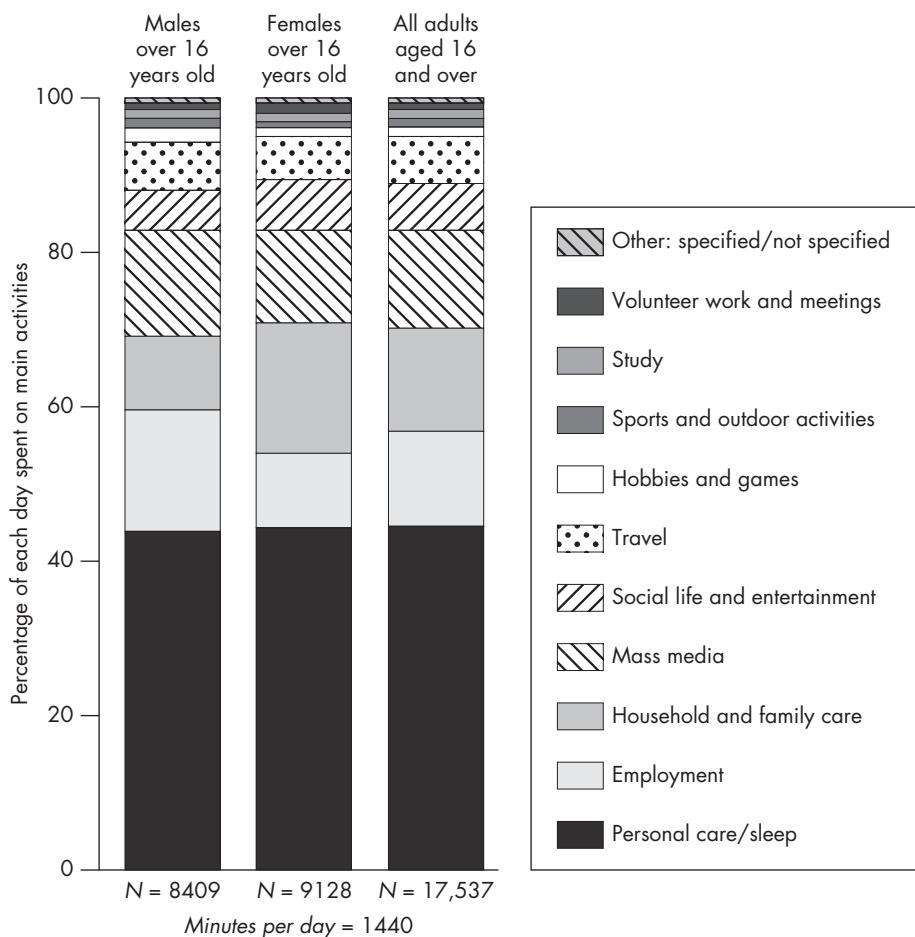


Figure 2.5 Time budgets for males, females and the total population of adults aged 16 and over in 2000

Source: based on ONS 2002 data.

of female time is devoted to such pursuits, with marginally more male time given over to mass media (e.g. watching the television). Almost 65 per cent of male leisure time is devoted to watching television, compared to 55 per cent of female time. What is also notable is the dominance of passive leisure pursuits. In terms of the timing of leisure activities for all adults, at 8 a.m., 7 per cent were engaged in leisure, which increased to 14 per cent at 12 noon; this increased to 23 per cent at 4 p.m. and to 57 per cent at 8 p.m.,

dropping to 13 per cent at midnight, when 79 per cent were sleeping. This, however, varied between weekdays (Monday to Thursday), with 17 per cent of adults in leisure at midnight on a Friday. At weekends, rest and recuperation were principal leisure activities. Weekend evenings were the most popular for leisure activities, with two-thirds of adults engaged in leisure especially socialising on Saturday evenings at 9 p.m.

The value of such research is in the identification of factors beyond simplistic analogies of demand

determined by biological, social and economic factors, where the relationships between different time-consuming activities are examined in a holistic manner. Indeed, at EU level, in July 2003 a Time Use at Different Stages of Life survey of time use was undertaken in 13 different EU countries, with a further study in 2007. The 2007 study of 15 countries identifies time use according to daily allocations for personal care, employment study, domestic matters, leisure, travel and other uses. Despite variations by category and country (with male–female differences the data between countries is broadly consistent with the data in Figure 2.5 in terms of the amounts spent on different activities). Likewise the 2011 American Time Use Survey by the Bureau of Labor identifies different categories but a broadly consistent pattern emerges for weekday activities, where around 5 hours a day is spent on work-related activities, 4.73 hours a day on leisure and sports during the week and 6.34 hours a day at the weekend. The survey breaks the categories for leisure and sport into five broad categories (socialising, relaxing and leisure; relaxing and leisure; arts and entertainment; sports, exercise and recreation; and travel related to leisure and sport). The growth of social media and networking is reflected in the average 0.13 hours spent during weekends and holidays and 0.16 hours on weekdays on telephoning, emailing and mail in 2012 [latest figures from the time use survey].

Even so, it is important to recognise the criticisms and concerns with national participation surveys observed by Cushman *et al.* (1996b: 12): ‘in light of the growing popularity – and indeed orthodoxy – of qualitative research methods in the field’. As a result, qualitative researchers point to the shortcomings and limitations of quantitative research methods (see Johnston and Sidaway 2014 for a discussion of philosophical perspectives on geography, geographers and research methodologies). However, regional studies have also been undertaken by geographers to understand the dynamics of demand. Millward and Spinney’s (2011) study of Nova Scotia, Canada, highlighted the notion of ‘active living’, in which daily participation rates were analysed from time budgets in a time–space setting where the region was broken

down into the inner city, suburbs, inner commuter belt and outer commuter belt to distinguish regional patterns of active living, including sport and leisure across an urban–rural continuum. Studies such as the UK Day Trips Survey have a distinct regional geographic element in their analysis of demand. Activities and their spatial catchments are highly localised and related to the population distribution in major conurbations and adjacent to other urban settlements such as coastal towns. The American Time Use survey has also modelled future changes in urban development to 2050, which illustrates how the future urbanisation of the USA may also impact upon regional patterns of leisure and recreation as settlements expand and rural land is absorbed into urban agglomerations. However, one of the most important contributions has been made through site-specific studies of demand, notably site surveys. For this reason, the remaining focus of this section on recreation examines recreation site surveys.

Spatial analysis of demand at the micro level: site surveys

Within the growing literature on geographical studies of recreation in the 1960s and 1970s (see, e.g., Rodgers 1973), site surveys have become the most documented (a feature reiterated in Chapter 6). As Glyptis (1981b: 277) indicated, numerous site surveys – mostly set in the format devised by Burton (1966) ‘established the characteristics of visitors and their trips. Social profiles, trip distances, modes of transport and the duration, purpose and frequency of visits are well documented (Elson 1977)’, a feature also observed in early studies by Wolfe (1964) and Lavery (1975). However, research methods that examine the behaviour of recreationalists have remained less common. Glyptis’ (1981b) analysis of one 242 ha site – Westwood Common, Beverley, near Hull (UK) – is one such example. By employing participant observation methods to examine an undulating grassland area of common pasture land 13 km from the urban area of Hull, the spatial distribution of site use by recreationalists was observed and analysed. The main recreational activities observed at the

site were sitting, sunbathing, walking, picnicking, informal games and staying inside one's car. On a busy Sunday in summer, up to 2,000 visitors came to the site. Using dispersion maps, observational mapping permitted the visitor distributions to be located in time and space, while length of stay (using car registration data) and maps of use for different days and times complemented traditional social survey methods to analyse visitor behaviour. The site features, access points, availability of parking and location of landscape features and facilities permit a more detailed understanding of site use. Glyptis (1981b) used observations on five days in August and September between 11 a.m. and 6 p.m. to collate data. Visitor arrivals at the site during the weekend occurred between 12 noon and 2 p.m., and peak use occurred at 4.30 p.m., with the majority of visitors spending one to two hours on site. The gradual increase in intensity of use by time of day varied by activity, with informal games and picnicking declining after Sunday lunch and walking increasing throughout the afternoon. Local users also displayed a preference to use the site at off-peak times, with increased patterns of dispersion and clumping through time. This reflects access roads, with visitors parking close to (within 15 yards of) the site they visited. Visitors were also recorded going to landmarks and facilities (e.g. viewpoints) as well as buying refreshments (e.g. from mobile vans), with the density of use increasing through the day rather than the distribution.

Glyptis (1981c) devised a simple model to explain the dynamics of visitor dispersion (Figure 2.6). Figure 2.6 shows that initial visitors to a site choose a favoured location linked to parking areas, with further inflows of visitors during the early afternoon marking an 'invasion phase' which extends the initial cluster. Thereafter, as the pace of arrivals slows, a degree of infilling and consolidation occurs. Then as people depart, dispersion occurs, with a more irregular pattern of distribution arising, although it may be affected by new arrivals in the afternoon, who intensify the pattern. What Glyptis (1991: 119) recognised was that even though 'sites clearly experience an increase in visitor density, visitor dispersion in a spatial sense remains fairly constant, even with space to spare and no restrictions on public access'.

Using nearest neighbour analysis, Glyptis (1981c) was able to measure the distances between groups of visitors, and that comfortable levels of tolerance exist for visitors in terms of proximity to other people, although the amount of personal space which recreationalists require may vary between different cultures. In fact, Glyptis (1991: 119) remarked that, 'as levels of use increase on a given day, the percentage occupancy of space actually decreases: visitors only ever use about a fifth of the space available to them, and at times of heaviest use they choose to occupy even less. In other words, site carrying capacity changes continually.' This study also highlighted the significance of recreation sites with multiple uses,

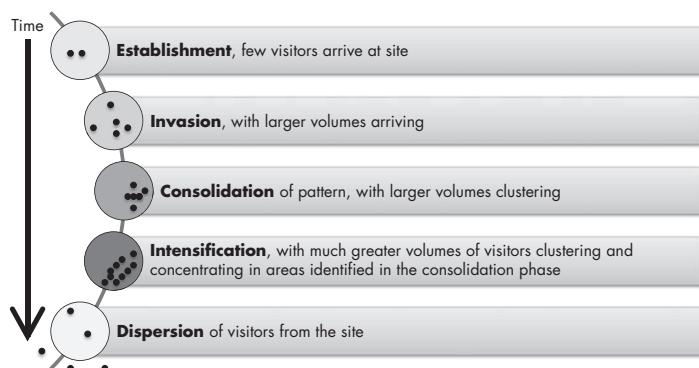


Figure 2.6 Glyptis' model of visitor dispersion at an informal recreation site

Source: redrawn from Glyptis 1981c.

where a variety of recreational needs are capable of being met and, as Burton's (1974) survey of Cannock Chase, Staffordshire (UK), found, individual sites cannot be viewed in isolation: there are relationships between them and understanding them is vital to site management. Glyptis (1981c) highlighted a certain degree of consistency in visitor use of a site, explaining the patterns as a function of the resource base, visitor use and behavioural factors. It may be possible to accommodate or reduce capacity through simple modifications as 'the geographer is well placed to examine fundamental aspects of ... recreation, to diagnose issues in site management, and to propose solutions' (Glyptis 1981b: 285). For example, see Jones *et al.* (2009) on issues of equity of access to parks.

Recent extensions of the spatial analytic approaches of the period from the 1960s to 1980s are more social-psychologically engaged with the notion of place attachment in repeat recreation and leisure activities (Hailu *et al.* 2005; White *et al.* 2008). Whilst space is still implicit in many analyses of recreational demand at a site level (e.g. Arnberger *et al.*'s 2010 analysis of recreational use of forests in inner and peri-urban locations), issues such as site conflict (e.g. Vaske *et al.* 2007) have marked a change in research emphasis. One notable shift is the displacement of the spatial analytic approach by the rise of environmental economics and demand modelling (e.g. Phaneuf and Smith 2005) with the short-run effects of demand in time and space using economic models and techniques (e.g. revealed preferences and contingent valuation methods) which largely omit the spatial preferences in favour of resource use. Therefore, having outlined many of the factors and dimensions of recreational demand at a variety of spatial scales from the national, regional and local level, the discussion now turns to tourism demand.

Tourism demand

One of the fundamental questions that tourism researchers consistently seek to answer is: why do tourists travel? This seemingly simple proposition remains one of the principal challenges for tourism research. D.G. Pearce (1995a: 18) expands this

proposition by asking, 'What induces them to leave their home area to visit other areas? What factors condition their travel behaviour, influencing their choice of destination, itineraries followed and activities undertaken?' Such questions not only underpin issues of spatial interaction, but also lead the geographer to question:

- why tourists seek to travel;
- where they go;
- when they go;
- how they get there;
- what do they do and where do they do it.

These basic issues have spatial implications in terms of the patterns of tourism, where tourism impacts occur and the nature of destination management. In other words, an understanding of tourism demand is a starting point for the analysis of why tourism develops, who patronises specific destinations and what appeals to the client market. As de Botton (2003: 9) argues in *The Art of Travel*, 'we are inundated with advice on *where* to travel to; we hear little of *why* and *how* we should go'. However, geographers are at a comparative disadvantage in answering some of the principal questions associated with work on tourism demand primarily led by psychologists, sociologists, marketers and economists. Interestingly, regional economists are also embracing the notion of space utilising gravity and other spatial models to explain the patterns of origin/destination flows (e.g. Marrocu and Paci 2011, 2013) in much the same way that the quantitative revolution in the 1960s saw these approaches applied to human behaviour with the antecedent criticisms of their value and application by behavioural geography (Johnston and Sidaway 2014). Much of the research by geographers 'has trodden the well worn path of the potential significance of variations in motivation on destination choice' (D.G. Pearce 1995a: 18), which has yielded a massive literature focused on generic and more specialised forms of destination choice such as the decision to travel to film tourism locations (Connell 2012) or for medical tourism (Connell 2011, 2013; Hall 2012b). However, tourist behaviour and the analysis of motivation have not traditionally been the forte of the logical

positivist and empirical approach of traditional forms of spatial analysis on tourism, with some exceptions (e.g. Walmsley and Jenkins 1992). The area of tourist behaviour has a more developed literature within the field of social psychology than geography, and the emphasis in this section is on the way such approaches assist in understanding how tourist behaviour may result in the spatial implications for tourism.

What is tourism demand?

The approach one adopts to the analysis of tourism demand is largely dependent upon the disciplinary perspective of the researcher (see Crouch 1994). Geographers view demand in a spatial manner as 'the total number of persons who travel, or wish to travel, to use tourist facilities and services at places away from their places of work and residence' (Mathieson and Wall 1982: 1). In this context demand 'is seen in terms of the relationship between individuals' motivation [to travel] and their ability to do so' (D.G. Pearce 1995a: 18), with an attendant emphasis on the implications for the spatial impact on the development of domestic and international tourism. In comparison, the economist emphasises 'the schedule of the amount of any product or service which people are willing and able to buy at each specific price in a set of possible prices during a specified period of time. Psychologists view demand from the perspective of motivation and behaviour' (Cooper *et al.* 1993: 15).

In conceptual terms, there are three principal elements to tourism demand:

- *Effective or actual demand* comprises the number of people participating in tourism, usually expressed as the number of travellers. This is most commonly measured by tourism statistics, which means that most official sources of data are measures of effective demand.
- *Suppressed demand* is the population who are unable to travel because of circumstances (e.g. lack of purchasing power or limited holiday entitlement), which is called potential demand. Potential demand can be converted to effective demand if the circumstances change. There is also deferred demand, where constraints (e.g. lack of tourism

supply such as a shortage of bed spaces) can also be converted to effective demand if a destination or locality can accommodate the demand.

- *No demand* is a distinct category for the population who have no desire to travel, which has a considerable degree of overlap with the discussion earlier on leisure demand.

Figure 2.7, based on Uysal's (1998) overview of tourism demand, summarises the main determinants of demand within a multidisciplinary context. There has, however, been comparatively little discussion of the significance of what might be termed 'background' factors which act as geographical constraints on travel, such as the role of travel epidemiology (Steffen *et al.* 2003; Page 2009b). It can be argued that exposure to pathogens in high risk countries with poor endemic hygiene standards can pose major risk factors to tourist health which are not given sufficient credence in many debates on demand (Wilks and Page 2003). For example, the UK Foreign and Commonwealth Office (FCO) advice to travellers and risk notices do illustrate the scale of risk (see Figure 2.8), which outlines an evolving and ever-changing spatial landscape of potential risk in travelling to high risk areas with a myriad of risk factors, including assault, attacks, robberies, mild stomach bugs from drinking local tap water and lost/stolen passports (Figure 2.9).

However, the factors which shape the tourist decision-making process to select and participate in specific forms of tourism are largely within the field of consumer behaviour and motivation.

Tourist motivation

According to Moutinho (1987: 16), motivation is 'a state of need, a condition that exerts a push on the individual towards certain types of action that are seen as likely to bring satisfaction'. In this respect Cooper *et al.* (1993: 20) rightly acknowledge that 'demand for tourists at the individual level can be treated as a consumption process which is influenced by a number of factors. These may be a combination of needs and desires, availability of time and money, or images, perceptions and attitudes.' Not surprisingly, this is an

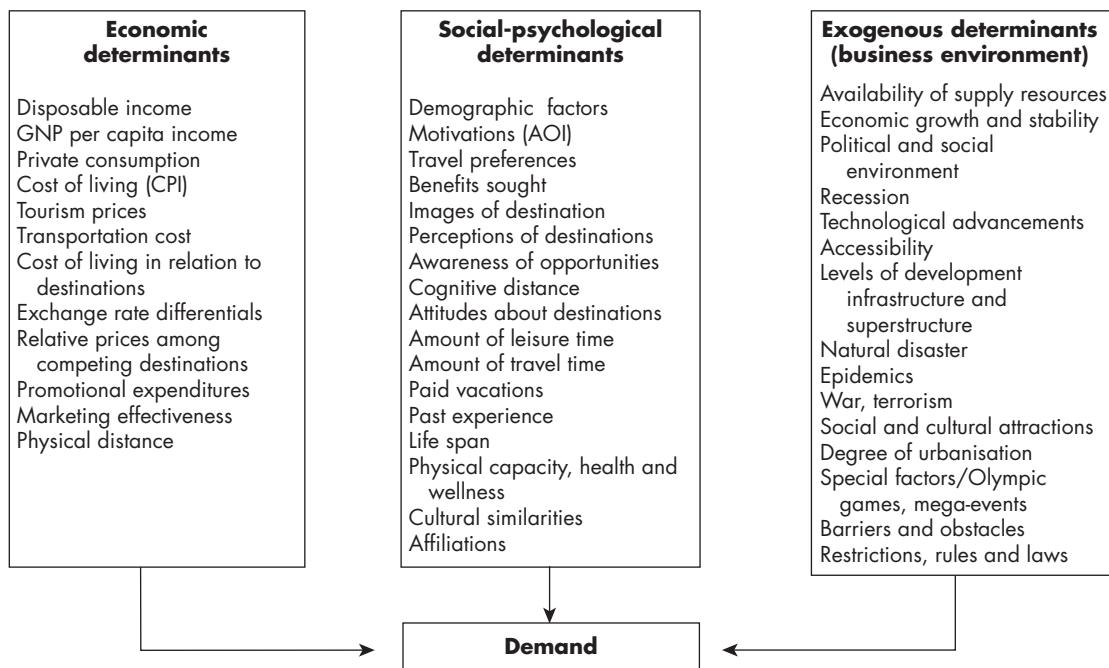


Figure 2.7 Determinants of tourism demand

Source: after Uysal 1998.

incredibly complex area of research and it is impossible within a chapter such as this to overview the area in depth. Nevertheless, P.L. Pearce's (1993) influential work in this field outlined a 'blueprint for tourist motivation', arguing that in an attempt to theorise tourist motivation one must consider the following issues:

- the conceptual place of tourism motivation;
- its task in the specialism of tourism;
- its ownership and users;
- its ease of communication;
- pragmatic measurement concerns;
- adopting a dynamic approach;
- the development of multi-motive perspectives;
- resolving and clarifying intrinsic and extrinsic motivation approaches.

To date no all-embracing theory of tourist motivation has been developed which has been adapted and legitimised by researchers in other contexts. This is

largely due to the multidisciplinary nature of the research issues identified above and the problem of simplifying complex psychological factors and behaviour into a set of constructs and ultimately a universally acceptable theory that can be tested and proven in various tourism contexts (Pearce 2011). As a result, Cooper *et al.* (1993: 20) prefer to view the individual as a central component of tourism demand to understand what motivates the tourist to travel. Their research rightly acknowledges that

No two individuals are alike, and differences in attitudes, perceptions and motivation have an important influence on travel decisions [where] attitudes depend on an individual's perception of the world. Perceptions are mental impressions of . . . a place or travel company and are determined by many factors which include childhood, family and work experiences. However, attitudes and perceptions in themselves do not explain why people

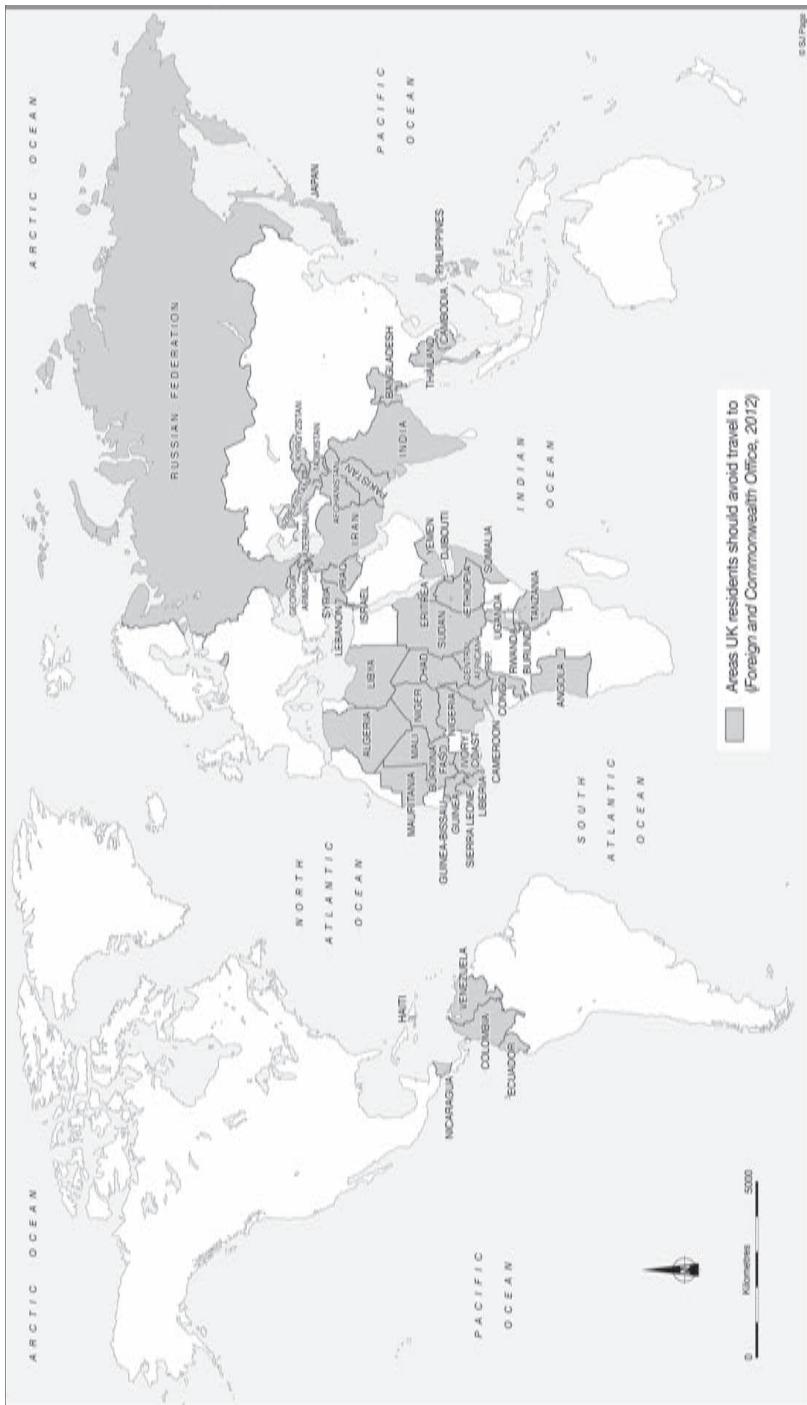


Figure 2.8 The geography of travel risk: Foreign and Commonwealth Office (UK) advice of areas to avoid travel to in 2012

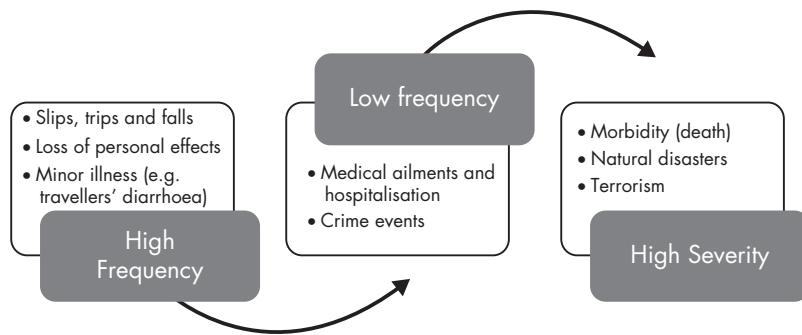


Figure 2.9 The tourist and safety continuum

Source: developed from Wilks and Page 2003.

want to travel. The inner urges that initiate travel demand are called travel motivators.

(Cooper *et al.* 1993: 20)

If one views the tourist as a consumer, then tourism demand is formulated through a consumer decision-making process, and therefore one can discern four elements which initiate demand:

- *energisers of demand*, factors that promote an individual to decide on a holiday;
- *filterers of demand*, which means that even though motivation may prevail, constraints on demand may exist in economic, sociological or psychological terms;
- *affectors*, which are factors that may heighten or suppress the energisers that promote consumer interest or choice in tourism;
- *roles* where the family member involved in the purchase of holiday products is the arbiter of group decision-making on choice of destination, product, and the where, when and how of consumption.

These factors underpin the tourist's process of travel decision-making although they do not explain why people choose to travel.

Maslow's hierarchy model and tourist motivation

Within the social psychology of tourism there is a growing literature which has built upon Maslow's

work (discussed earlier in relation to recreation) to identify specific motivations beyond the concept of needing 'to get away from it all' pioneered by Grinstein (1955), while push factors motivating individuals to seek a holiday exist, and pull factors (e.g. promotion by tourist resorts and tour operators) encourage as attractors. Ryan's (1991: 25–9) analysis of tourist travel motivators (excluding business travel) identifies the following reasons commonly cited to explain why people travel to tourist destinations for holidays:

- a desire to escape from a mundane environment;
- the pursuit of relaxation and recuperation functions;
- an opportunity for play;
- the strengthening of family bonds;
- prestige, since different destinations can enable one to gain social enhancement among peers;
- social interaction;
- educational opportunities;
- wish fulfilment;
- shopping.

Within most studies of tourist motivations these factors emerge in one form or another. While researchers such as Crompton (1979) emphasise that socio-psychological motives can be located along a continuum, Iso-Ahola (1980) theorised tourist motivation in terms of an escape element complemented by a search component, where the tourist is seeking something. However, Dann's (1981) conceptualisation is

probably one of the most useful attempts to simplify the principal elements of tourist motivation into:

- travel as a response to what is lacking yet desired;
- destination pull in response to motivational push;
- motivation as fantasy;
- motivation as classified purpose;
- motivation typologies;
- motivation and tourist experiences;
- motivation as definition and meaning.

This was simplified a stage further by McIntosh and Goeldner (1990) into:

- physical motivators;
- cultural motivators;
- interpersonal motivators;
- status and prestige motivators.

On the basis of motivation and using the type of experiences tourists seek, Cohen (1972) distinguished between four types of travellers:

- The organised mass tourist, on a package holiday, who is highly organised. Their contact with the host community in a destination is minimal.

- The individual mass tourist, who uses similar facilities to the organised mass tourist but also desires to visit other sights not covered on organised tours in the destination.
- The explorers, who arrange their travel independently and who wish to experience the social and cultural lifestyle of the destination.
- The drifter, who does not seek any contact with other tourists or their accommodation, preferring to live with the host community (see also V.L. Smith 1992).

Clearly, such a classification is fraught with problems, since it does not take into account the increasing diversity of holidays undertaken and inconsistencies in tourist behaviour (P.L. Pearce 1982). Other researchers suggest that one way of overcoming this difficulty is to consider the different destinations that tourists choose to visit, and then establish a sliding scale similar to Cohen's (1972) typology, but which does not have such an absolute classification. In contrast, Plog (1974) devised a classification of the US population into psychographic types, with travellers distributed along a continuum (see Figure 2.10) from psychocentrism to allocentrism. The psychocentrics are the anxious, inhibited and less adventurous

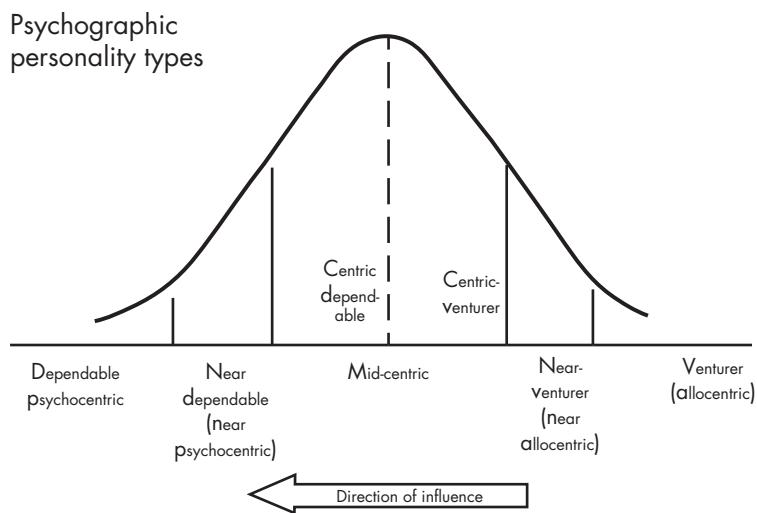


Figure 2.10 Plog's psychographic positions of destinations

Source: Plog (2001) reproduced with permission from Elsevier.

travellers, while at the other extreme the allocentrists are adventurous, outgoing, seeking new experiences due to their inquisitive personalities and interest in travel and adventure (also see Smith 1990a, 1990b; Plog 2001).

D.G. Pearce (1995a) highlights the spatial implications of such conceptualisations, that each tourist type will seek different destinations which will change through time. However, P.L. Pearce (1993) suggests that Plog's model is difficult to use because it fails to distinguish between extrinsic and intrinsic motivations without incorporating a dynamic

element to encompass the changing nature of individual tourists. P.L. Pearce discounts such models, suggesting that individuals have a 'career' in their travel behaviour where people 'start at different levels, they are likely to change levels during their life-cycle and they can be prevented from moving by money, health and other people. They may also retire from their travel career or not take holidays at all and therefore not be part of the system' (P.L. Pearce 1993: 125).

Figure 2.11 outlines Pearce's model based on a leisure ladder, which builds on Maslow's hierarchical

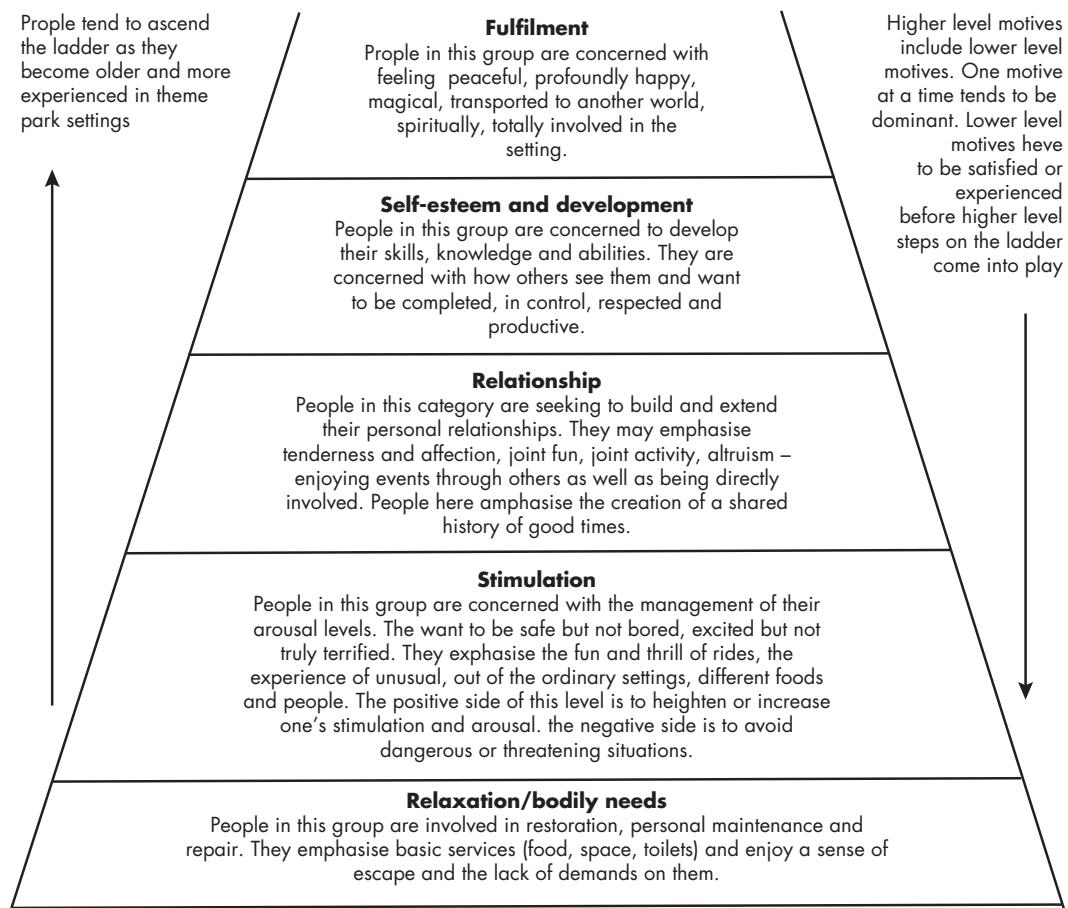


Figure 2.11 The leisure ladder for theme park settings (domestic visitors)

Source: Pearce 1993a.

system, where there are five motivational levels. These are:

- 1 a concern with biological needs;
- 2 safety and security needs;
- 3 relationship development and extension needs;
- 4 special interest and self-development needs;
- 5 fulfilment or self-actualisation needs.

From the existing literature on tourist motivation, the problems of determining tourist motivation may be summarised as follows:

- Tourism is not one specific product; it is a combination of products and experiences which meet a diverse range of needs.
- Tourists are not always conscious of their deep psychological needs and ideas. Even when they do know what they are, they may not reveal them.
- Motives may be multiple and contradictory (push and pull factors).
- Motives may change over time and be inextricably linked together (e.g. perception, learning, personality and culture are often separated out but they are all bound up together), and dynamic conceptualisations such as P.L. Pearce's (1993) leisure ladder are crucial to advancing knowledge and understanding in this area.

Having examined some of the issues associated with what motivates tourists to travel, attention now turns to the process of measuring and recording tourist demand using statistical measures.

Measurement of tourism demand: tourism statistics

The measurement of tourists, tourism activity and the effects on the economy and society in different environments is crucial to the development of tourism as an established area of study within the confines of social science (Latham and Edwards 2003; Lennon 2003). While most tourism researchers acknowledge that statistics are a necessary feature to provide data

to enable researchers, managers, planners, decision-makers and public and private sector bodies to gauge the significance and impact of tourism on destination areas, Burkart and Medlik (1981: 74) identify four principal reasons for statistical measurement in tourism:

- to evaluate the magnitude and significance of tourism to a destination area or region;
- to quantify the contribution to the economy or society, especially the effect on the balance of payments;
- to assist in the planning and development of tourism infrastructure and the effect of different volumes of tourists with specific needs;
- to assist in the evaluation and implementation of marketing and promotion activities where the tourism marketer requires information on the actual and potential markets and their characteristics.

Consequently, tourism statistics are essential to the measurement of the volume, scale, impact and value of tourism at different geographical scales, from the global to the country level down to the individual destination. A more recent development has been the evolution of Tourism Satellite Accounts (TSAs) for individual countries to establish a set methodology for assessing the tourism economy in each country (see Frechtling 2010 for more detail on this technique). Yet an information gap often still exists between the types of statistics provided by organisations and the needs of users. The compilation of tourism statistics provided by organisations associated with the measurement of tourism has established methods and processes to collect, collate and analyse tourism statistics, yet these have been understood by only a small number of researchers and practitioners. Thus this section attempts to demystify the apparent sophistication and complexity associated with the presentation of statistical indicators of tourism and their value to spatial analysis, since geographers have a strong quantified methods tradition (Johnston and Sidaway 2014), which is reflected in the use of and reliance upon such indicators to understand spatial variations and patterns of tourism activity. All too often, undergraduate and many postgraduate texts

assume a prior knowledge of tourism statistics and they are dealt with only in a limited way by most tourism texts; where such issues are raised they are usually discussed in over-technical texts aimed at a limited audience.

A commonly misunderstood feature which is associated with tourism statistics is that they are a complete and authoritative source of information (i.e. they answer all the questions posed by the researcher) (Lennon 2003). Other associated problems are that statistics are recent and relate to the previous year or season, implying that there is no time lag in their generation, analysis, presentation and dissemination to interested parties. In fact, most tourism statistics are 'typically measurements of arrivals, trips, tourist nights and expenditure, and these often appear in total or split into categories such as business or leisure travel' (Latham 1989: 55–6). Furthermore, the majority of published tourism statistics are derived from sample surveys, with the results being weighted or statistically manipulated to derive a measure which is supposedly representative of the real world situation. In reality, this often means that tourism statistics are subject to significant errors depending on the size of the sample, although this is often not readily acknowledged by authorities when they report such data.

The statistical measurement of tourists is far from straightforward. Latham and Edwards (2003) identify a number of distinctive and peculiar problems associated with the tourist population:

- Tourists are a transient and highly mobile population, making statistical sampling procedures difficult when trying to ensure statistical accuracy and rigour in methodological terms.
- Interviewing of mobile populations such as tourists is often undertaken in a strange environment, typically at ports or points of departure or arrival where there is background noise which may influence responses.
- Other variables, such as the weather, may affect the responses.

Even where sampling and survey-related problems can be minimised, one has to treat tourism statistics with

a degree of caution because of additional methodological issues that can affect the results. For example, tourism research typically comprises (Hall 2011c):

- pre-travel studies of tourists' intended travel habits and likely choice of destination (intentional studies);
- studies of tourists in transit to provide information on their actual behaviour and plans for the remainder of their holiday or journey (actual and intended studies);
- studies of tourists at the destination or at specific tourist attractions and sites, to provide information on their actual behaviour, levels of satisfaction, impacts and future intentions (actual and intended studies);
- post-travel studies of tourists on their return journey from their destination or on-site experience or once they have returned to their place of residence (post-travel measures).

In an ideal world, where resource and/or political constraints are not a limiting factor on the generation of statistics, each of the aforementioned approaches should be used to provide a broad spectrum of research information on tourism and tourist behaviour. In reality, organisations and government agencies select a form of research which meets their own particular needs. In practice, most tourism statistics are generated with practical uses in mind and they may usually, though not exclusively, be categorised as follows:

- measurement of tourist volume, enumerating arrivals, departures and the number of visits and stays;
- expenditure-based surveys which quantify the value of tourist spending at the destination and during the journey;
- the characteristics and features of tourists to construct a profile of the different markets and segments visiting a destination.

However, before any tourism statistics can be derived, it is important to deal with the complex and thorny issue of defining the population – the tourist. Therefore, how does one define and differentiate between the terms *tourism* and *tourist*?

Defining tourism

The terms *travel* and *tourism* are often interchanged within the published literature on tourism, though they are normally meant to encompass 'the field of research on human and business activities associated with one or more aspects of the temporary movement of persons away from their immediate home communities and daily work environments for business, pleasure and personal reasons' (Chadwick 1994: 65). These two terms tend to be used in differing contexts to mean similar things, although there is a tendency for researchers in the United States to continue to use the term 'travel' when in fact they mean tourism. Despite this inherent problem, which sometimes may be little more than an exercise in semantics, it is widely acknowledged that the two terms are used in isolation or in unison to 'describe' three concepts:

- the movement of people;
- a sector of the economy or an industry;
- a broad system of interacting relationships of people (including their need to travel outside their communities and services that attempt to respond to these needs by supplying products) (Chadwick 1994; Hall and Lew 2009).

From this initial starting point, one can begin to explore some of the complex issues in arriving at a working definition of the terms *tourism* and *tourist*. Burkart and Medlik's (1981) approach to the concept of *tourism* continues to offer a valid assessment of the situation, where five main characteristics are associated with the concept:

- Tourism arises from the movement of people to, and their stay in, various destinations.
- There are two elements in all tourism: the journey to the destination and the stay, including activities at the destination.
- The journey and the stay take place outside the normal place of residence and work, so that tourism gives rise to activities which are distinct from those of the resident and working populations of the places through which tourists travel and in which they stay.

- The movement to tourist destinations is of a temporary, short-term character, with the intention of returning home within a few days, weeks or months.
- Destinations are visited for purposes other than taking up permanent residence or employment remunerated from within the places visited (Burkart and Medlik 1981: 42).

Furthermore, Burkart and Medlik's (1981) conceptual definition of tourism recognises that much tourism is a leisure activity which involves a discretionary use of time and money, and recreation is often the main purpose of participation in tourism. But this is no reason for restricting the total concept in this way and the essential characteristics of tourism can best be interpreted to embrace a wider concept. All tourism includes some travel but not all travel is tourism, while the temporary and short-term nature of most tourist trips distinguishes it from migration. Hall and Lew (2009) also emphasise that tourism is voluntary and does not include the forced movement of people for political or environmental reasons; that is, tourists are not refugees. 'In fact, the more impoverished someone is the less likely it is that they travel for leisure; and if they have to travel across a border, they are less likely to be welcomed. Rich people, by contrast, are usually welcomed and given far more privileges in crossing international borders than are the poor' (Hall and Lew 2009: 6). Therefore, from the broad interpretation of tourism, it is possible to consider the technical definitions of tourism (also see Leiper (1990) for a further discussion, together with Medlik (1993) and Hall and Lew (2009); see also Chapter 1).

Technical and statistical definitions of tourism

Technical definitions of tourism are commonly used by organisations seeking to define the population to be measured, and there are three principal features which normally have to be defined:

- Purpose of travel (e.g. the type of traveller, be it business travel, holidaymakers, visits to friends and relatives or for other reasons).

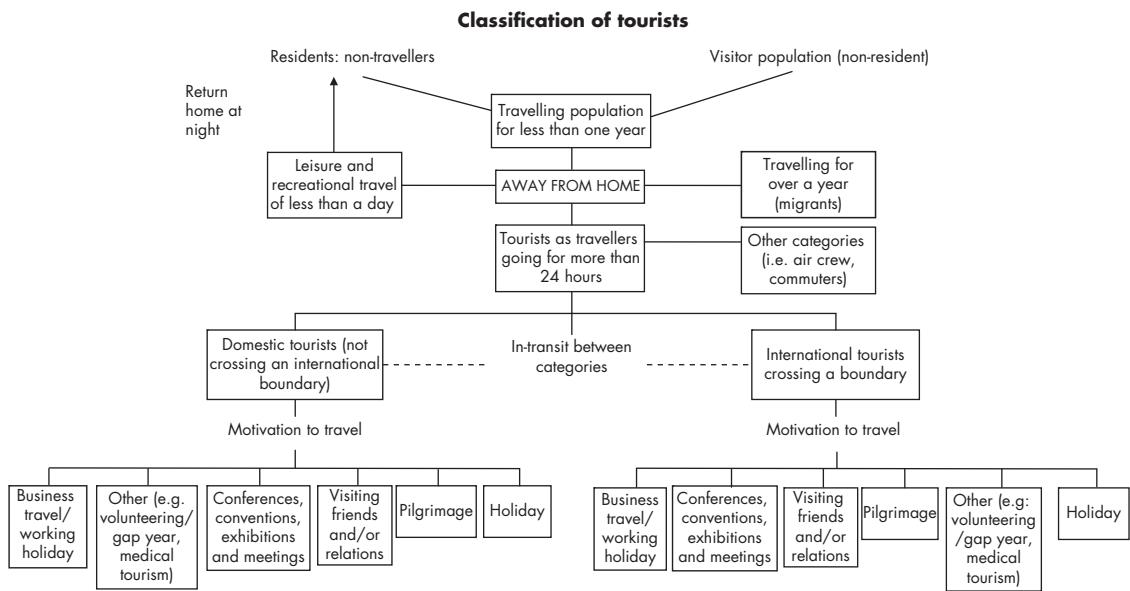


Figure 2.12 A classification of travellers

Source: developed and adapted from Chadwick 1994 and Page and Connell 2014, with additions by the authors.

- The time dimension involved in the tourism visit, which requires a minimum and a maximum period of time spent away from the home area and the time spent at the destination. In most cases, this would involve a minimum stay of more than 24 hours and a maximum of less than a year.
- Those situations where tourists may or may not be included as tourists, such as cruise passengers, those tourists in transit at a particular point of embarkation/departure and excursionists who stay less than 24 hours at a destination (e.g. the European duty-free cross-Channel day trip market).

R. Chadwick (1994) provides a typology of travellers (tourists) which highlights the distinction between tourists (travellers) and non-travellers (non-tourists) and which is summarised in Figure 2.12. Figure 2.12 indicates that all sections of society are involved in travel of some kind, but also looks at the motivation to travel. It is also useful because it illustrates where technical problems may occur in deciding which groups to include in tourism and which to exclude.

From this classification of travellers, the distinction between international and domestic tourism is made, and this is discussed in more detail on pp. 80–81.

The term *trip* is also used extensively in technical approaches to tourism and refers to the movement of an individual outside their home environment until they return. The term, therefore, actually refers to a ‘roundtrip’. The trip concept and its implications can be understood through what is referred to as the tourism system, which is usually conceptualised as a geographical or spatial system (see Chapter 1). The tourism system includes the various elements that make up a trip:

- the generation or origin region (or place) of the tourist;
- the transit region that the tourist travels through;
- the destination location where the tourist is going;
- the overall environment in which these exist.

A trip may also be made up of visits to different destinations. To simplify statistical data collection,

countries will usually define a multi-destination trip in one of two ways:

- Based on the point of first arrival after departing the home environment, e.g. on an international flight this would be the city where you get off the aircraft, even though you may be going on to somewhere else.
- Based on the main destination of the trip, which is defined as either the location outside of the home environment where the most time was spent or as the place that most influenced the decision to take the trip. If the same amount of time was spent in two or more places during the trip, then the main destination is usually defined as the one that is the farthest from the place of usual residence (UN and UNWTO 2007).

Based on generally accepted international agreements for collecting and comparing tourism statistics, the term tourism trip has come to refer to a trip of not more than 12 months and for a main purpose other than being employed at the destination (UN and UNWTO 2007). An international trip is one in which the main destination is outside the country of residence of the traveller. A domestic trip is one in which the main destination is within the country of residence of the traveller (UN and UNWTO 2007). However, despite UN and UNWTO recommendations (WTO 1991a; UN 1994; UN and UNWTO 2007) there are substantial differences between countries with respect to the length of time that they use to define a tourist, as well as how employment is defined (Chadwick 1994; Lennon 2003; Hall and Page 2006).

Three types of tourism are usually recognised (Hall and Lew 2009):

- 1 *Domestic tourism*, which includes the activities of resident visitors within their home country or economy of reference, as part of either a domestic or an international trip.
- 2 *Inbound tourism*, which includes the activities of non-resident visitors within the destination country or economy of reference, as part of either a domestic or an international trip (from the perspective of the traveller's country of residence).

- 3 *Outbound tourism*, which includes the activities of resident visitors outside their home country or economy of reference, as part of either a domestic or an international trip.

The term 'economy of reference' is used for special conditions, such as Hong Kong, which although a Special Autonomous Region (SAR) of China, is a separate economy of reference with respect to statistical and other purposes. Travel between China and Hong Kong is, therefore, considered international travel. However, for statistical purposes the UN and UNWTO (2007: 21–2) have recommended the adoption of the following concepts:

- *Internal tourism*, which comprises both domestic tourism and international inbound tourism, including the activities of resident and non-resident visitors within the economy of reference as part of a domestic or an international trip; this is all of the tourism expenditures in a country or economy.
- *National tourism*, which comprises both domestic tourism and international outbound tourism, including the activities of resident visitors within and outside the economy of reference, as part of either a domestic or an international trip; this is all of the tourism expenditures of domestic tourists both inside and outside their home country or economy.
- *International tourism*, which comprises inbound tourism and outbound tourism, including the activities of resident visitors outside the economy of reference, as part of either a domestic or an international trip, and the activities of non-resident visitors within the economy of reference, as part of a domestic or an international trip (from the perspective of their country of residence); this is all tourist expenditures that are made by tourists outside their home country or economy.

In order to improve statistical collection and improve understanding of tourism, the United Nations (1994) and the WTO (1991a) also recommended differentiating between visitors, tourists and excursionists (day-trippers). The WTO (1991a) recommended that an international tourist be defined as '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', and that an international excursionist (e.g. cruise ship visitors) be defined as 'a visitor residing in a country who travels the same day to a country other than which he/she has his/her usual environment for less than 24 hours without spending the night in the country visited and whose main purpose of visit is other than the exercise of an activity remunerated from within the country visited'. Similar definitions were also developed for domestic tourists, with domestic tourists having a time limit of 'not more than six months' (WTO 1991a; UN 1994).

Interestingly, the inclusion of a same-day travel, 'excursionist' category in UN/WTO technical definitions of tourism (also known as day-trippers) makes the division between recreation and tourism even more arbitrary, and there is increasing international agreement that 'tourism' refers to all activities of visitors, including both overnight and same-day visitors (UN 1994: 5). Given improvements in transport technology, same-day travel is becoming increasingly important to some countries (Hall and Lew 2009).

In order to try to clarify an increasingly complex series of travel categories the UN and UNWTO (2007) have recommended use of the term *visitor* rather than *tourist* per se, with a number of criteria needing to be satisfied for an international traveller to qualify as an international visitor, although the terms international visitor and international tourist tend to be used interchangeably in everyday usage (Hall and Lew 2009):

- The place of destination within the country visited is outside the traveller's usual environment.
- The stay, or intention of stay, in the country visited should last no more than 12 months, beyond which this place in the country visited would become part of his/her usual environment. At which point this would lead to a classification as migrant or permanent resident. The UN and UNWTO recommend that this criterion should be applied to also cover long-term students and patients, even though their stay might be interrupted by short stays in their country of origin or elsewhere.

- The main purpose of the trip is other than being employed by an organisation or person in the country visited.
- The traveller is not engaged in travel for military service or is a member of the diplomatic services.
- The traveller is not a nomad or refugee (UN and UNWTO 2007).

Domestic visitors can be similarly classified. Therefore, for a traveller to be considered a domestic visitor to a place in the country where he or she is resident, the following conditions should be met (Hall and Lew 2009):

- The place (or region) visited should be outside the visitor's usual environment, which would exclude frequent trips, although the UN and UNWTO (2007) recommend that trips to vacation homes should always be considered as tourism trips.
- The stay, or intention of the stay, in the place (or region) visited should last no more than 12 months, beyond which this place would become part of his/her usual environment. As with the international visitor classification the UN and UNWTO recommend that this criterion should be applied to also cover long-term students and patients, even though their stay might be interrupted by short stays in their place of origin or elsewhere.
- The main purpose of the visit should be other than being employed by an organisation or person in the place visited.

Although the term 'tourist' will undoubtedly stay in common usage it is significant to note that the focus on visitors has meant that policy discussions with respect to tourism are increasingly being focused on the visitor economy so as to highlight the significance of different forms of international and domestic tourism (Morgan *et al.* 2009; Middleton 2012).

Domestic tourism statistics

Domestic tourism is often viewed as the poorer partner in the compilation of statistics, even though, as noted in Chapter 1, it accounts for almost 85 per cent of the total number of tourist trips. For example, most domestic tourism statistics tend to underestimate the

scale and volume of flows since certain aspects of domestic tourist movements are sometimes ignored in official sources. In contrast to international tourism, domestic tourism statistics also remain generally poor in quantity and quality (Latham and Edwards 2003). This is compounded by the fact that domestic tourism has little direct impact on a government's foreign exchange earnings or balance of payments. The 'visits to friends and relatives, the use of forms of accommodation other than hotels (for example, second homes, camp and caravan sites) and travel by large segments of a population from towns to the countryside are not for the most part included' (Latham and Edwards 2003: 64). Relatively few countries collect domestic travel and tourism statistics, and some rely exclusively on the hotel or accommodation sector for statistical information, thereby excluding the many travellers staying with friends and relatives or at second homes (Hall and Müller 2004). Therefore, the collection of domestic tourism statistics requires the use of different data sources aside from hotel records which identify the origin and duration of a visitor's stay.

Problems in applying WTO definitions may also reflect an individual country's reasons for generating such statistics, which may not necessarily be to contribute to a better understanding of statistics per se. For example, WTO (1981) identified four uses of domestic tourism statistics:

- To calculate the contribution of tourism to the country's economy, whereby estimates of tourism's value to the gross domestic product is estimated due to the complexity of identifying the scope of tourism's contribution.
- To assist in the marketing and promotion of tourism, where government-sponsored tourism organisations seek to encourage the population to take domestic holidays rather than to travel overseas.
- To aid the regional development policies of governments, which harness tourism as a tool for area development where domestic tourists in congested environments are encouraged to travel to less developed areas and to improve the quality of tourism in different environments.

- To achieve social objectives, where socially oriented tourism policies may be developed for the underprivileged, which requires a detailed understanding of the holiday-taking habits of a country's nationals.

Regional and local tourist and economic development organisations also make use of such data to develop and market destinations and different businesses within the tourism sector. Burkart and Medlik (1981) argue that two principal features need to be measured: first, the volume, value and characteristics of tourism among the population of the country; second, the same data relating to individual destinations within the country. The WTO (1981, cited in Latham 1989) considers the minimum data requirements for the collection of domestic tourism statistics in terms of arrivals and tourist nights in accommodation classified by:

- month;
- type or grade of accommodation establishment;
- location of the accommodation establishment and overall expenditure on domestic tourism.

The cost of such data collection means that the statistical basis of domestic tourism in many less developed countries remains poor. The methods used to generate domestic tourism statistics are normally based on the estimates of volume, value and scale derived from sample surveys due to the cost of undertaking large-scale surveys of tourist activities. The immediate problem facing the user of such material is the type of errors and degree of accuracy that can be attached to such data.

International tourism statistics

The two principal organisations which collate data on international tourism are the United Nations World Tourism Organization and the OECD. In addition, international regional tourism organisations such as the Pacific Asia Travel Association also collect international tourism statistics. However, it has long been recognised that there is often an imbalance in statistical collection, as Withyman argued:

Outward visitors seem to attract less attention from the pollsters and the enumerators. Of course, one country's outward visitor is another country's (perhaps several countries') inward visitor, and a much more welcome sort of visitor, too, being both a source of revenue and an emblem of the destination country's appeal in the international market. This has meant that governments have tended to be generally more keen to measure inward than outward tourism, or at any rate, having done so, to publish the results.

(Withyman 1985: 69)

This statement indicates that governments are more concerned with the direct effect of tourism on their balance of payments. But as Seetaram, Page and Song (2012) demonstrate in the case of the UK, outbound tourism has grown significantly, using outbound air travel as a surrogate, which rose from 30 million in 1970 to over 218 million in 2011, with forecasts that it will rise to 500 million by 2030. Yet as Withyman (1985: 61) argued: 'In the jungle of international travel and tourism statistics, it behoves the explorer to step warily; on all sides there is luxuriant growth. Not all data sources are what they appear to be – after close scrutiny some show themselves to be inconsistent and often unsuitable for the industry researcher and planner.'

The key point Withyman (1985) recognises is the lack of comparability in tourism data in relation to what is measured (e.g. is it visitor days or visitor nights?) and the procedures and methodology used to measure international tourism. Latham (1989) suggests that the main types of international tourism statistics collated relate to:

- volume of tourists;
- expenditure by tourists;
- the profile of the tourist and their trip characteristics.

As with domestic tourism, estimates form the basis for most statistics on international tourism since the method of data collection does not generate exact data. For example, volume statistics are often

generated from counts of tourists at entry/exit points (i.e. gateways such as airports and ports) or at accommodation. But such data relate to numbers of trips rather than individual tourists since one tourist may make more than one trip a year and each trip is counted separately. In the case of expenditure statistics, tourist expenditure normally refers to tourist spending within a country and excludes payments to operators of tourist transport. Yet deriving such statistics is often an indirect measure based on foreign currency estimates derived from bank records, from data provided by tourism service providers or more commonly from social surveys undertaken directly with tourists, and there may be substantial bias in such studies (Baretje 1982).

According to Edwards (1991: 68–9), 'expenditure and receipts data apart, tourist statistics are usually collected in one of the five following ways':

- Counts of all individuals entering or leaving the country at all recognised frontier crossings, often using arrival/departure cards where high volume arrivals/departures are the norm. Where particularly large volumes of tourist traffic exist, a 10 per cent sampling framework is normally used (i.e. every tenth arrival/departure card). Countries such as New Zealand actually match the arrival/departure cards, or a sample, to examine the length of stay.
- Interviews carried out at frontiers with a sample of arriving and/or departing passengers to obtain a more detailed profile of visitors and their activities within the country. This will often require a careful sample design to gain a sufficiently large sample, with detail required from visitors on a wide range of tourism data, including places visited, expenditure, accommodation usage and related items.
- Selecting a sample of arrivals and providing them with a self-completion questionnaire to be handed in or posted. This method is used in Canada but it fails to incorporate those visitors travelling via the United States by road.
- Sample surveys of the entire population of a country, including travellers and non-travellers, though the cost of obtaining a representative sample is often prohibitive.

- Accommodation arrivals and nights spent are recorded by hoteliers and owners of the accommodation types covered. The difficulty with this type of data collection is that accommodation owners have no incentive to record accurate details, particularly where the tax regime is based on the turnover of bed-nights.

The final area of data collection is profile statistics, which examine the characteristics and travel habits of visitors. For example, the UK's International Passenger Survey (IPS) is one survey that incorporates volume, expenditure and profile data on international tourism. The IPS collects information on behalf of the UK Office for National Statistics about overseas passengers entering and leaving the UK. The survey results are used by a range of bodies, including VisitBritain (the national tourism agency) and the tourism organisations for London, England, Wales and Scotland, for the purposes of assessing the impact of tourists' expenditure and taxation on the economy, estimating migration rates and monitoring changes in international tourism over time. In 2009 the IPS employed a multi-stage random sample of over 311,000 people (representing about 0.2 per cent of all travellers to and from the UK), who were interviewed at all the major airports, sea routes, Eurostar terminals and on Eurotunnel trains.

Methodological issues

Latham and Edwards (2003) review the major types of data collection used for tourism statistics. They report that among state-sponsored tourism research in the United States, conversion studies are a popular method to examine and evaluate advertising campaigns and visitor surveys, to assess a sample of visitors to individual states. Other methods of data collection may include diary questionnaires, participant observation and personal interviews. Yet each approach has different issues of sampling, sample design and the sources of error that users of such data may not be aware of. In fact the lack of research on the reliability of the estimate from a sample survey (the standard error) is rarely discussed in most tourism surveys (for a more technical discussion of this point, see Latham

and Edwards 2003). In many cases, large tourism surveys focus on the logistics of drawing the sample and the bias which may be reflected in the results. Therefore, any tourism survey will need to pay careful attention to the statistical and mathematical accuracy of the survey, especially the survey design and the effect it may have on the results, a feature which is discussed in great detail by Ryan (1995).

Ryan (1995) provides an excellent review of survey design, questionnaire design, sampling and also an insight into the statistical techniques to use for different forms of tourism data. As a result it serves as an important reference point for issues of methodology and the technical issues associated with the statistical analysis of tourism data. Without reiterating the features of Ryan's findings, it is appropriate to consider some of the main accuracy problems associated with the collection of domestic and international tourism statistics.

Ryan (1995) argues that errors in data collection can lead to errors in data analysis. Among the most frequently cited problems associated with domestic and international tourism statistics are:

- the methods by which the data are collected, which are influenced by administrative, bureaucratic and legislative factors in each country
- sample sizes which are too small and lead to unacceptable sampling errors and in some instances where the sample design is flawed;
- the procedures for collecting tourism statistics are not adhered to by the agency collecting the data.

Edwards (1991: 68) argues that a 'fourth potential reason – arithmetic mistakes and data processing errors – only occasionally produce[s] significant errors'. In the case of tourist expenditure and receipts data, organisations such as the International Monetary Fund (IMF) issue guidelines for the compilation of balance of payments statistics. But errors may occur where leakage results from tourist services paid for in overseas bank accounts and, in extreme cases, where a black market exists in currency exchange. Edwards (1991) suggests that a regular programme of interviews with departing tourists and returning residents may assist in estimating levels of expenditure.

Identifying trends in tourism data remains one of the main requirements for travel industry organisations. Edwards (1991: 73) lists some key issues to consider in examining tourism trends:

- Have arrivals or accommodation data been changed in coverage or definition?
- Have provisional data for earlier years been subsequently revised?
- Has the reliability of the data changed and how are changing tastes in travel products affecting the statistics?

Having considered the issues associated with how tourism statistics are generated, attention now turns to the ways in which geographers analyse such statistics, and variations in tourism activity at different scales.

Patterns of global tourism

The UNWTO provides the main source of data for international tourism, collated from a survey of major government agencies responsible for data collection. While most international tourists are expressed as 'frontier arrivals' (i.e. arrivals determined by means of a frontier check), arrival/departure cards (where used) offer additional detail to the profile of international tourists, and where they are not used periodic tourism surveys are often employed. UNWTO statistics are mainly confined to categories of travellers, and in some cases geographical disaggregation of the data may be limited by the collecting agency's use of descriptions and categories for the sake of simplicity (e.g. rest of the world) rather than listing all categories of arrivals.

In terms of the growth of international travel, the expansion of outbound travel saw constant growth in the 1960s in an age of discovery of outbound travel for many developed nations. The late 1960s saw international travel expanded by new technology in air travel (e.g. the introduction of the Boeing 747 jumbo jet and the 737 as well as the DC10), which led to rapid growth until the oil crisis in the early 1970s. Growth rates varied in the 1980s, with 'shock waves' to the upward trend being caused by events such as the Gulf

Crisis, but international travel has maintained strong growth rates, often in excess of 5 per cent per annum until the late 1990s, when growth rates slowed down considerably. Since 2000, the rate of growth has slowed, especially with 9/11 and the terrorist threats and other shock events, including the effect of the swine flu virus in 2009 and the credit crunch (Page *et al.* 2012). Crises in tourism affect the geographical pattern of arrivals by world region (Hall 2010e), although a notable pattern of change since the 1990s has been the major expansion of arrivals in the developing world. As Figure 1.2 shows, in 2012 many of the world's least developed and developing nations as defined by the United Nations have international arrivals in excess of one million, dominated by China and Turkey as international destinations. This is a major shift since the late 1990s, when many of these destinations were fledgling or developing their tourism sector. Yet in terms of volume of international arrivals France has remained in a prominent position despite certain developing nations recording major growth, with the exception of the USA. To date Europe still dominates the pattern of arrivals by country, but China is the notable success story in terms of growth in inbound arrivals. The USA and Spain have retained their prominence in the top rankings as world earners of tourism receipts. Key changes in the last decade have been the rise of four major outbound regions labelled the BRIC Countries (Brazil, Russia, India and China, see UNWTO 2011a) with a rapidly expanding demand for outbound (and domestic) travel which will shape future patterns of tourist travel globally, to which attention now turns.

Future trends in the geography of international tourism to 2030

UNWTO produces future growth scenarios for world tourism, based on existing patterns and past trends in growth, to extrapolate to the future using forecasting methods which economists use from the area known as econometrics (see Song and Li 2008 for more detail). These are interesting to the geographer as they make assumptions and predict where tourist growth is likely to occur in time and space, including modelling tourist flows (origin/destination matrices

of data). UNWTO (2011a) reported these findings in its *Towards Tourism 2030* report, which is a long-term forecast assessment using 2010 as the base year and making forecasts for 2030. As the period of growth examined is up to 20 years in length, short-term fluctuations such as rapid growth are often followed by short-term downturns and slower growth rates in arrivals, which has tended to compensate and smooth out growth rates over the forecasting periods in the past. As a result, UNWTO suggests that, globally, international tourism will rise to 1.8 billion in 2030. Global growth in international tourist arrivals is expected to continue at a more moderate pace, from 4.2 per cent per year (1980–2020) to 3.3 per cent (2010–30), as a result of four factors:

- The base volumes are higher, so smaller increases still add substantial numbers;
- Lower GDP growth, as economies mature;
- A lower elasticity of travel to GDP;
- A shift from falling transport costs to increasing ones (UNWTO 2011a).

The greatest growth rates will occur in emerging countries (especially the BRIC Countries), so that whereas 70 per cent of arrivals in 1980 were in the industrialised regions of North America, Europe and Asia-Pacific, this will change to 58 per cent of arrivals in emerging countries by 2030 (e.g. Latin America, Eastern and Central Europe, the Eastern Mediterranean, the Middle East and Africa). South Asia will see growth rates of around 6 per cent per annum, albeit growing from a low base figure, while the Middle East and Africa will see arrivals double over the period. UNWTO also forecast a greater geographical dispersion of tourist arrivals to a wider range of destinations by 2030 as more localities develop tourism, thereby increasing competition, a feature highlighted by OECD (2008) as a key feature of future growth in tourism globally.

Patterns of domestic tourism

The development of Tourism Satellite Accounts has seen a growing research focus on domestic tourism in

many countries. What might have been a fair assessment of the situation in the early 1990s by D.G. Pearce (1995a: 67), that 'domestic tourism, which is often more informal and less structured than international tourism, [involves] a consequent tendency by many government agencies, researchers and others to regard it as less significant', has been re-examined in many countries, as slow growth rates in international tourism and crises in arrivals after disasters such as 9/11 and the credit crunch/recession, or slowdown, have led to a major refocusing of attention on domestic travel in the USA and Europe, for example. In the UK this has been respun as a focus on 'staycation' to coincide with the appreciation of the pound Sterling against the Euro making travel to Europe more expensive. The UK has certainly seen tourism agencies realise the significance of domestic tourism, particularly for the UK visitor economy. Similarly, in New Zealand domestic tourism generated NZD 13.8 billion in 2012 whereas international tourism yielded NZD 9.6 billion, illustrating why domestic tourism is a significant sector of the tourism economy. Nevertheless, a paucity of data in some countries is problematic, since it requires an analysis of tourism patterns and flows at different spatial scales to consider spatial interaction of tourists between a multitude of possible origin and destination areas within a country, as well as a detailed understanding of inter-regional flows. In some cases, these flows can be identified from well-known tourist circuits, such as the UK's milk run of coach tourism circuits between the popular key destinations (D.G. Pearce 1995a) and more recent analysis of VisitScotland data at a regional level by Page (2003a) to assess the regional distribution of coach tourist visits in Scotland. At the micro level, studies of specific areas such as small islands may yield contained environments where spatial analysis is much easier and the effects of tourist activity can be monitored.

At a methodological level, it is evident that where government agencies and other public sector organisations undertake data collection on domestic tourism, 'the results are not often directly comparable, limiting the identification of general patterns and trends' (D.G. Pearce 1995a: 67). As Pearce (1995a: 67)

rightly acknowledges, 'there are still few examples of comprehensive interregional studies where the analysis is based on a complete matrix of both original and destination regions . . . [since] few appropriate and reliable sets of tourism statistics exist which might be used to construct such a matrix'.

Micro studies of tourism demand: innovations in technology

One of the principal developments since the early 1990s which has assisted in the analysis of demand at the micro scale, typically in cities or confined geographical areas, has been the rise of geomatics. This is the technical name to describe the rise of geospatial technology that combines innovations in Geographical Information Systems and mobile technology that uses geo-referenced information such as mobile phone and satellite positioning systems, as two examples. A wide range of geographical and associated disciplinary studies (e.g. from computer science) have sought to combine the notion of time–space paths to analyse what tourists who can be tracked are doing, where and when. Whilst the research has substantially expanded our knowledge of the spatial aspects of demand, such as Xiao-Ting and Bi-Hu's (2012) study of intra attraction travel systems and McKercher *et al.*'s (2012) study of first-time and repeat travellers to Hong Kong (which demonstrated that first-time visitors have a broader search and exploratory domain than repeat visitors, who focus on specific places and themes), this still does not address the wider debates on the nature of tourist decision-making as the basis for spatial behaviour (i.e. Smallman and Moore 2010), although Pearce (2011) does highlight the major contributions which the new technological advances can make towards a more spatially contingent awareness of tourist behaviour in a dynamic setting – space and place.

Conclusions

The analysis of behavioural issues in recreational and tourism research indicates that 'in behavioural terms then, there seems little necessity to insist on a major

distinction between tourism and leisure phenomena. Therefore, it should follow that a greater commonality between the research efforts in the two areas would be of advantage' (Moore *et al.* 1995: 75), although different social theoretical approaches exist towards the analysis of recreation and tourism phenomena. As a result, Moore *et al.* (1995: 79) conclude that 'there is little need, if any, to take a dramatically different approach to the behavioural analysis of tourism and leisure'. Similarly, the UNWTO (2009: 3) argues, 'Travel motivation is increasingly characterised by a search for leisure, emotional recharge, authenticity, fulfilling experience, outdoor activities/adventure, and a general desire to participate and explore, rather than merely relax. In particular, there is a need to "get away from it all", and to use travel and holidays as discovery of place, culture and of self', which spills over into leisure behaviour, as the motivations for tourism and leisure demonstrate.

One needs to view each activity in the context of the everyday life of the people involved to understand how each is conceived. There is a clear distinction within the literature between what motivates recreationalists and tourists and comparative studies of similar groups of people, and the similarities and differences between these motivations has yet to permeate the research literature. While geographers have focused on recreational and tourist behaviour in relation to demand issues, the analysis has largely been quantitative, site specific and has not adapted a comparative methodology to examine the recreation–tourism continuum. One notable study by Connell (2005) questions the tendency to overlook the historical context of much tourism and leisure research, which is particularly pertinent to the spatial analysis of tourism and leisure phenomena. As Page (2003a) argued, the patterns of continuity and change in the analysis of tourism and leisure geographies provide a containing context for research, since cultural, social and spatial interactions shape and form the landscapes and forms of leisure and tourism experience through time that are constantly evolving. This historical imperative is essential, as many of the chapters in this book demonstrate, to understand tourism and leisure beyond the research context as a snapshot

in time. This is nowhere more evident than in the analysis of supply issues, which demonstrate their enduring ability to adapt and evolve through time as the demand and markets for their products and services change.

Further reading

For recreational demand the following studies are very useful introductions:

Pigram, J.J. and Jenkins, J. (1999) *Outdoor Recreation Management*, London: Routledge (by far the best book on recreational research published to date by geographers).

In terms of factors constraining demand, see:

Crawford, D., Jackson, E. and Godbey, G. (1991) 'A hierarchical model of leisure constraints', *Leisure Sciences*, 13: 309–20.

A good example of the constraints on demand can be found in:

Madge, C. (1997) 'Public parks and the geography of fear', *Tijdschrift voor Economische en Sociale Geografie*, 88: 237–50.

At a general level, the best overviews of studies of tourism demand are:

Crouch, G. (1994) 'The study of tourism demand: a review of findings', *Journal of Travel Research*, 33(1): 2–21.

Shaw, G., Agarwal, S. and Bull, P. (2000) 'Tourism consumption and tourist behaviour: a British perspective', *Tourism Geographies*, 2: 264–89.

Uysal, M. (1998) 'The determinants of tourism demand: a theoretical perspective', in D. Ioannides and K. Debbage (eds) *The Economic Geography of the Tourist Industry: A Supply-side Analysis*, London: Routledge.

An interesting account of changes in demand is:

Shaw, G. and Williams, A. (eds) (1997) *The Rise and Fall of British Coastal Resorts: Cultural and Economic Perspectives*, London: Mansell.

A useful collection of readings with respect to tourism statistics is:

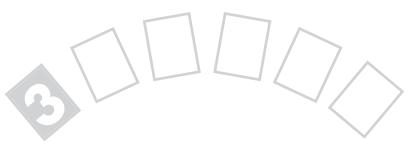
Lennon, J. (ed.) (2003) *Tourism Statistics: International Perspectives and Current Issues*, London: Continuum.

and the chapter by:

Latham, J. and Edwards, C. (2003) 'The statistical measurement of tourism', in C. Cooper (ed.) *Classic Reviews in Tourism*, Clevedon: Channel View.

Questions to discuss

- 1 What is recreational demand and how have geographers attempted to measure it?**
- 2 How far does the use of recreational resources conform with models of leisure and recreational demand?**
- 3 What is the role of tourism demand in the analysis of tourism patterns in time and space?**
- 4 'The use of psychological constructs and models of tourist behaviour does not explain why people go on holiday to specific locations.' Discuss.**



The supply of recreation and tourism

Within the literature on recreation and tourism, there has been a paucity of conceptual and theoretical research on the supply component of these activities, although Song (2012) has provided a recent review of the advances in tourism supply chain management. The geographer has traditionally approached the supply issues informed by concepts and models from economic geography focusing on the location and the spatial distribution of recreational and tourism resources which shape the activity patterns and spectrum of opportunity for leisure pursuits. However, since the mid-1990s more qualitative research challenged the positivist approach to spatial analysis with reference to leisure supply (e.g. Aitchison 1999; Mansvelt 2010). This has resulted in more sophisticated cultural geographies of leisure (as discussed more fully in Chapter 2) that highlight the importance of more theoretically derived explanations of key geographical questions on leisure and tourism provision (i.e. supply). In particular, such research questions the notion of who gets what, where, with more emphasis on why, the classic statement by Lasswell (1936) with respect to the study of politics. More theoretically informed research from a political economy perspective (Hall 2012c) tends to utilise structural explanations to help understand issues of location. This approach focuses on the way society is managed and controlled by those exercising power in examining causes rather than just the effects in time and space. The result is that the geographer needs to consider more challenging perspectives related to the way in which leisure (and tourism) supply is produced by the state and private sector at different scales. Indeed, Schwanen and Kwan (2009) extend the

debate, arguing for more critical spatial analysis by geographers that challenges the different forms of oppression and exploitation that reflect the long tradition of radical geography developed by Peet (2009; see also Hall 2012a). This chapter will review some of these new debates together with the evolution of the geographer's contribution to the analysis of supply issues.

What is supply?

Supply is the overarching concept to explain how resources and services are delivered to the source of demand (the consumer) and has developed divergent approaches within the leisure and tourism literature. Although supply and demand are, in one sense, inseparable – as the leisure or tourism experience occurs at the point they coincide – it is often conceptually useful to separate the concepts for ease of analysis. The term 'supply' is also often used interchangeably with the concept of production. Leisure supply has predominantly adopted a localised and regional focus reflected in the distances people could travel to consume resources (as well as the in-home consumption). In contrast, tourism supply has developed a range of perspectives that expands upon the regional and national scale of analysis through to the international scale in view of the distance and scale of consumption in relation to the place of residence which most leisure trips are focused around in terms of origin/destination flows (see Chapter 1). While changing definitions and conceptualisations of the boundaries of tourism and leisure question this artificial distinction between the

spatial continuum of what and where tourism and leisure end and begin, scale and distance remain critical factors in the differentiation of different forms of supply for leisure and tourism consumers even though they may sometimes consume the same resource/location.

The supply factor in leisure and recreation

According to Kreutzwiser (1989: 21), 'supply refers to the recreational resources, both natural and man-made, which provide opportunities for recreation. It is a complex concept influenced by numerous factors and subject to changing interpretations.' Recreational supply is also a concept which has prompted much thought in terms of classification and evaluation, particularly among geographers. Although, as Page and Connell (2010) show, studies of leisure back to the 1890s through to the 1950s included descriptive research on supply issues so the geographer cannot claim to have been the main contributor to its analysis and interpretation. Coppock and Duffield (1975: 151) pursue this theme a stage further in a spatial context, claiming that it is the 'spatial interaction between the homes of recreationalists and the resources they use [which] has emerged as a key factor in the demand/supply model', and arguing for an integrated analysis of such interactions to explain how the activity patterns of recreationalists in terms of their origins and destinations affect the supply variable in terms of where they go, what they do there and how this affects the resource base. Even so we need to recognise, as McIntyre (2003) argues, that leisure consumption is about how supply fulfils many of the underlying motivations associated with leisure, particularly in a time–space setting. According to Mihalic (2003), the supply of leisure is rather unusual because:

- It is associated with a variety of goods and services, which may be connected to specific places or environments that determine the characteristics and forms of leisure that may be undertaken.

For example, in coastal environments, the natural environment determines the type of leisure activities and uses which are largely resource dependent.

- The supply of leisure is a complex amalgam of different suppliers (i.e. the commercial sector, public sector and voluntary bodies) who have a variety of objectives in relation to the resources, facilities or opportunities they provide (Page and Connell 2010: 155).

The next section commences with a discussion of the underlying approach used to describe and document the supply of recreational opportunities by geographers, which is followed by an analysis of the spatial interaction of demand and supply to illustrate how the two components are interrelated. This is developed in relation to the three characteristics that geographers have synthesised to analyse recreational activities, namely:

- the locational characteristics associated with the supply of different forms of recreational resource;
- the patterns of demand and usage;
- the spatial interactions which occur between the demand for and supply of the recreational resource, emphasising journey patterns and the patterns of usage of specific resources.

This gives rise to concentrated, dispersed and combinations of each pattern at the site of the resources, which therefore raises questions as to how to evaluate the capacity of such resources to accommodate users and to reconcile conflicts in use and the identification of management and planning issues. For the cultural geographer with an interest in leisure, the interest is less about the resulting spatial patterns of supply, but how the cultural dimension conditions, affects and impacts upon the spatial interactions between supply and demand.

How has the geographer approached the analysis of recreational supply issues?

The geographer's approach is epitomised in many of the classic recreational texts (e.g. Patmore 1970;

Lavery 1971c; I. Simmons 1975; Pigram 1983), where the supply perspective is largely dependent upon the evaluation and assessment of resources for recreation, the highly influential 1962 US Outdoor Recreation Resources Review Commission studies being a template for this approach. The concept of a resource may often be taken to include those tangible objects in nature which are of economic value and used for productive purposes. But when looking at leisure and recreation natural resources have an important bearing, particularly those such as water bodies, countryside and open space. The fact that resources have a physical form (i.e. coal and iron ore) does not actually mean they constitute a resource. Such elements become a resource only when society's subjective evaluation of their potential leads to their recognition as a resource to satisfy human wants and needs (O'Riordan 1971).

Yet a resource is far from just a passive element – it has to be used creatively to meet certain socially valued goals. Thus recreational resources are 'an element of the natural or man-modified environment which provides an opportunity to satisfy recreational wants. Implicit is a continuum ranging from biophysical resources to man-made facilities' (Kreutzwiser 1989: 22). However, according to Glyptis (1989a: 135), to 'couple recreational with resources complicates definitions . . . In a recreational context resources are the natural resources of land, water and landscape, together with manmade resources including sport centres, swimming pools, parks and playing fields', though she also notes that few recreational activities make use of resources solely designed or in existence for recreational purposes.

As Pigram and Jenkins (1999: 59) argued, 'identification and valuation of elements of the environment as recreation resources will depend upon a number of factors (e.g. economics, social attitudes and perceptions, political perspectives and technology)'. As a result, Pigram and Jenkins (1999: 59) recognised that outdoor recreational resources may encompass a wide range of settings associated with space, topography and climatic characteristics. This expands upon Hart's (1966) early notion of the 'recreation resource base', which was the natural values of the countryside or

respective landscape. Such a notion was clarified in specific terms by Clawson and Knetsch:

There is nothing in the physical landscape or features of any particular piece of land or body of water that makes it a recreation resource; it is the combination of the natural qualities and the ability and desire of man to use them that makes a resource out of what might otherwise be a more or less meaningless combination of rocks, soil and trees.

(Clawson and Knetsch 1966: 7)

However, such resources are not static, since new trends, technologies or cultural appraisals can lead to new notions of the environment as a recreational resource.

Recreation in rural contexts (Chapter 6) often occurs alongside agriculture, forestry and water supply functions (Goodall and Whittow 1975; Jennings 2006), especially near large urban centres where there are many resource users. In this respect the identification of recreational resources needs to recognise the management implications of multiple use, a feature discussed on pp. 103–107. While Glyptis (1989a) also outlined the demands of many forms of recreation which have few land needs, this analysis is concerned with recreational forms that have a land use component, given the geographer's interest in how human activities and phenomena are interrelated and occur on the earth's surface. Yet even Glyptis (1989a) pays little explicit attention to the resource base – the supply dimension – beyond highlighting Patmore's (1983) geographical perspective, which concentrates on 'contemporary patterns of recreational activity and the demands they place on the land and water resources, with myriad references to management issues and solutions' (Glyptis 1989a: 137).

But this still does not illuminate the approaches, concepts and specific skills the geographer brings to the analysis of recreational supply issues. To understand supply, Roberts (2004) identified a series of interconnected leisure industries (and organisations within each industry sector) which influence both home-based and non-home-based leisure, which Page and Connell (2010) identified as different *spheres of*

influence which these interrelated sectors (i.e. the commercial, not for profit and public sectors) have on leisure. As Page and Connell (2010) suggest, it is the interplay of these three different sectors which then lead to the final supply of leisure in any specific context, as illustrated by Figure 3.1, where the site of consumption was the ultimate spatial context for analysis. This framework needed to pay attention to the economic, social, psychological, political and environmental factors shaping leisure provision as a basis for understanding the resulting patterns of consumption. As organisations are responsible for the

provision of certain forms of leisure provision and resulting experiences, space is one interconnected component of a broader setting conditioning leisure and recreation provision.

Although early criticisms of the geography of recreation research by S.J. Smith (1983a) pointed to the lack of analytical and theoretical framework, with exceptions the rise of social and cultural geographies of leisure has addressed these weaknesses. One might even argue that such research is almost spatially devoid of any understanding of leisure, being less able to derive wider generalisations of the applicability of such

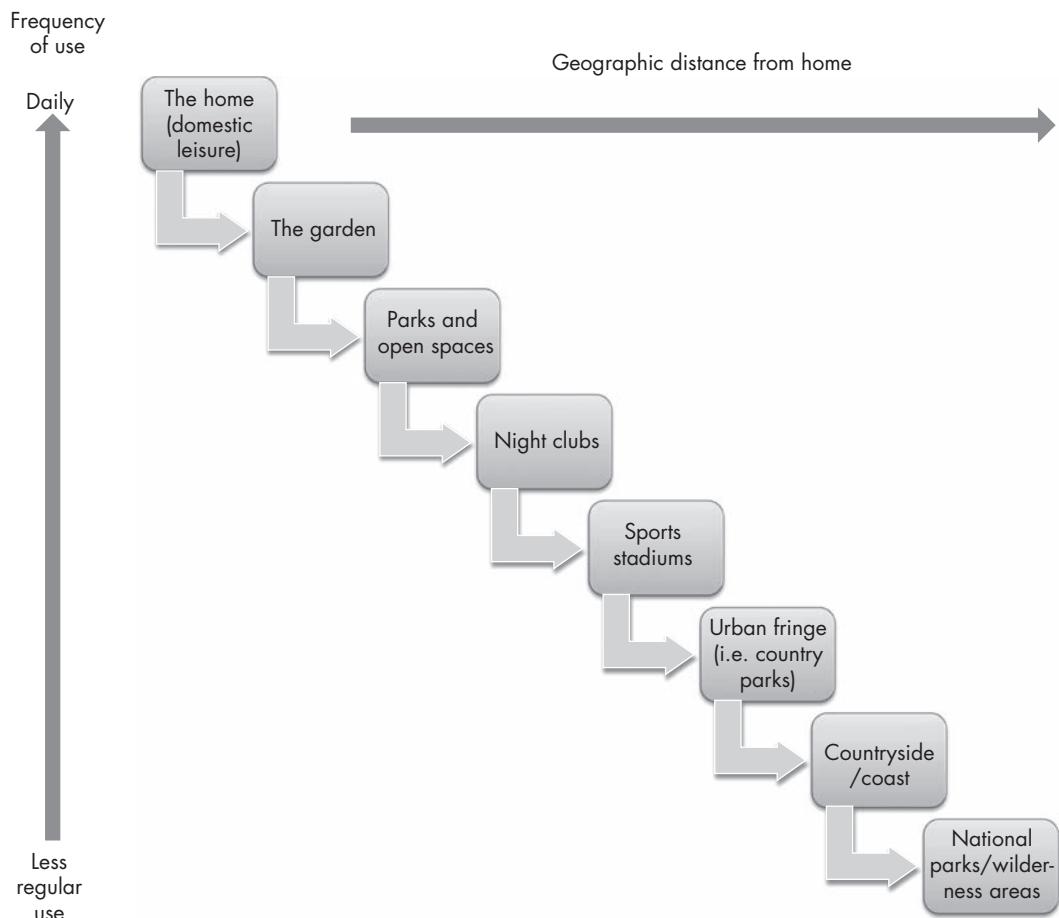


Figure 3.1 A continuum of resources

research to knowledge. S.J. Smith (1989: 304) listed the principal research questions geographers pose, which outline the particular concerns for supply issues:

- Where are the resources? What is their quality and capacity? What effect will use of those resources have on the resource base and the local environment? What will the effect be on other people who live in the area and on other users?
- How easy is it for people to travel to the resource or facility? What are their travel costs? Are there other constraints, such as problems of physical accessibility, inconvenient scheduling, excessive admission fees, and racial, linguistic and social barriers?
- What new facilities or resources need to be supplied? What areas have priority for the new supply? Who should pay to support those who play? How many people are expected to use a new facility at a given location?
- What are the regional differences in recreation preferences? Why do these exist? Do they represent differences in tastes, culture or historical inequalities?

It is interesting to note that advice from the UK's Audit Commission (2003: 9) on managing leisure resources in the public sector (i.e. by local authorities), under the heading of 'strategic advice', associated with what type of management models to adopt towards managing their portfolio of leisure resources, asks many similar questions. This illustrates the implicit application of geography as a discipline to ensure not only best value for money in leisure service provision, but also that different groups of people gain access to resources and so are not excluded from participating as Box 2.1 illustrated.

According to S.J. Smith (1983a) geographers have approached the analysis of recreational geography in a number of ways, including descriptive research on location and travel, explanatory research on location and travel, predictive research on location and travel and normative research on location and travel (for more detail on other aspects of the research developed in this context, see Smith (1983a)).

Recreational research: descriptive, explanatory, predictive and normative perspectives

S.J. Smith (1983a: 1) argued that the 'description of location is the study of differences' which can be classified in terms of description of facility of recreational resource location, where the distribution of resources pertinent to the specific activity may be enumerated and mapped. Within this context the inventories of recreational resources have attracted a great deal of attention, which arguably underpins much of the

Table 3.1 The land use classes of the Canada land inventory

<i>Class</i>	<i>Description</i>
1 Very high capability	These lands have natural capability to engender very high total annual use of one or more intensive activities. These lands should be able to generate and sustain a level of use comparable to that evident at an outstanding and large bathing beach or a nationally known ski slope
2 High capability	These lands have natural capability to engender and sustain high total annual use based on one or more intensive activity.
3 Moderately high capability	These lands have a natural ability to engender and sustain moderately high total annual use based on moderate to intensive or intensive activities.
4 Moderate capability	These lands have natural capability to engender and sustain moderate total annual use based on dispersed activities.
5 Moderately low capability	These lands have natural capability to engender and sustain moderately low total annual use based on dispersed activities.
6 Low capability	These lands lack the natural quality and significant features to rate higher, but have the natural capability to engender and sustain low total annual use based on dispersed activities.
7 Very low capability	These lands have practically no capability for any popular type of recreation activity, but there may be some opportunity for very specialised activities with recreation aspects, or they may simply provide open space.

preliminary research undertaken to establish recreational supply features in quantity and quality. Resource inventories, such as the Outdoor Recreation Resources Review Commission (1962; see also Chapter 7), typify this approach, whereby, for example, the quantity and number of designated public recreation areas were tabulated and mapped by area along US coastlines. A more complex method is to develop a typology of resource types and uses such as Clawson and Knetsch's (1968) widely cited model of recreational resources which can be classified as urban and rural resource based, intermediate and user oriented. Additional variables which might be added to such classifications include human-modified and natural resources; formal and informal; intensive and extensive; fragile and resistant; while public and private ownership may also be included (Wall 1989).

The Canada Land Inventory (Department of Regional Economic Expansion 1972) is a useful example of one such inventory that set out to provide an overview of the quality, quantity and distribution of natural recreation resources within settled regions of Canada; to indicate comparative levels of recreation capability for non-urban lands based upon preferences; and to indicate the types of recreation and land use (see Table 3.1). While there are criticisms of this approach related to the consistency of data collection and interpretation, it provides a valuable synthesis on the potential of Canadian land resources to support recreational activity. S.J. Smith (1983a) also explored more advanced methods used to classify recreational resources, including deglomerative methods (where resources are subdivided into distinct groups) and agglomerative methods (where resource types are grouped into general categories). Deglomerative studies remain more widely used than the latter. Yet such methods of analysis pay less attention to the importance of human (i.e. subjective) evaluations of resources for recreation (e.g. Coppock and Duffield's 1975 assessment of recreational potential in the countryside). Such approaches remain influential to the present day and often serve as the basis for regional outdoor recreation planning (Pigram and Jenkins 2006).

One of the notable debates in resource studies for recreation in the late 1960s and early 1970s was the evaluation of recreation environments (Duffield and Owen 1970) related to preferential descriptions of

recreational resources, namely aesthetic studies which measure human preferences and how they respond to landscape alterations. According to Pigram and Jenkins (1999: 76) the multifaceted nature of landscape, personal preferences and individual perception make evaluation a highly subjective activity. In the assessment of scenic landscape elements, two fundamental elements exist: the character of the landscape (i.e. the components of the landscape which are visual and part of an inventory such as vegetation, water, human occupation) and quality, which is a comparative-evaluative concept, in part determined by landscape characteristics. Unwin (1976) identified landscape quality as a three-stage process:

- *Landscape description*, which is the objective inventory of landscape characteristics to classify the landscape type.
- *Landscape preference*, where visual preference ratings are allocated to specific landscape characteristics. This is largely dependent upon subjective preferences and value judgements.
- *Landscape evaluation*, where the specific qualities of the landscapes being considered are assessed to examine preferences of specific respondents.

Fines' (1968) influential study in East Sussex epitomises this approach, where a group of people with a background in design work were asked to assign a value to a series of landscape photographs compared to a reference photograph with an indifferent landscape. Once the landscapes were assessed by individuals, a consensus score was assigned and then the people were asked to rank landscapes viewed around East Sussex. While Linton (1968) disagreed with both the nomenclature and scale used by Fines (1968), he concluded that two key elements existed in the landscape: land use and landforms. These could be mapped and categories established, where a composite score could be devised to reflect the beauty of the landscape (Table 3.2). Linton (1968) developed his study in Scotland, and again, controversy was associated with the almost arbitrary use of a points system, where urban areas were seen as low scoring.

In the 1980s, landscape assessment became used as a tool to separate classification and description of

Table 3.2 Linton's landscape evaluation scale

<i>Landforms</i>	<i>Points</i>	<i>Land uses</i>	<i>Points</i>
Mountains	8	Wild landscapes	6
Bold hills	6	Richly varied farming	5
Hill country	5	Varied forest with moors and farms	4
Plateau uplands	3	Moors	3
Low uplands	2	Treelss farms	1
Lowlands	0	Continuous forest	-2
		Urban and industrial land	-5

Source: Linton (1968).

landscape character, as the Countryside Agency (2003) suggests. This has now been superseded by more holistic approaches to landscape, based on the concept of Landscape Character Assessment, with a clearer link to sustainable development and environmental protection. The characterisation of landscape involves the integration of identification, mapping, classification, description and the associated formulation of a character. The significance is that it has a clearer basis for the spatial management of landscapes for recreation and leisure. The importance of the geographer's contribution to landscape evaluation (see Cornish 1934 for an early contribution) was summarised by Penning-Rowsell (1975), whereby it could assist in landscape management with direct consequences for outdoor recreation. The four areas of significance were as follows:

- *Landscape preservation*, so that landscapes worthy of conservation could be identified.
- *Landscape protection*, where landscapes that are under threat from pressure for development (e.g. economic activity and environmental impacts) can be placed under planning controls.
- *Recreation policy*, where specific policies and forms of outdoor recreation can be facilitated in valued environments within planning constraints.
- *Landscape improvement*, where potential negative landscape features (e.g. brownfield sites) can be remedied to transform the landscape into more attractive recreational purposes. A good example is the transformation of former extractive sites for gravel within urban fringe locations to provide angling and recreational boating opportunities.

Indeed, the application of such techniques in a wider recreational context is noted by Pigram and Jenkins (1999) in relation to New Zealand. The Resource Management Act 1991 (see Page and Thorn 1997, 1998, 2002; Connell *et al.* 2009) has seen planning move away from land use zoning methods to ones where the impacts of specific activities are evaluated so that potential environmental outcomes are also considered. More recent combinations of economic valuation techniques and the linking to spatial analysis using GIS technologies have seen a greater quantification of the landscape elements which constitute the resource base for leisure (e.g. Pastor *et al.* 2007), along with an assessment of public preferences for specific landscape types (e.g. Kienast *et al.* 2012) at a city level. Even so, such research still reiterates that the supply of leisure resources most heavily used is within a 10–15 minute distance of a home and so this is the most important locale for accessibility to supply (Patmore 1983). Even recent research in China (e.g. Jim and Chen 2009) confirms the significance of these underlying principles of time–space relationships in local leisure use. Yet more critical research on more marginalised social groups such as the disabled suggests that places with no financial resource are sought out in the urban environment (typically the city centre) and the urban fringe amongst the less mobile (Taylor and Józefowicz 2012). As the main location of the population in many countries, urban areas remain important for recreation and tourism (Chapter 5) and it seems naive to dismiss certain resources in such a generalised manner as many studies do, especially given the future growth in urbanisation in Latin America and Asia forecast to 2030.

While a great deal of debate exists in relation to such approaches to landscape evaluation, it does illustrate the importance of human perception, and recognition of what is attractive and valued by different people in relation to recreational time. In terms of descriptive research on travel, it has little immediate relevance to supply unless one is concerned with the impact of demand on the resource base. As a result, the geographer's concern with recreational travel using concepts such as nodes, routes, mode of travel and accessibility of resources for recreationalists has little immediate value unless it is linked with more recent agendas such as social inclusion and access (Taylor and Józefowicz 2012).

Moving from purely descriptive to explanatory research illustrates the importance of location as a recreational facility which someone may want to use. S.J. Smith (1983a) outlined two concerns regarding the location of such facilities: those factors affecting public and those affecting private location decisions, although the distinction between such issues has blurred where public–private sector involvement, co-operation and management have complicated traditional locational models developed in economic geography, which has separated public and private goods (Hall and Jenkins 1995; Roberts 2004; Page and Connell 2010). For example, L. Mitchell (1969b) applied central place theory to the location of urban parks as public recreational resources, establishing that a hierarchy existed, but rather simplified a number of real world issues by substituting assumptions, while also ignoring influential variables such as land prices, availability and political influences (see Chapter 5). Other studies (e.g. Mitchell and Lovingwood 1976) adopted empirical measures to examine correlations between variables that might explain locational patterns, where Haley (1979) made the vital, though often missed, observation that present-day patterns often reflect the demands of previous generations. Likewise, where new suburban developments did not require developers to provide park facilities, a dearth of parks exist. Communities in such areas have not sought such provision due to local factors (e.g. private recreation sites and access to the urban fringe). The role of private recreation provision was examined by Mitchell and Lovingwood (1976; Lovingwood and

Mitchell 1978), who mapped 172 public and 112 private recreational facilities, using nearest neighbour analysis to examine the spatial patterns. They concluded that public facilities had a tendency to cluster, while private facilities had a regular pattern of distribution for campsites, country clubs and miscellaneous uses, and water-based facilities and hunting/fishing clubs tended to cluster. The outcome of their analysis was that

- *public facilities* are concentrated in areas of population density to meet the wider good and in accessible locations, having no major resource considerations;
- *private facilities* are located on one of two bases: either in or near open space, as in the case of campsites and country clubs, and are located throughout the region, or, conversely, water-based facilities and hunting clubs are closely tied to a land or water location, clustering around the resource.

In contrast, much of the geographical research on private recreational facility development has been based on the approach developed in retail marketing and location studies, where location is seen as the critical success factor, although Bevins *et al.* (1974) observed that this was not necessarily a critical factor for private campsites in north-east USA. Within most studies of recreational location, principal concepts are related to the threshold population, catchment areas or hinterlands and distance to travel to the facility. As Crompton and Van Doren (1976) observed, tram companies in mid-nineteenth century America built amusement parks at the end of tramlines to attract weekend visitors, illustrating the importance of recreational travel as part of the overall experience.

The geographer's tradition of model building to predict location of characteristics of private enterprise has been applied to recreational geography in terms of the transfer of location theory and site selection methods. Within the research on location theory, transport cost has played a significant role based on Von Thünen's agricultural land use model, and Vickerman (1975) simplistically applied the model to predict urban recreation businesses. Yet the use of concepts such as locational interdependence, where the potential buyers are not uniformly distributed in space, means that businesses may be able to exercise a degree

of control over their clients by their location. Such studies based on the early work of economic geographers such as Reilly (1931), Christaller (1933) and Lösch (1944) developed a number of principles which geographers have used to underpin locational modelling recreational research. While subsequent research by Isard (1956) and Greenhut (1956) can be added to the list, S.J. Smith (1983a: 106) summarises the contribution of such studies to the analysis of recreational location choices by business:

- A firm with relatively low transportation costs and a relatively large market area will have a greater chance of success than a firm with high transportation costs and a small market area.
- Some trade-offs are possible between transportation costs, production costs, land rents and market size.
- Transportation costs include both the cost of bringing resources to the site of the firm and the costs of distributing the product to the customer. The relative costs of transporting both resources and products determine, in part, where the firm will locate: high resource transportation costs pull a business close to the resource; high product transportation costs pull a business close to the market.
- Some types of business seek to locate close to each other; some are indifferent to each other; some are repelled by each other.
- Different locations will be attractive to different types of businesses. Attractiveness is based on resources; market location; transportation services; availability of capital, labour and business services; and personal preferences of the decision-maker.
- Firms in any given industry will tend to divide up the available market by selecting different locations to control different spatial segments of the market.
- The size of the market and the number and location of competitors tend to limit the size of the potential development.

These need to be examined in relation to the decision-making of entrepreneurs and individual firms. In terms of site selection methods, feasibility studies have provided a starting point for geographers seeking to assess the most suitable site from a range of alternatives, with the purpose of maximising profit

(or wider social benefits in the public sector) though comparatively little research has been published given the scope of such studies (i.e. sources of capital, management issues, design and development issues, market size, population characteristics, economic profile of the potential market and the suitability of the site) and the tendency for such documents to remain commercially sensitive in both the public and private sector. What is evident from the existing research seeking to predict locational characteristics for recreational activities and facilities is the reliance upon economic geography, particularly retail geography, with its concomitant concern for marketing.

In terms of normative research, it is evident that within the public sector, the objectives for locational decision-making are distinctly different (or at least traditionally have been different, despite changing political philosophies towards public recreation provision). The characteristics of public sector provision have traditionally been associated with taxes paid for facility provision and operation, with a collective use that cannot be withheld, so that access is not knowingly prohibited to anyone. In other words, their contribution to the quality of life and wider social well-being of the affected population underpins public provision that cannot easily be accommodated into conventional locational theory, which is market driven. Austin (1974) identifies recreational facilities as 'site preferred' goods, where proximity to their location is often seen as a measure of their use (i.e. its utility function). Thus maximum distances exist as in the case of urban parks (see Chapter 5). The object, therefore, in public facility location for recreation is to balance the 'utility' factor with minimising the distance people have to travel and providing access to as many people as possible; though Cichetti (1971) examined a number of the problems associated with different methods of balancing travel distances, social utility and other approaches to demand maximisation. Smith (1983a) reviews a range of methods of analysis used by geographers to assist in work on public facility site selection, namely models, which emphasise mechanical analogues, comparative needs assessment, demand maximisation, heuristic programming and intuitive modelling (for more detail, see Smith 1983a).

Howell and McNamee (2003) reviewed the literature on how public sector leisure policy allocates scarce resources, particularly how fiscal retrenchment in the public sector, as a response to a greater managerialism, has placed a greater emphasis on private sector provision as well as 'best value' in local authority provision. Erkip's (1997) evaluation of the distribution of urban parks and recreational services in Ankara, Turkey, raised a number of important debates which the geographer, public policy-maker and recreational planner need to address. The normative nature of urban public service provision for recreation as public goods raises distribution issues such as:

- To what extent can the spatial distribution of public goods and services achieve equal versus selective access? Although equal access is a normative concept, in reality goods and services will rarely achieve equality of access, particularly where fixed resources have to be located.
- The extent to which the public versus private sector should be responsible for the provision of services, a feature which is inherently politically determined and has transformed the nature of leisure and recreation provision since 1980 (Coalter 1998).
- The extent to which private sector profit objectives can be balanced with public sector distributional objectives for public goods and services such as leisure and recreation resources.

In the case of Ankara, Erkip (1997) found that the use of the nearest park or recreational facility was a function of users' income and distance from the resource. As a result, for low income groups proximity was more important, with higher income groups enjoying greater distributional justice. This highlights one of the inherent concerns of welfare geographers such as D.M. Smith (1977): concepts of territorial justice obscure the social and economic processes which condition recreational activity, whereby distributional justice by social group is neglected and access to certain public goods is constrained. In fact, Crouch (2000: 72) questions the value of such rational concepts as territorial justice that were used in the early research on welfare geography, since in a leisure

context 'People behave subjectively rather than rationally. It is easy to apply explanations of rationality to what people do, but very often that provides categories that do not fit subjective practices' – again questioning the empiricist-positivist tradition of model building and testing to understand critical recreational supply issues. As a result of Crouch's (2000) criticisms of the empiricist-positivist paradigm in human geography, which have been applied to recreational issues, one might add a new category to the geographical analysis of supply – the interaction between supply and demand. While this results in distinct spatial interactions, research informed by the new cultural geography (Aitchison 1999; Mansvelt 2010) departs from a model building tradition, to understand the nuances, unique features and, above all, the individual human experiences of different forms of encounter with recreation and leisure supply. Again, to reiterate some of the comments from Chapter 2, the approach, methodologies used and lines of inquiry pursued in seeking to understand the human geographies of recreation and leisure supply place the people to the fore, affected by agency, structure and the political economy of leisure provision.

This places many of the conventional spatially derived explanations of leisure supply in a different context, seeking more theoretically informed answers to conventional place- and space-specific forms of leisure consumption by focusing at the level of individual experiences. This highlights many of the tensions reviewed in Chapter 10 on the nexus between academic analyses of tourism and recreation which are objective and robust, and the challenge of applied geographical research, often for clients, that does not permit more challenging analyses that are associated with issues of power, control and political economy. This has become a major focal point in the *International Encyclopedia of Human Geography* (Kitchin and Thrift 2009) in many of the chapters that epitomise the wider concerns now pervading human geography (and thereby influencing and cross-fertilising the analysis of leisure), including new philosophical approaches to geography, social and cultural geographies (including key contributions on issues of feminism, the body and sexuality), and interdisciplinary

developments. The diversity of research now in vogue within human geography and seeing their application to leisure (and tourism) geographies is embodied in Wilson's (2012) review of the field.

Supply and demand in recreational contexts: spatial interactions

Given the comparative neglect of recreational supply issues by geographers and the overriding emphasis in demand studies and impact assessment (Owens 1984), it is pertinent to acknowledge the geographer's synthesising role in recognising that 'recreationalists and the resources they use are separated in space, [and] the interaction between demand and supply creates patterns of movement, and the distances between origins and destinations influence not only the scale of demand, but also the available supply of resources' (Coppock and Duffield 1975: 150). Few studies, with the exception of Coppock and Duffield's (1975), acknowledge this essential role the geographer has played in contextualising the real world impact of recreational activities in a spatial framework as space has now faded into the background in much of the social and cultural analysis of leisure geographies in pursuit of more meaning and understanding of what creates distinct leisure experiences. One might argue that the division in qualitative and quantitative analysis in leisure and recreation studies undertaken by geographers (and increasingly social scientists with an implicit interest in space) has led to an almost insurmountable disconnect between the two areas. A more positive analysis would argue that the foundations established by key researchers in the period up to the 1990s has created the macro settings in which more in-depth and qualitative research can yield detailed explorations of leisure and recreation practices. While many recreational researchers may view these early seminal contributions as passé, they are notable since no other discipline offers such a holistic and integrative assessment of recreation and tourism phenomena since much of social science is concerned with the micro scale of analysis in leisure and recreation (with the exception of environmental economics).

Coppock and Duffield (1975) acknowledge the resource base as a precondition of assessing the 'space needs' of recreationalists in that the amount of land, the activities to be undertaken, length of journey and nature of the resource help to determine the type of interactions which occur. Clawson *et al.*'s (1960) typology which comprised an:

- user oriented zone which is located close to the users in close proximity and within an urban setting might include public or private resources such as a park, places for games and activities such as swimming pools
- a resource based area which is located in remoter areas and may be used for sightseeing, outdoor activities such as walking or climbing, camping epitomised by National Parks, the coast or lakes
- an intermediate area in between the two other areas (user and resource-based) which is characterised by many of the routine outdoor activities that are the focus of day trips, activity trips for walking and camping and are in a reasonable travel distance (perhaps up to 3 hours) and are characterised by reservoirs, forest parks and rural areas around major city regions (Source: Developed from Clawson *et al.* (1960: 136))

and its subsequent application to England and Wales (Law 1967) both confirm the importance of distance and the 'zones of influence' of recreational resources according to whether they had a national, regional, sub-regional, intermediate or local zone of influence, using actual distance to classify the resource according to the 'pull' or attraction of each. Law (1967) argued that the majority of day-trippers would be drawn from no more than 48 km away. What Coppock and Duffield (1975) recognised was that it was not individual but groups of resources which attract active recreation.

At a descriptive level, the relationships outlined in the Clawson *et al.* (1960) model appears to have an application, where:

- in a 0–16 km zone, many resource needs for recreation can be met in terms of golf, urban parks and the urban fringe;

- in a 16–32 km zone, the range of activities is greater, though particular types of resource tend to dominate activity patterns (e.g. horse riding, hiking and field sports);
- in a zone of 32 km or greater, sports and physical pursuits with specific resource requirements (e.g. orienteering, canoeing, skiing and rock climbing) exist.

Yet despite increased mobility of recreationists, the majority of popular activities are undertaken relatively near to the home, as past and current research continues to reiterate. To expand upon these findings, attention now turns to classifying and analysing the supply of recreational resources within the context of the urban fringe.

Classifying recreational resources

In the analysis of recreation patterns, trends and resource use by specific groups, the complexity of the existing recreation stock requires some form of classification to improve our understanding (see Fisher *et al.* 1974; Doren *et al.* 1979; Gilg 1985), thereby simplifying the existing complexity. In other words, the recognition of recreational resources needs to be accompanied by an inventory process to take stock of the quantity, quality and extent of the resource base. For this reason, classification schemes have been derived. In the previous section, the preliminary attempt by Clawson *et al.* (1960) to derive a classification system distinguished between recreation areas according to location, activity type, major uses, size of the area and who was responsible for recreation resource management (Table 3.2). One of the problems with this classification scheme was that it neglected urban and near-urban sites and developed a narrow conception of outdoor recreation resources. Even so, this classification was a critical turning point in recreational thinking, since it spurned numerous adaptations, stimulating new ways of thinking about classifying recreational resources. Although no definitive scheme exists for classifying recreational resources, the need to distinguish between human-made and natural resources, different resource environments and

resource types provides a useful starting point. In this respect, Chubb and Chubb's (1981) classification is valuable since it incorporates much of the thinking in recreational research, building on Clawson *et al.* (1960), where the following classes of recreation resources exist:

- *the undeveloped recreation resources*, where the physical attributes of land, water and vegetation are untouched;
- *private recreation resources*, such as second homes, resources owned by quasi-public organisations (e.g. conservation groups, farm and industrial sites);
- *commercialised private recreation resources*, such as shopping malls, theme parks, museums, gardens, stadiums and resorts;
- *publicly owned recreation resources*, including parks, sports and leisure facilities, national parks, forest and tourist sites;
- *cultural resources*, based in both the public and private sector, such as libraries, the Arts and what are increasingly being termed 'the cultural industries' (see Pratt 1998);
- *professional resources*, which may be divided into the administrative functions for recreational provision (organisation, policy-making and financial support systems) and management (e.g. research, planning, development and conservation/programming functions).

Other attempts to classify recreational resources have also recognised that a continuum exists from the home-oriented space through to the neighbourhood (including the street – see Williams 1995a), with increasing scale through to community and regional space (S. Gold 1980). With these issues in mind, attention now turns to the recreational resources that exist in an urban landscape – the urban fringe.

Recreational resources and the urban fringe

The impact of urbanisation on the development of industrial societies and the effects in terms of recreational resource provision are discussed in detail in

Chapter 6. Yet the growing consumption of rural land for urban uses has led to increased concerns for the loss of non-urban land, as observed by Abercrombie (1938). Pigram (1983: 106) observed that 'every year some 1.2 million ha of rural land are converted to urban and built-up uses across America' and the greatest competition over the retention of land for recreational uses is in the city periphery or what is termed the 'urban fringe'. Elson (1993) recognised the considerable potential of the urban fringe as a resource able to accommodate recreation and sport for four reasons:

- It comprises an area of recreational supply, accessible with good public transport to large populations, though Fitton (1976) and Ferguson and Munton (1978, 1979) recognised the inaccessibility to the most deprived areas of inner London. As the Countryside Commission (1992) noted, one in five informal recreational day trips to the countryside had a return trip of less than 10 miles.
- It may be an overflow location for recreational and sporting activities displaced from urban areas.
- It can function as an 'interceptor area', reducing pressure on more fragile and vulnerable rural resources.
- It may be an area of opportunity as environmental improvements and landscape regeneration (e.g. the reclamation of former quarry sites or gravel extraction), and may generate new forms of recreation including fishing, sailing and informal use.

As Elson (1993) observes, with active recreation the fastest growing sector of countryside recreation in the UK, the urban fringe has the potential to absorb such uses. Thus by altering supply, it is assumed that demand may be directed to new resources. In this sense, the urban fringe is a useful example in which to examine the nature of spatial interactions between demand and supply.

The green belt concept

Within the UK the urban fringe has been a created landscape. In the 1930s the green belt concept was developed in London, along with many other

European cities, based on the influential work of Raymond Unwin and the Green Belt Act 1933. Unwin helped establish the principle of creating a band of open space on the city's periphery in order to compensate for the lack of open space in the built urban environment. These principles were embodied in post-war planning during the 1950s (Ministry of Housing and Local Government 1955). While such designations were intended to limit urban sprawl, recreational provision was never their intended purpose and recent syntheses of the idea (e.g. Gant *et al.* 2011) indicate that the concept has been concerned with urban restraint rather than the characteristics of the land itself and its use. Elson (1986) shows that planning authorities in the West Midlands, Manchester and Sheffield identified green belt plans (e.g. green wedges, recreation and amenity areas) in their development plans only to find them downgraded or removed through the ministerial assessment of the plans. In fact, Harrison argued that

public authorities adopted a standards approach to provision that was a legacy of the inter-war period with its heavy emphasis on organised sport rather than on a wider range of individual and family pursuits. Moreover, while these standards were based on the number of active members of the population who might be expected to participate . . . even the minimum standard of provision of 2.4 hectares per 1000 head of population could not be met in inner cities.

(Harrison 1991: 32)

As a result, the urban fringe and its green belt were seen as the likely location for provision. At a policy level it is interesting to note that in the late 1960s both the Countryside Commission and local authorities used green belts as a mechanism to reduce standards of provision in the inner city (for more discussion of the politics of green belt land and recreational use, see Harrison 1991). Even so, Harrison (1980–1) found that the carrying capacity of many sites could be improved through better resource management, with the Greater London Council (1975) study of London's green belt indicating that

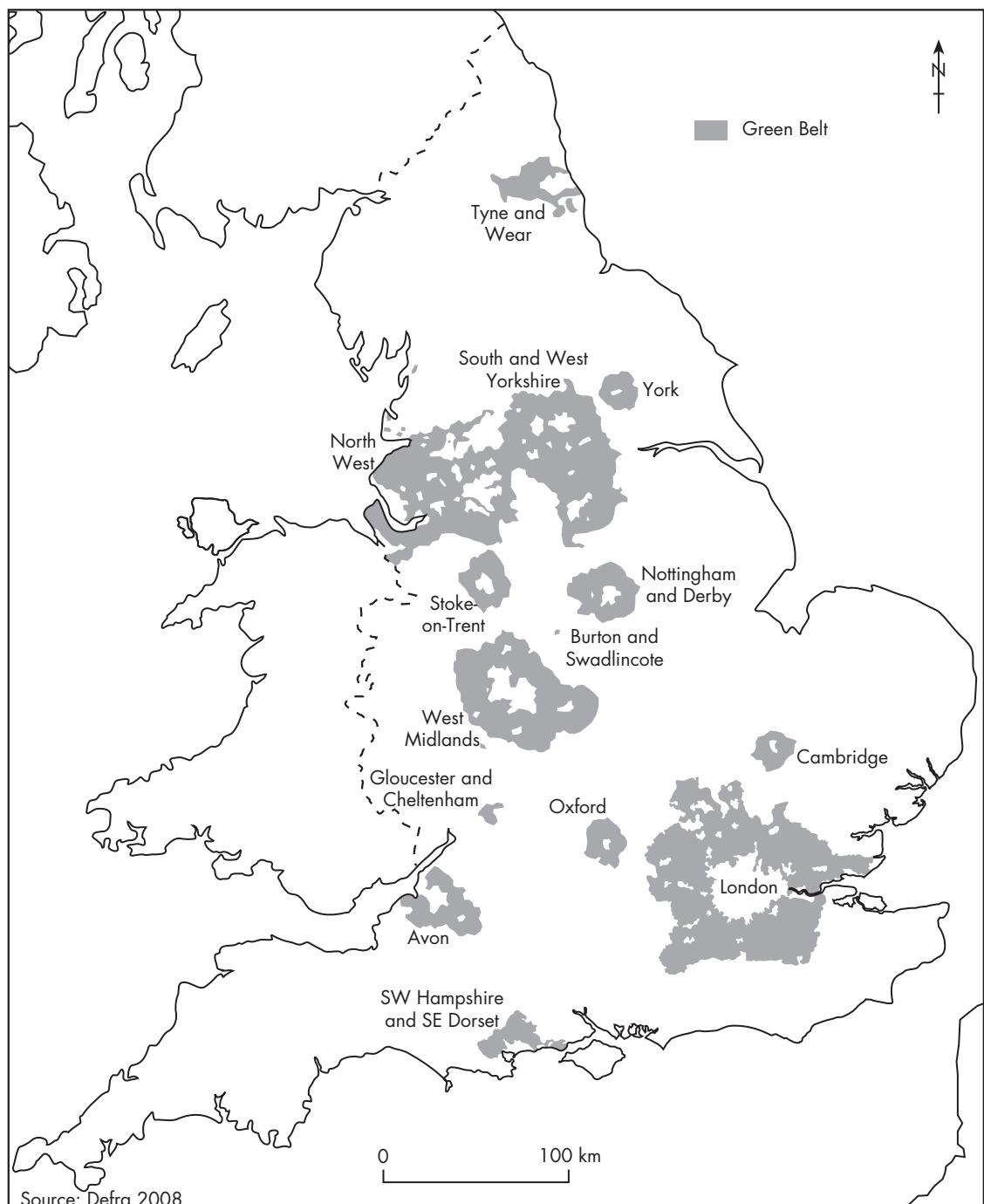


Figure 3.2 The UK green belts

Source: Gant, Robinson and Fazal 2011: 268, reproduced with permission from Elsevier.

organised activities constituted half of the trips to the green belt for recreation. Elson (1993) reports that the designation of 12 community forests in the UK of between 8,000 and 20,000 ha will add environmental improvements and resources for the urban fringe. In 2000, green belt land in England comprised 1.65 million hectares (13 per cent of the land area), with six such designations in Scotland of 156,000 ha and 236,000 ha in Northern Ireland (Figure 3.2). The significance of these landscapes of pressure as described by Gant *et al.* (2011) traces not only the evolution and rise of a chaotic set of conflicting land uses amidst pressure for urban growth, but also the major recreational role key sites play in the locale, although their lack of identity and seemingly anonymous non-place status is juxtaposed, as in the case of London (Figure 3.3), with a rapidly expanding suburban population with affluent tastes and recreational interests, reflected

in the encroachment of commercial leisure use such as golf course development.

The growing consensus of opinion is that these edgelands are important settings globally around major cities despite their underrated status as zones that are neither urban or rural (Hall 2013g). One notable development which predates much of the early research on the urban fringe is the Countryside Commission's (1974) involvement in the establishment of country parks in the urban fringe, following on from a UK government Rural White Paper on *Leisure and the Countryside* in 1966.

Multiple use of recreational resources

The example of the urban fringe highlights the diversities of land uses which may occur in a sometimes contested landscape, where a wide range of resource

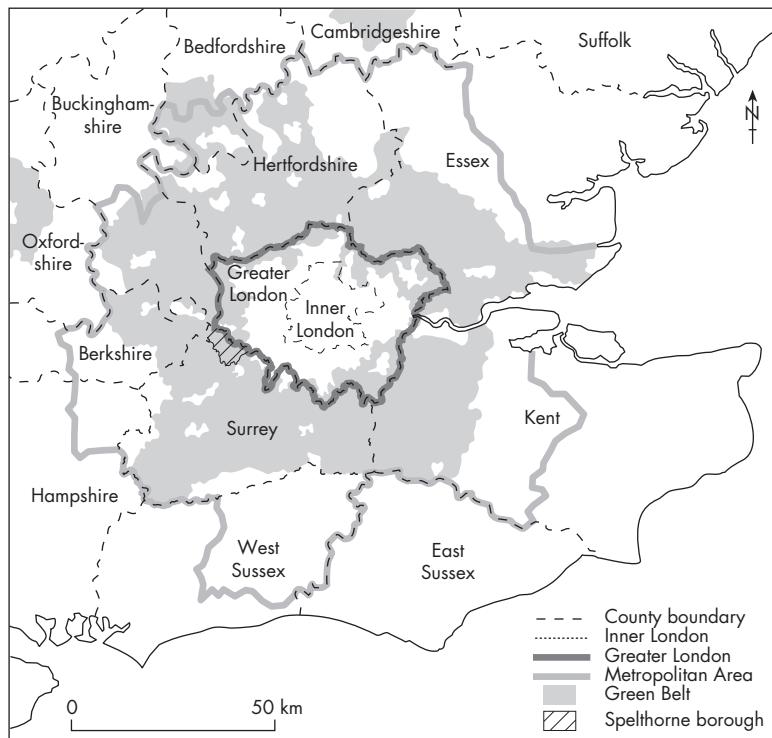


Figure 3.3 The metropolitan green belt in London and SE England

Source: Gant, Robinson and Fazal 2011: 269, reproduced with permission from Elsevier.

BOX 3.1 COUNTRY PARKS AS A SPATIAL RECREATIONAL TOOL: INTERCEPTING URBAN RECREATIONALISTS SEEKING THE COUNTRYSIDE

The Countryside Commission viewed country parks as an area of '25 acres in extent, with basic facilities, for the public to enjoy informal open air recreation' (Harrison 1991: 95). Between 1969 and 1993 the Countryside Commission spent £16 million developing these resources, establishing a network of 206 country parks and 239 picnic sites. After 1993, the Countryside Commission capital works grants were cut and this marked the end of the development of these types of capital-intensive projects in and around urban areas. However, their significance cannot be underestimated as in 2003 it was estimated that they attracted 57 million visits a year. While a number of studies account for the evolution of country park policy (Zetter 1971; Sree 1982; Groome and Tarrant 1984), it is clear that the researchers point to the absence of research which indicates whether park provision provides the experiences recreationalists require. Despite growing provision of country parks in the 1970s, disparities existed in their spatial distribution, with large conurbations having only limited provision (Ferguson and Munton 1979).

Thus spatial inequalities in supply simply reinforced existing patterns of provision, though country parks have assisted in retaining land for recreation at a time of pressure for development. Fitton (1979), for example, found that while country parks comprised 0.13 per cent of the land surface of England and Wales, they accounted for 4.2 per cent of trips, a finding supported by Elson (1979), whose analyses of 31 sites visited in south-east England found that urban fringe sites with a range of facilities were visited more frequently than other recreational destinations, though patterns of use were related to distance-decay functions, distance from individuals' home area, other attractions, individual choice and a range of other factors. As Harrison (1991: 103) suggests, country parks 'had not achieved a separate identity but people's experiences of particular sites within [them] . . . contributed to their own separate evaluations of what particular locations offered'. The continual gap between provision and users was evidenced in the Countryside Commission's (1988) study, which concluded that while 58 per cent of people had heard of a country park, only 26 per cent could name one correctly, reflecting a lack of promotion and general awareness of their existence.

At a national level, country parks appear to have only a minor role to play in diverting demand from the countryside, with some parks having catchments that are extremely localised. This was due to the impact of the car in diverting traffic straight to countryside sites. For example, Harrison (1981, 1983) found that 75 per cent of visitors to south London's green belt were car users. Their study discovered that inner city residents never comprised more than 10 per cent of users. Although sites were also accessible to those not having access to a car over short distances, Groome and Tarrant (1984) found public transport to country parks effective over a 5–8 km distance (i.e. short distance) for a local population. At an aggregate level, it is clear that country parks (and their forerunner, regional parks) in the UK play a vital role in locating recreational resources near to demand. The somewhat dated 1981 National Survey of Countryside Recreation found that 40 per cent of destinations were within the urban area or within 1 km (Sidaway and Duffield 1984), with a further 22 per cent in the countryside around urban areas. Only 16 per cent of destinations were located 10 km from the urban areas. In 2003, the Countryside Agency argued that these sites were still focal points for leisure, acting as honeypots and as gateways to the countryside. The recent interest in redeveloping the resource base of these sites has been apparent in the serious decline that has

occurred in open space provision in the UK, especially as many of these country parks rely upon local authorities for over 90 per cent of their funding at a time of cuts in leisure spending and new priorities, such as social inclusion and the problems of inner city deprivation. A report for the UK government in 1999 by consultants PricewaterhouseCoopers found that in the UK there were 60,000 parks, gardens and designed landscapes that were competing for funding, 33,000 of which were owned by the local authority. These sites saw expenditure of around £800 million a year, £325 million of which came from the local authority. Yet using economic techniques of contingent valuation, these sites were deemed to be worth £5,000 million to the people who used them, comprising around 6 per cent of all recreational visits each year.

The example of Havering in Greater London illustrates how the early development of a management plan by a project officer acknowledged the problems of multiple use and the legacy of formerly derelict land. In the case of Havering, the scale of dereliction and the variety of land agencies involved created problems for the development of recreation provision. The land was a former First World War Royal Flying Corps base, defending London from Zeppelin attack, and in the Second World War it had been a frontline 'Battle of Britain' spitfire squadron base. The land was also used for sand and gravel extraction to the point that by the 1970s a legacy of dereliction remained, as housing development surrounded the site. While the Countryside Commission (1983) reviewed Havering's scheme and found a legacy of poor public provision in public housing areas and inadequate recognition of rights of way, landscaping schemes also remained a neglected feature. The expectation that the London Borough of Havering would set a precedent for landowners to follow has taken a long time to reach fruition. Nevertheless, the approach has brought modest success through environmental improvements establishing attractive recreational facilities by effectively tidying up many sites (Harrison 1991). The success of such projects was also followed by a new initiative in 1985 – the Groundwork Trust, based on a scheme in St Helen's urban fringe (Groundwork Foundation 1986). Since the early 1990s, this area has been further developed to comprise 250 acres of fields and trees, with four miles of parks and horse rides, a lake and picnic sites. The nature reserve (Ingrebourne Marshes) which now forms a key component of the site is classified as a Site of Special Scientific Interest (SSSI). It has also been incorporated as part of the Thames Chase Community Forest Initiative since 1990.

Variability in the usage of country parks reflects public knowledge of their existence and the attraction of individual locations. The precise location of recreation sites in the urban fringe appears to directly influence usage, with those located near to residential areas which permit residents to walk to them recording highest usage rates. As Harrison concludes:

the recreational role played by sites in the urban fringe will differ depending upon their ease of access to local people who walk or cycle to them and not necessarily on the preferences of a wider constituency served by car . . . [and] the recreational role of countryside areas embedded in the urban area or abutting it is likely to be very different from that of more distant countryside sites.

(Harrison 1991: 166)

What is clear is that the supply of recreational resources alone (e.g. country parks) is not sufficient in the urban fringe if the needs and recreational preferences of users are not analysed since these factors directly affect recreational behaviour.

management issues emerge. O'Riordan (1971: 19) described resource management 'as a process of decision-making whereby resources are allocated over space and time according to the needs, aspirations and desires of man'. In this process, it is the ability to accommodate multifunctional resource use in specific recreational spaces that is critical to achieving societal recreation objectives. The key to achieving this lies in the compatibility of specific recreational activities with both the resource base and other users. Progress in research which considers the allocation of resources to different users to achieve compatibility (e.g. Bone and Dragicevic 2009) illustrates how important this issue is, particularly the multi-use of sites, which also poses pressure in terms of the sheer volume of visitors (e.g. Arnberger *et al.* 2010). Although Chapter 9 discusses the role of planning and management in more detail, it is important to recognise at this point that two fundamental concepts need to be explored in managing the supply of recreational resources: *conflict* and *compatibility*.

Many notions of recreational conflict (avoidance of which is one of the goals of planning) are predicated on the concept of the incompatibility of one activity versus another. Jacob and Schreyer (1980: 369) define conflict thus: 'For an individual, conflict is defined as goal interference attributed to another's behaviour'. This definition assumes that people recreate to achieve certain outcome goals. Yet they argue that goal interference does not necessarily lead to incompatibility. In understanding the nature of recreation user conflict, the interactions which occur need to be understood in relation to a range of factors:

- the nature of the activity and personal meaning attached to it;
- the significance attached to a specific recreation resource;
- the mode of experience, especially how the natural environment is perceived;
- lifestyle tolerance, namely an individual's willingness to accept or reject lifestyles different from their own.

These factors provide an interesting framework in which to evaluate conflict, especially for recreational

resources with a high degree of conflict potential. As Jacob and Schreyer (1980: 378) assert, 'In failing to recognise the basic causes of conflict, inappropriate resolution techniques and management strategies are likely to be adopted'. These findings are reflected in the recreational behaviour observed in Illinois by Bristow *et al.* (1995), where a wide variety of activities were incompatible and led to increased travel times to seek recreational sites able to accommodate personal preferences. Not only does this raise important planning issues for recreation site planning and design (for more technical detail, see Ravenscroft 1992; Pigram and Jenkins 2006), it also raises the importance of recreation resource management to monitor sites to ensure the resource base can continue to accommodate the compatibility of uses. For example, Bell's (2000) analysis of the public inquiry into attempts to impose a speed restriction on the use of Lake Windermere to curb power boating serves as a notable example of the conflicting demands often faced in recreational settings between passive and active users, both recreational and tourist, together with the arguments levelled by the local community as stakeholders in the process of recreational management (see also Hall and Härkönen 2006).

Conflict has an important influence upon the experience of recreation and leisure in different situations and three specific approaches to evaluating leisure experiences exist:

- the form of the leisure experience, particularly the activity undertaken or where it is undertaken (the setting);
- the immediate experience of leisure at the place of consumption, which is evaluated at the time of experience and during the actual participation of leisure;
- the experience of leisure after the event, to ask people to reflect on the experience (Page and Connell 2010).

In each case place and space is a clear component, particularly the behavioural attachment and meaning attached to the experience, and recent developments in the notion of the leisure experience led Driver (2003: 170) to argue that 'The total experience approach is

oriented to what people experience during their entire recreational engagement and is sometimes called the ‘lived experience’. Such research relies upon qualitative methods and the use of storytelling by respondents.’ Yet as Wray *et al.*’s (2010) review of visitors to Fiordland National Park indicated, there is also a growing concern over multiple users of such resources, with recreationalists questioning the compatibility of the notion of wilderness with the increasing use of the area by international tourists. This provides an important link between leisure and tourism, to which attention now turns.

The supply of tourism

Shaw and Williams (1994) prefer to view supply in relation to production and consumption and recent studies of tourism supply (Song 2012) review the multidisciplinary perspectives on this theme from geography, economics, logistics, operations management and other areas of social science. Ioannides’ (2006) review of progress from economic geography discusses the limited engagement within geography on tourism supply issues and this has largely remained a neglected area in view of the business aspects of tourism and a lack of engagement with the commercial operation and management of tourism enterprises. Shaw and Williams (1994: 16) acknowledge that the production and consumption of tourism are important approaches to the analysis of tourism since ‘production is the method by which a complex array of businesses and industries are involved in the supply of tourism services and products, and how these are delivered to consumers, and consumption is how, where, why and when the tourist actually consumes tourism services and products’. These weaknesses are compounded by a lack of data on the operation and performance of individual tourism enterprises. Sessa (1993: 59), however, considers ‘tourism supply is the result of all those productive activities that involve the provision of goods and services required to meet tourism demand and which are expressed in tourism consumption’, which comprises resources for tourists, infrastructure, receptive facilities, entertainment, sports venues, as well as tourism reception services

(e.g. travel agencies, promotional activities and tourist information offices).

One transformation that has affected the interest of geographers in the supply of tourism is the impact of the digital revolution and the rise of e-tourism (Hays *et al.* 2013). This has removed the physical importance of locational access to sources of information for tourism supply (e.g. travel agencies and tourist information offices). The result is that access to gateways of knowledge and information upon which to base decision-making has changed for the consumer and other businesses, rendering traditional models of location less valid as alternative sources of digital supply that are boundless in spatial terms and accessible 24 hours a day. This challenges some of the conventional notions of what Urry (1990) describes as ‘spatial fixity’. In other words, tourists are mobile consumers and able to consume at a global level. This contrasts with most forms of supply for consumption purposes that have a major infrastructure requirement (e.g. accommodation) which are fixed at specific locations. Underlying the concept of spatial fixity is the nature of tourism entrepreneurs, who are largely small scale in their operations and less able to access forms of capital to relocate to new sources of demand compared to the smaller number of larger companies with the resources to adapt to demand. Thus supply is often unable to respond geographically to demand beyond a fixed point, and this means that peaks and troughs in demand at particular locations (i.e. destinations) need to be managed through differential forms of pricing (Seaton and Bennett 1996) and the use of seasonal labour (Ball 1989). Law expands upon these simple notions, arguing that

in many respects tourism is the geography of consumption outside the home area; it is about how and why people travel to consume . . . [On] the production side it is concerned to understand where tourism activities develop and on what scale. It is concerned with the process or processes whereby some cities are able to create tourism resources and a tourism industry.

(Law 1993: 14)

Law emphasises here the way in which scale is a critical concept in understanding supply issues together

with the ways in which the tourism industry is organised and geographically distributed through time and space.

One useful illustration of the effect that a new form of production can have on the landscape of tourism and leisure consumption is the rise of the low cost airline sector. As Page (2011) has shown, this new form of production has revolutionised the supply of air transport not only in Europe and the USA but also in Asia-Pacific, with lower units of production and a no-frills model of delivery. The digital revolution has also made air travel accessible and easy to book,

favouring the promotional activities of low cost carriers. The principal geographical changes initially developed by low cost carriers was their use of regional airports and point-to-point services without the use of expensive hubs. These carriers have not only led to huge growth in volumes of leisure travel but also aided the growth of business travel. This has seen entrepreneurial organisations like EasyJet and Ryanair not only outperform existing scheduled carriers, but also generate new markets for low cost air travel and domestic/international travel. As Figure 3.4 shows, growth of international arrivals in Spain has seen a

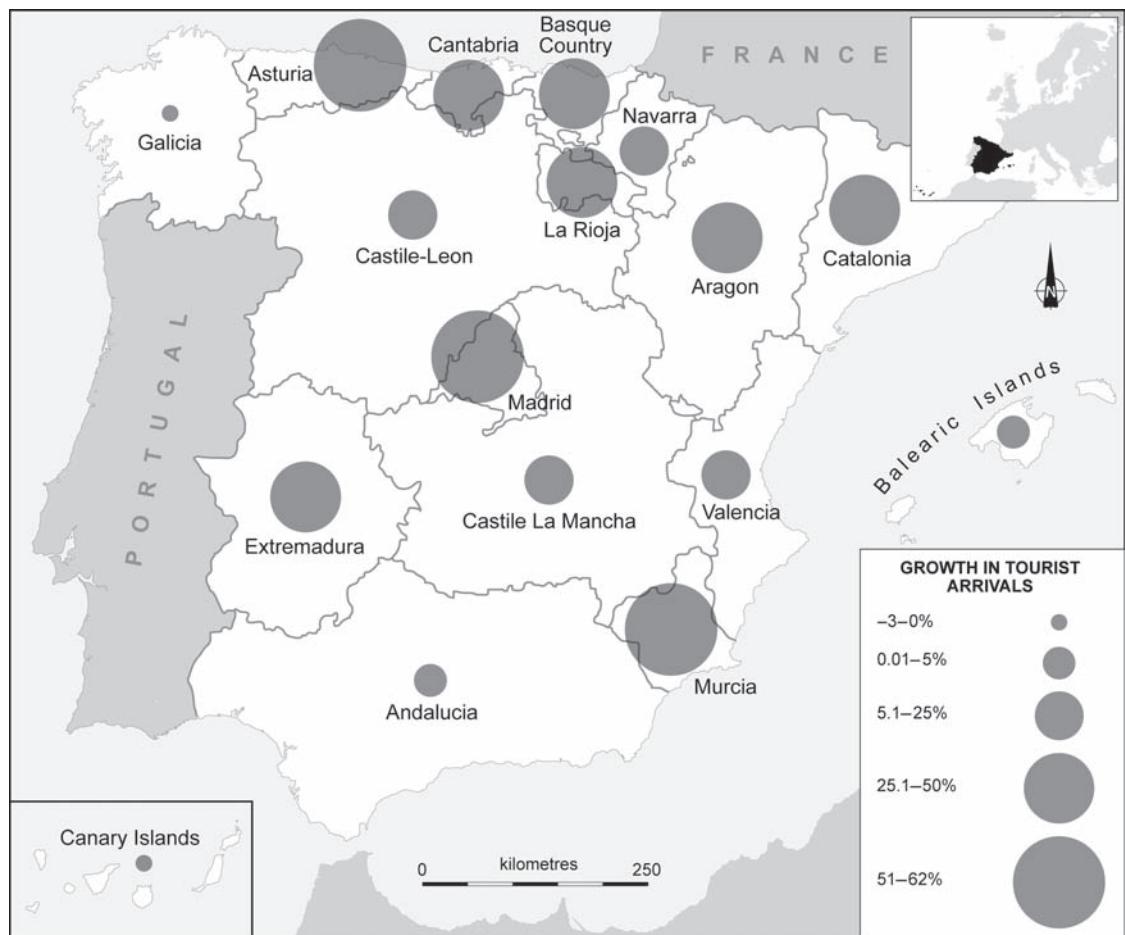


Figure 3.4 International arrivals in Spain by regional airport

Source: developed from UNWTO data.

major boost in coastal areas such as Asturias and Murcia, which is attributable to low cost carriers (Graham 2013), compared to relatively slower rates of growth in other areas of Spain. A direct result of this growth has also been a rise in the number of second homes in these expanding locations as a direct result of new air

access. The low cost carriers have stimulated the growth of regional tourism, thereby illustrating how new forms of supply can affect the geographical patterns of demand, away from conventional mass resort tourism in Spain. Similar transformations have also occurred as competition between different modes of



Figure 3.5 Ferry routes from the UK

transport (e.g. the Channel Tunnel, low cost carriers and ferries) has split the demand and market for each form of transport. The competitive result is that the ferry companies with a degree of mobile investment (i.e. their ferries) have relocated capacity in the UK to develop a wider range of routes (Figure 3.5) distributed away from the traditional high capacity short sea crossing (Dover–Calais) to other routes. This illustrates how the geography of tourism supply is not only in a state of constant flux due to competitive forces but can also help shape new patterns of tourism development. As a result, some coastal and urban destinations in western and eastern Europe have

enjoyed the expansion of new price-sensitive markets, especially short breaks and VFR travel (visiting friends and relations), together with new niche markets such as stag parties and hen nights in Prague and Dublin.

Low cost airlines have changed the geographical access to leisure consumption by widening the domestic tourist and leisure traveller's search area for new consuming experiences, while radically impacting upon scheduled airline services and standards of provision as competition increases and leading to changes in the development process, which highlights the importance of the destination life cycle.

BOX 3.2 THE DESTINATION LIFE CYCLE

The notion of a destination product life cycle has been extremely influential in tourism research and probably ranks as one of the most substantial contributions by geographers to the wider tourism literature. The tourist area life cycle (TALC) also has a wider significance beyond a focus on tourism destination development because it challenges the notion of tourism studies having a simplistic theoretical base. As Oppermann (1998a: 180) noted: 'Butler's model is a brilliant example of how scientific progress could and should work . . . [having] been scrutinized in many different contexts with modifications suggested to fit specific situations and circumstances'.

Butler's (1980, 2006) concept of a tourist area life cycle of evolution, based on some of the initial observations of Christaller (1963) and Plog (1974, 1977), has been applied in a number of environments and settings representing the development of a destination through time and space (Cooper and Jackson 1989; Cooper 1992, 1994; Ioannides 1992; Butler 2006). Because of its relative simplicity the concept of a tourist area life cycle has emerged as a significant concept for strategic destination marketing and planning, and which underpins much of our understanding of urban tourism development. As Lundgren (1984: 22) commented, 'Butler put into the realistic cyclical context a reality that everyone knew about, and clearly recognised, but had never formulated into an overall theory'.

According to Cooper and Jackson (1989), the two most substantial managerial benefits of the life cycle concept are its use as a descriptive guide for strategic decision-making and its capacity as a forecasting tool. As a descriptive guide the life cycle idea implies that in the early stages of product development the focus will be on building market share, while in the later stages the focus will be on maintaining that share (Rink and Swan 1979). However, the utility of the life cycle concept as a forecasting tool relies heavily on the identification of those forces that influence the flow of tourists to a specific destination. As Haywood (1986) recognised, most models work well in their early stages but then fail in their prediction of the latter stages of the model. Haywood (1986), along with other commentators (e.g. Rink and Swan 1979; Cooper

1992; Ioannides 1992), notes that there are a variety of differently shaped curves, with the shape of the curve depending on both supply- and demand-side factors. Indeed, Haywood (1986: 154) goes so far as to argue that the life cycle approach 'represents the supply side view of the diffusion model', by which consumers adopt new products.

According to Haywood (1986) there are six operational decisions when using the life cycle concept: unit of analysis; relevant market; pattern and stages of the tourist area life cycle; identification of the area's shape in the life cycle; determination of the unit of measurement; determination of the relevant time unit.

Using Haywood's insights as a basis for undertaking research on the life cycle, Graber (1997) undertook an analysis of the destination life cycles of 43 European cities using the variables of growth data for domestic and international tourism, first-time visitor percentage, length of stay, guest-mix distribution and number of competitors. Only a small number of the variables tested proved to be significant correlates of the life cycle. According to Graber (1997: 69), 'A diminishing rate of first-time visitors is obvious for cities passing through later stages of the cycle'. In contrast to many of the more product life cycle interpretations of Butler's life cycle model which have come from a marketing orientation, Hall (2005a, 2005c, 2006a) argued that the life cycle of a destination should be assessed in terms of accessibility and spatial interaction modelling and observed that the model is an analogue of changed accessibility between generating areas and a destination.

Hall (2005a, 2006a) argues that a destination should be primarily conceptualised as a geographical place (e.g. as a point in space which is subject to a range of factors which influence locational advantage and disadvantage). Most significant to these is the movement outward from a tourist generating region and trips as a function of distance. Such travel movement cannot be adequately represented in the classic linear form of a distance-decay model whereby the location of numbers of trips or people travelling at any given time is highest closer to the generating area and diminishes in relation to distance. Instead, factors which influence travel behaviour, such as decisions relating to overnight stays and time to undertake leisure activities, as well as overall amenity values, create a series of peaks and troughs in relation to distance from the generating area (Hall 2005a) (Figure 3.6). However, regardless of what form of transport is used, there will be a different set of distance/time functions at which overnight stays will need to be made because all travellers need to stop at some stage to sleep.

Given the above assumptions then changes in distance (whether time, cost, behavioural, or network) between the tourist generating origin and the surrounding hinterland will then lead to corresponding changes in the number of travellers for any given point in the spatial system. However, locations within the spatial system are spatially fixed, towns and cities do not suddenly get up and move away in order to maximise advantageous distance functions although they do change and adapt over time in relation to new networks and patterns of accessibility . . . if the numbers of tourist bed-nights (or other measures of tourism related density) at a spatially fixed point 'destination' (L) are drawn at t_1, t_2, t_3, \dots in relation to the changed accessibility with respect to a tourist generating region or trip origin then this provides a representation of overnight stay density at a specific location which is analogous to that of the [TALC] when presented in its standard two dimensional form.

(Hall 2005a: 119)

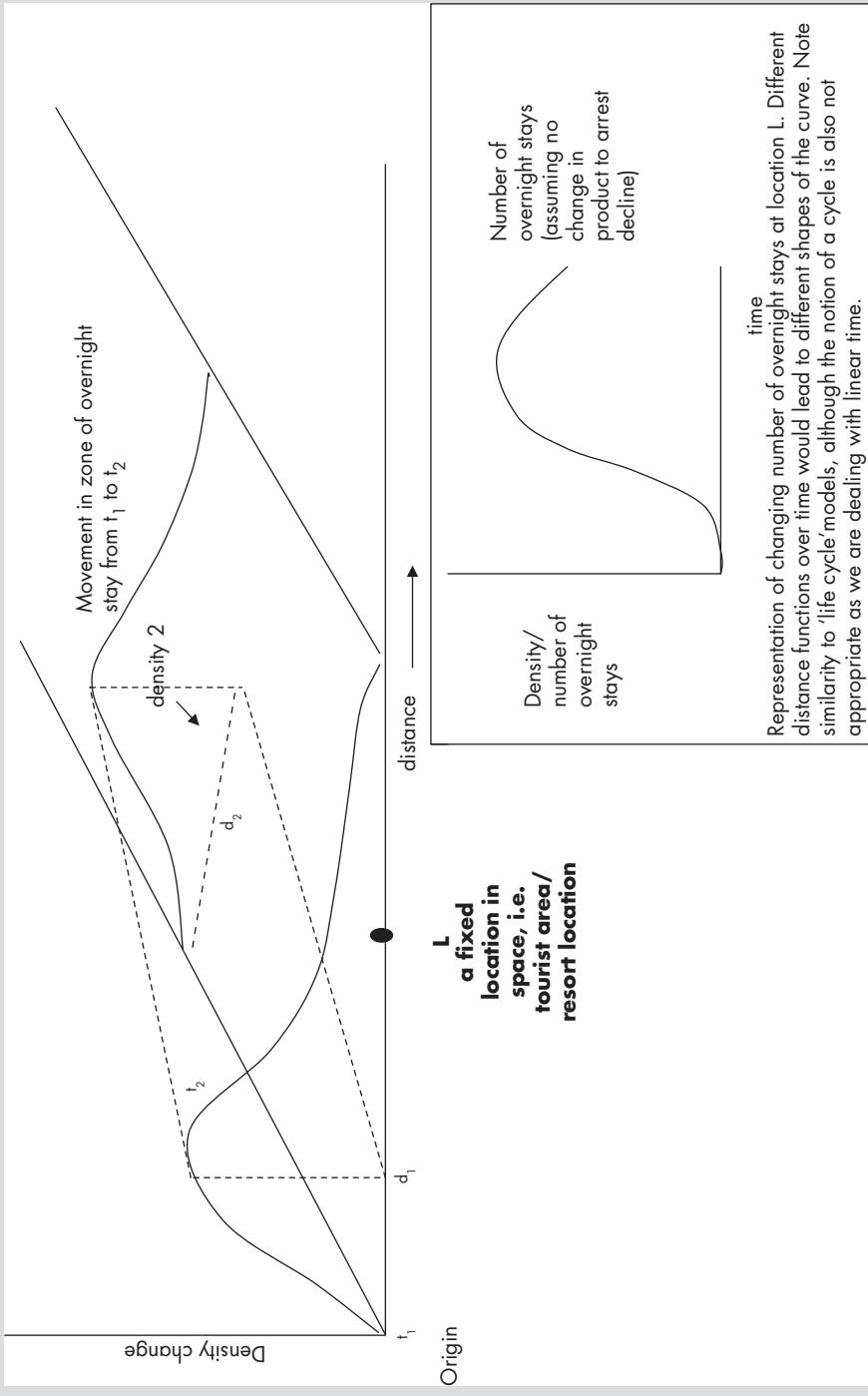


Figure 3.6 A wave analogue model of the implication of changed accessibility for a fixed location in space

Source: Witt et al. (1991); Page (1994).

More theoretically derived explanations of tourism production (e.g. Mullins 1991) illustrate the importance of understanding production in a spatially contingent framework and how this shapes the consumption of tourism, and so the wider theorisation of the interactions between supply and demand are now examined in terms of critical contributions to tourism thinking, which remain a key element of current geographical thought (Schwanen and Kwan 2009), as discussed in Chapter 2.

Towards a critical geography of tourism production?

According to Britton (1991: 451), the geography of tourism has suffered from weakly developed theory since 'geographers working in the field have been reluctant to recognise explicitly the capitalistic nature of the phenomenon they are researching'. This critical geographies focus has developed through a long history dating to radical geography (Peet 1977a, 1977b, 2009) and a more recent concern with the neoliberal project and the growth of inequalities in contemporary society (Harvey 2000). While Shaw and Williams (1994) review the concepts of production and consumption (also see Debbage and Ioannides 2004; Williams 2004; Ioannides 2006), it is pertinent to examine critically Britton's (1991) innovative research in this area since it provides a theoretical framework in which to interpret tourism production, whereby the notion of political economy, inequality and power are key elements in the explanatory framework. Within the tourism production systems are:

- economic activities designed to produce and sell tourism products;
- social groups, cultural and physical elements included in tourism products as attractions;
- agencies associated with the regulation of the production system.

In a theoretical context, Britton (1991: 455) argued that the tourism production system was 'simultaneously a mechanism for the accumulation of capital,

the private appropriation of wealth, the extraction of surplus value from labour, and the capturing of (often unearned) rents from cultural and physical phenomena (especially public goods) which are deemed to have both a social and scarcity value'. The production system may therefore be viewed as having a division of labour between its various components (transport, accommodation, tour operators, attractions and ancillary services), markets (the demand and supply of tourist products) and regulatory agencies (e.g. industry associations), as well as industry organisations and structures to assist in the production of the final product. Britton (1991: 456) rightly points out that many tourism texts 'offer little more than a cursory and superficial analysis of how the tourism industry is structured and regulated by the classic imperatives and laws governing capitalist accumulation'.

The tourism industry is made up of a range of separate industry suppliers who offer one or more components of the final product that requires intermediaries to co-ordinate and combine the elements which are sold to the consumer as a discrete package. Both tour operators and travel agents have a vital role to play in this context when one recognises the existence of a supply chain (Figure 3.7). What this emphasises is the variety of linkages which exist and the physical separation of roles and responsibilities to the supply chain (see Page 1994b).

While information technology may assist in improving communication and co-ordination between different components associated with the production of tourism, other developments (notably horizontal and vertical integration) assist in addressing the fragmentation of elements within the supply system. Likewise, tour operators are able to use economies of scale and their sheer buying power over suppliers to derive a competitive advantage in the assembly of tour components into packages. The tour operators also have the power and ability to shift the product to match demand, and to exercise an extraordinary degree of power over both inter-industry transactions and the spatial distribution of tourist flows. As Agarwal *et al.* (2000: 244–5) indicate, 'increasing scale, or market concentration, has been achieved through horizontal and vertical integration as airlines expand into tour

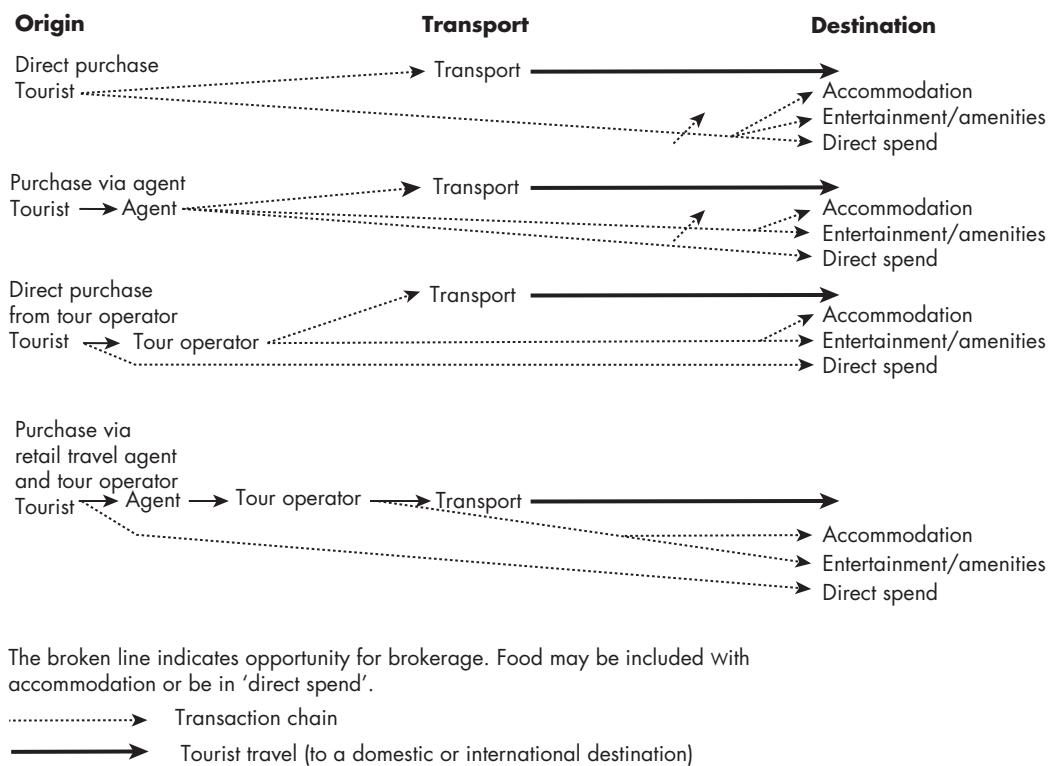


Figure 3.7 Four types of tourism transaction chain

Source: Witt et al. (1991); Page (1994).

operations, tour operators acquire airlines and travel agencies and invest in the accommodation sector', a feature also observed by Ioannides (1995). As a result, the process of market concentration can occur through various strategies (or a combination thereof): strategic alliances, mergers, acquisitions and take-overs, franchising agreements and the use of marketing consortia. Such strategies are used by the highly globalised multinational economies of scale, to reduce competition and to seek greater control of the market. Strategic alliances also assist in this regard, since suppliers in one part of the system are dependent on those either upstream or downstream. Therefore, there is pressure on suppliers to exert control over other suppliers through transaction arrangements (i.e. through long-term contracts, vertical and horizontal integration), as well as through commissions, licensing and

franchising. The two most powerful organisations in this respect are national airlines and tour wholesalers (also known as tour operators). Through the financial resources and industry leverage that these organisations can wield in the tourism business, they are able to exact advantageous business terms and the introduction of computer reservation systems (CRS), now referred to as global distribution systems (GDS), which provide not only integration of the supply chain but also a competitive advantage in revenue generation through bookings made through these systems.

Papatheodorou (2003) examined the oligopolistic behaviour (i.e. bargaining power) of the transnational tour operators in the Mediterranean in relation to their corporate strategies. He observed that in the UK mass package holiday market and it is widely accepted that local producers and specific destinations are

heavily dependent upon mass tourism as well as oligopolistic behaviour in the way contracts in the supply of services are negotiated. These may seek maximum discounts and long settlement terms on payment of goods/services supplied to tour operators, reinforcing Ioannides' (1998) argument that tour operators are gatekeepers to tourism, applying a similar concept to that developed by P. Williams (1978) with an analysis of housing markets and how agencies such as building societies can 'redline' areas. This means that building societies delineate areas they will not lend in. In a similar vein, tour operators can redline destinations, based on previous experience of tourist problems, particularly terrorism. A combination of tour operators and insurers can effectively redline resorts and destinations.

Britton (1991) also indicates that the state has a fundamental role to play in encouraging industry groups to meet and co-ordinate problem-solving such as reducing critical incidents (Bitner *et al.* 1990) in the supply chain. In addition, the state makes a major contribution in terms of funding the marketing of regions and destinations via national and regional tourism organisations so that place promotion takes place (Ashworth and Voogd 1990a, 1990b; Page 1995a; Pike 2008). The state may also offer inducements to underwrite major supply inputs where territorial competition or development may not otherwise occur. Interventions in the market include the underwriting of national 'flag-carrier' airlines (see Kissling 1989), and public economic and welfare goals are emphasised to justify state intervention.

One of the interesting areas hitherto ignored in geographical research on tourism supply is labour supply and markets. Since in the tourism business many workers simultaneously provide and are part of the consumed product, service quality assumes a vital role. This is broadened in many research studies to include the 'tourist experience' (Ryan 1997, 2002) along with the key role of emotional labour as a source of service provision. While Britton (1991) rightly points to the role of capitalist social relations in the production of tourist experiences, such experiences cannot easily be characterised as tangible elements of tourist supply. This poses major difficulties for capital, where quality of service is easily influenced by

personal factors, the behaviour and attitude of staff, as well as by the perception of the consumer in relation to their expectations, values and belief system. One result is that much of the demand for labour is not necessarily recognised through formal qualifications but through personal qualities, which leads to an undervaluing of labour. Add to this the fact that the labour willing to supply such skills is often casual and female (and often with a local ethnic component), and the tourism labour market is characterised by ethnic and gender divisions, with relatively poor employment conditions existing relative to other sectors (UNWTO 2011d; Zampoukos and Ioannides 2011). For example, in the Australian context, the Industry Commission (1995: 21) characterised the tourism workforce and its working conditions as follows:

- on average, young;
- characterised by female, part-time employment;
- has more casual and part-time work than other industries, but the majority of hours are nevertheless worked by full-time employees;
- is poorly unionised;
- is relatively low skilled work;
- the hours of work are sometimes considered unsociable;
- the pay is relatively low;
- a mobile workforce with high turnover rates;
- the workforce has low levels of formal educational qualifications.

Tourism employment has particular characteristics stemming from the spatial and temporal fixity of tourism consumption and production (Shaw and Williams 1994; Tufts 2009; Zampoukos and Ioannides 2011). Tourism services have to be experienced *in situ*, and (in most senses) they are not spatially transferable and cannot be deferred (Urry 1987). This implies that the tourism labour force has to be assembled *in situ* at the point of consumption and, moreover, that it is available at particular time periods. The nature of demand is such that a labour force is required with sufficient flexibility to meet daily, weekly and seasonal fluctuations (Ladkin 2011). The extent to which these conditions generate migration flows, rather than reliance on local labour, is contingent on a number of factors, intrinsic

both to the tourism development and to the locality. Two prime considerations are the scale of demand and the speed of tourism development, the latter affecting the extent to which labour may be transferred from other sectors of the local economy/society. In addition, the degree of enclavism or spatial polarisation is important, with the dependency on migration likely to be positively correlated with this. Over time the spatial form of tourism consumption and production is in constant flux. In addition, local demographic, social and economic structures will condition the availability of local labour and the requirement for in-migration. Comparative wage differentials, levels of education and training, working conditions and job status in tourism and other sectors all influence the availability of workers, as does the overall level of unemployment. For example, the availability of better paid and higher status jobs in other sectors has conditioned the requirement for immigrant labour in the Swiss tourist industry (King 1995). Finally, the degree of temporal polarisation is also significant, for the demands for in-migration are likely to be greatest in large-scale, single-peaked season destinations. All else being equal, the lack of alternative jobs outside the peak time period will mean either seasonal unemployment in the local labour market or reliance on seasonal labour migrants (King 1995).

Tourism labour migration is also highly segmented (Williams and Hall 2002). King (1995) identified a hierarchy of labour migrants in respect of tourism. In the first rank are skilled managerial posts, typically found in the upper enclaves of major international hotels and local branches of leading airlines. It can be hypothesised that there will be greater reliance on immigrants to fill such posts in less developed economies where there are shortages of such human capital. The second rank consists of intermediate posts such as tour guides and agency representatives, where the ability to speak the language of international tourists, and even to share their nationality (if only for the purpose of consumer reassurance), is considered critical. Finally, the third level of the hierarchy comprises unskilled labour, which is relatively common, given low entry thresholds to most tourist jobs. The pay and working conditions of each of these three ranks in the

hierarchy are likely to be varied, as are the national origins of each stream of migrants.

The significance of migration in tourism labour markets therefore stems from three main features (Williams and Hall 2000; Janta *et al.* 2011). First, it serves to fill absolute shortages of labour, particularly in areas of rapid tourism expansion or where tourism is highly spatially polarised. However, the first two levels of the migration hierarchy may also function to fill particular employment niches, even where there are no generalised labour shortages. Second, the availability of migrant labour will help to reduce labour market pressures, and consequently wage inflation pressures (Janta *et al.* 2011). Third, labour migration can contribute to labour market segmentation, and especially where the divisions are along racial/ethnic or legal/illegal lines, this can serve to reduce the costs of labour to firms. Labour migration therefore serves to ensure that the process of tourism capital accumulation is not undermined. Nevertheless, labour migration also has two other significant functions with respect to tourism. The first of these is the generation of visits to friends and visitors. Second, labour migration experiences do help to define the search spaces of lifestyle and retirement migrants, as King *et al.* (1998) have shown with respect to retirement from the UK to southern Europe (Williams and Hall 2002).

Thus to understand some of these components of the tourism production system the geographer is required to appreciate concepts related to capital-labour relations, the interweaving of consumption, the business environment associated with the competitive strategies of enterprises, economic concepts (e.g. transaction analysis), product differentiation, international business as a mode of operation and global markets, along with basic business and marketing concepts. Within a capitalist mode of production this is essential so that one may understand how each component in the tourism production system operates (i.e. how it develops products, generates profits and competes with other businesses) and how social groups and places are incorporated into the production system, so that the production system and the spatial relationships which exist may be fully understood (see Box 3.3). However, critical

BOX 3.3 ECONOMIC GLOBALISATION

Globalisation is a complex, chaotic, multiscalar, multitemporal and multicentric series of processes operating in specific structural and spatial contexts (Jessop 1999; Amin 2002). Globalisation should be seen as an emergent, evolutionary phenomenon which results from economic, political, socio-cultural and technological processes on many scales, rather than a distinctive causal mechanism in its own right. It is both a structural and a structuring phenomenon, the nature of which depends critically on sub-global processes. According to Jessop (1999: 21) 'structurally, globalisation would exist in so far as covariation of relevant activities becomes more global in extent and/or the speed of that covariation on a global scale increases'. Such an observation clearly suggests that globalisation is uneven across space and time. Indeed, 'a key element in contemporary processes of globalisation is not the impact of "global" processes upon another clearly defined scale, but instead the relativisation of scale' (Kelly and Olds 1999: 2). Such relativities occur in relation to both 'space-time distantiation' and 'space-time compression'. The former refers to the stretching of social relations over time and space, e.g. through the utilisation of new technology such as the internet, so that they can be co-ordinated or controlled over longer periods of time, greater distances, larger areas and on more scales of activity. The latter involves the intensification of 'discrete' events in real time and/or increased velocity of material and non-material flows over a given distance; again this is related to technological change, including communication technologies, and social technologies (Harvey 2000), all of which affect tourism (Hall 2005a).

The discourse of globalisation, i.e. the way in which the term is used and applied in various situations, is important because it goes further than the simple description of contemporary social change; it also carries with it the power to shape material reality via policy formulation and implementation (Gibson-Graham 1996; Kelly and Olds 1999). It can also construct a view of geographical space that implies the deferral of political options from the national to the supranational and global scales, and from the local to the national. In effect, globalisation 'itself has become a political force, helping to create the institutional realities it purportedly merely describes' (Piven 1995: 8), as indicated by the growth of structures that encourage yet further 'free trade' and openness to change such as Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC). In addition to the 'structural context' of globalisation noted above, authors such as Ohmae (1995) and Jessop (1999) point to a more strategic interpretation of globalisation, which refers to individual and institutional actors' attempts to promote the global co-ordination of activities on a continuing basis within different orders or functional systems, for example interpersonal networking, inter-firm strategic alliances, the creation of international and supranational regimes to govern particular fields of action, and the broader development of modes of international and supranational systems of governance. Therefore, given the multiscale, multitemporal and multicentric nature of globalisation, we can recognise that globalisation 'rarely, if ever, involves the full structural integration and strategic coordination across the globe' (Jessop 1999: 22). Processes usually considered under the rubric of 'economic globalisation' include the following:

- The formation of regional economic and trading blocs that provide for greater economic integration, e.g. North American Free Trade Area (NAFTA), European Union (EU) and APEC, and the development of formal links between those blocs (e.g. the Asia-Europe Meetings). In all of these regions tourism is a major component of economic and social policy (Hall 2001a).
- The growth of 'local internationalisation', 'virtual regions', through the development of economic ties between contiguous (e.g. 'border regions') or non-contiguous local and regional state authorities

(e.g. growth regions and triangles) in different national economies which often bypass the level of the nation state but which still retain support at the national level. For example, the Pacific North West Economic Region (PNWER), consisting of the American states of Alaska, Idaho, Montana, Oregon and Washington plus the Canadian provinces of Alberta, British Columbia and Yukon Territory, as well as private sector members, has a tourism working group to promote greater economic development in the region (Hall 2001a).

- The widening and deepening of international and supranational regimes which cover economic and economically relevant issues and which may also provide for regional institutionalised governance, e.g. the World Trade Organisation and associated agreements with respect to trade (Coles and Hall 2011).
- The internationalisation of national economic spaces through growing penetration (inward flows) and external (outward) flows as with the increasing mobility of tourists and capital (Coles and Hall 2008).
- The extension and deepening of multinationalisation by multinational firms, including hospitality and tourism firms, as illustrated in the next section in relation to international hotel chains.
- The introduction and acceptance of global norms and standards, the development of globally integrated markets together with globally oriented strategies, and firms with no evident national operational base (Jessop 1999).

geographical perspectives (e.g. Schwanen and Kwan 2009) also argue that conventional geography would have viewed space and time relationships in relation to tourism supply as a context in which tourist behaviour and activities occur rather than being conditioned and controlled by the activities of global businesses, with their predominant focus on profit and exploitation of the resource base for their business activities (Page 2011), where policy-makers and planners become powerless to stop the gathering snowball rolling downhill called tourism that takes over society and the local economy, so that vested interests simply accentuate the growth and development trajectories, with little long-term consideration of the consequences. To illustrate these ideas further, Box 3.3, on economic globalisation, is one explanatory approach to understanding the growing control of international tourism by globalised companies.

International hotel chains

The hotel industry is arguably a global industry, since it fulfils some of the criteria which distinguish businesses as truly global, whereby it may be one which can create a competitive advantage from its activities

on a worldwide basis. Alternatively it may be one in which the strategic positions of competitors in major geographic or national markets are fundamentally affected by their overall global positions (Porter 1980: 175). Much of the debate on the influence of international hotel chains may be dated to the research by Dunning and McQueen (1982) on what constitutes a multinational, international and transnational firm. Dunning and McQueen's (1982) use of an international hotel company, which has direct investments and other types of contractual agreements in more than one country, remains a simple but effective definition (see also Shaw and Williams 1994). One concept which economists and sociologists have embraced to analyse the linkages of transnational companies in local and regional tourism economies is embeddedness. This essentially refers to the links between external capital and local firms' relationships, though it has proved problematic to adequately operationalise in tourism, since the concept is also opaque, as researchers seek to define the most appropriate methodologies to use to measure and understand embeddedness.

Britton (1991: 460) analysed the product which hotel chains offered in terms of their competitive strategies as a package of on-premises services which

provide a certain experience (ambience, lifestyle) based on different kinds and qualities of accommodation, on-site recreation and shopping facilities, and catering, the offering of off-premises services (airport shuttles, local excursions, booking facilities) and a trademark guarantee which signals to the customer a predictable quality of service. The competitive strategies which follow from these features are based on an understanding of the customer (i.e. needs and preferences), where the brand name is able to command a premium price in the marketplace. Britton (1991: 460) explains the commercial advantage of international chains in terms of

- the firms' location in the customers' home country;
- experience in understanding demand through operating hotels in the domestic markets;
- managerial expertise and staff training to ensure the elements of the tourists' experience related to the brand name are met through appropriate training and operating manuals.

The key to successful competition is for the hotel company to internalise its firm-specific intellectual property (i.e. training methods and manuals), while ensuring profit levels for shareholders. Unfortunately this is extremely difficult when staff leave and move to competitors, since the intellectual property is essentially 'know-how'. Yet this is often the basis for horizontal integration into overseas markets, with management contracts a preferred mechanism for operation rather than outright ownership to control design, operation, pricing and staffing, though the same companies (e.g. Holiday Inns) prefer to use franchising as a mechanism to control managerial, organisational and professional input. One notable dimension here is the effect of international hotel and tourism development on less developed countries. For example, in Kenya 60 per cent of hotel beds were accounted for through equity participation schemes with such hotel groups (Rosemary 1987; Sinclair 1991). The implications are that where international involvement occurs there is a concomitant loss of central control and leakage of foreign earnings, and where there is concentrated development of enclaves

remote from local population this inevitably leads to little benefit for the host country. This view is confirmed in more recent studies. Blake (2008), for instance, raises the concern that tourism development leads to the contraction of other export sectors. In a review of the situation in Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda, results indicate that hotels and restaurants, and in particular the transport industry, provide below-average shares of income to poor households compared to other export sectors, leading to the conclusion that 'these results paint a fairly poor picture of the ability of tourism to alleviate poverty' (Blake 2008: 511). Tourism tends to be disproportionately beneficial to the already wealthy (Blake *et al.* 2008; Schilcher 2007) and can enhance existing inequalities (Scheyvens and Momsen 2008a, 2008b).

International hotel development may therefore lead to dependency relationships, as Britton (1980a) indicated in his innovative study of the distribution of ownership and commercial control by metropolitan tourist markets of less developed world destinations. In the context of the UK, the corporate organisation of tourism production also exhibits a core-periphery relationship, defined by the location of corporate headquarters and the higher level posts in the hotel, airline and tour operator sector, which are largely located in London. While some lower level order jobs have been located in peripheral regions to take advantage of low labour and premises costs (e.g. call centres), decisions involving capital, the form of production and its spatial distribution are firmly embedded in London and south-east England. Indeed, the transnational nature of some international tour operators (e.g. TUI) highlights how investment and production decisions also have a transnational and global dimension. For example, TUI now operates in 180 countries, using 200 brands, and has around 300 million customers. In the case of China, Gu *et al.* (2012) outlined the rapid growth and the nature of financing for hotel investment and development of hotel projects in China, which has shifted from an initial growth stimulated by joint ventures funded by government agencies and Chinese overseas investors. This has been supplemented by international hotel corporations entering

China's emergent tourism sector in the 1980s. As Gu *et al.* (2012) show, the main mode of entry into the Chinese hotel market was through management contracts and joint ventures. For example, by 1991, 202 hotels were classified as joint ventures and 215 hotels were managed by international hotel companies. Initially, the high quality international hotel brands entered the main cities of Shanghai, Guangzhou and Beijing. This was followed by brands moving into secondary cities and major tourist destinations. Through time, international management expertise has passed into domestic hotel companies and the international hotel companies have established a major presence throughout China's major cities. In 2010, the top five international brands were the Intercontinental Group (IHG), Wyndham, Hilton, Marriot and Accor.

Britton's model of tourism development (Figure 3.8) illustrates the nature of tourism dependency, where international tourism organisations (in the absence of strong government control) develop and perpetuate a hierarchical element to tourism development. While dependency theory is useful in explaining how capitalist production leads to the resulting patterns of tourism demand and supply, it is evident that this is only a simplification of the wider geographical dimensions of capital-labour relations in a global context, where political economy perspectives assist in explaining the processes leading to the spatial patterns of tourism development that occur. The economic dynamics of the tourism production system begin to help to develop a more central perspective of tourism which fits into the broader conceptualisation of capitalist accumulation, and the social construction of reality, though marketing and the construction of place may provide new areas for future geographical research. In fact, what one realises from a critical analysis of tourism using political economy perspectives is that it is a constantly changing phenomenon, with an ever-changing spatial organisation. This was evident from the examples of low cost airline growth and its impact on both destinations (e.g. Spain) and other competing modes of transport (e.g. the UK ferry industry). The processes affecting the political economy of production and consumption require a critical

awareness of the role and activities of entrepreneurs, the flow of capital and its internationalisation, the impact of industrial and regional restructuring, urban development, changes in the service economy and how the production of tourism results in new landscapes of tourism in a contemporary society (Meethan 2004). Aside from theoretical analysis, geographers have developed other concepts and methods of analysis, and we now turn to these approaches.

The leisure product

Within the context of urban tourism, Jansen-Verbeke (1986) viewed the urban area as a 'leisure product' which comprises primary elements including a variety of facilities that may be grouped into:

- an *activity place*, thereby defining the overall supply features within the city, particularly the main tourist attractions;
- a *leisure setting*, which includes both the physical elements in the built environment and the socio-cultural characteristics which give a city a distinct image and 'sense of place' for visitors;

and secondary elements which consist of:

- the supporting facilities and services which tourists consume during their visit (e.g. hotel and catering outlets and shopping facilities) and which shape the visitors' experience of the services available in the city;
- additional elements which consist of the tourism infrastructure that conditions the visit, such as the availability of car parking, tourist transport provision and accessibility, and tourist-specific services (e.g. visitor information centres and tourist signposting) (see Table 3.4 for a more detailed description).

The urban tourism system helps in understanding the interrelationships between supply and demand and the interaction between the consumers and the products. In this respect, it is also useful to identify what aspect of the 'leisure product' tourists consume; some may

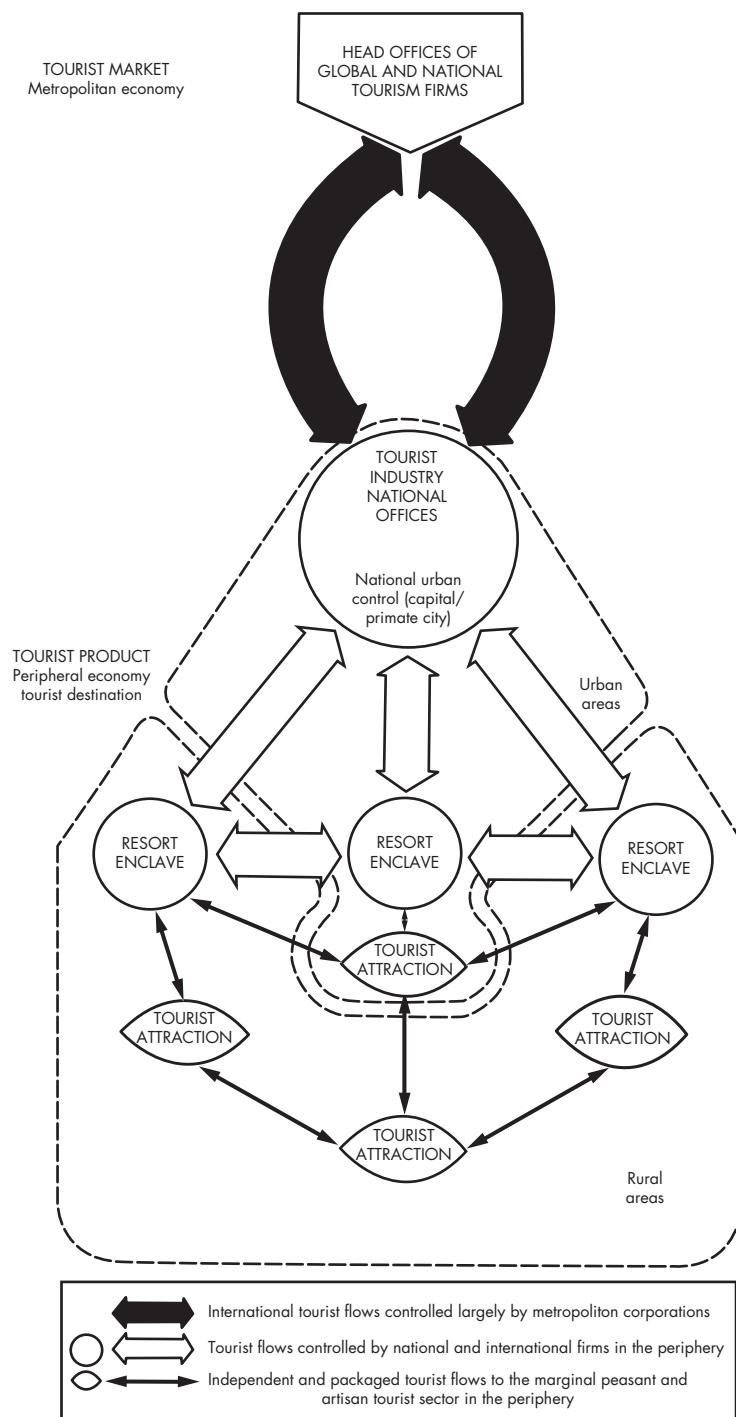


Figure 3.8 An enclave model of tourism in a peripheral economy

Source: redrawn from Britton 1980a. Reproduced with permission from Elsevier.

Table 3.3 Some reasons for government involvement in tourism*Economic reasons*

- to improve the balance of payments in a country;
- to attract foreign exchange;
- to aid national, regional and/or local economic development;
- to diversify the economy;
- to increase income levels;
- to increase state revenue from taxes;
- to generate new and/or maintain existing employment opportunities.

Social and cultural reasons

- to achieve social objectives related to 'social tourism' to ensure the well-being and health of families and individuals;
- to protect cultural mores, traditions, resources and heritage;
- to promote a greater cultural awareness of an area and its people;
- to promote international understanding.

Environmental reasons

- to undertake stewardship of the environment and tourism resources to ensure that natural capital, e.g. air, water, biodiversity, is not denuded;
- to create or maintain a natural resource which will serve to attract tourists.

Political reasons

- to further political objectives by promoting the development of tourism in order to broaden the political acceptance of a government among visitors;
- to control the development process associated with tourism;
- to protect the public interest and the interests of minorities;
- to further political ideology.

Sources: Jenkins and Henry 1982; D.G. Pearce 1989; Hall 1994, 2008a; Hall and Jenkins 1995; Dredge and Jenkins 2007, 2011.

consume only one product (e.g. a visit to an art gallery), while others may consume what Jansen-Verbeke (1988) terms a 'bundle of products' (i.e. several products during their stay, such as a visit to a theatre, museum and a meal in a restaurant). One of the important points to note from this observation is the extent to which multiple counting of users of such products may inflate visitor numbers and the viability of tourism attractions and businesses on account of the same tourist being counted several times by different sites they visit.

Jansen-Verbeke (1986) identified the nature of tourists visiting the inner city and the organisations responsible for the promotion of the inner city as an area for tourists to visit. The role of organisations promoting urban areas for tourism is discussed in more detail in Chapter 6, but to explain Jansen-Verbeke's

(1986) analysis it is useful to consider the relationship which she believes exists between the product, the tourist and the promoter. Promoters affect the relationship in two ways:

- they build an image of the inner city and its tourist resources to attract potential tourists, investors and employers;
- the promotion of the inner city may also lead to direct product improvement.

Consequently, the model that Jansen-Verbeke (1986) constructs illustrates how different elements of the inner city tourism system are interrelated and the significance of the inner city as a leisure product. However, the public and private sector have distinct roles to play in this context.

Role of the public and private sector in tourism supply

The public sector is a term used to refer to the range of organisations that are operated and owned by governments in order to implement public policy. The public sector operates at a variety of geographical scales and may become involved in tourism for

various economic, political, social and environmental reasons (Table 3.3). The International Union of Tourism Organisations (IUOTO 1974), the forerunner to the UNWTO, in its discussion of the role of the state in tourism, identified five areas of public sector involvement in tourism: co-ordination, planning, legislation, regulation and entrepreneur stimulation. To this may be added two other functions: a social

Table 3.4 The elements of tourism

<i>Primary elements</i>	<i>Secondary elements</i>	<i>Additional elements</i>
<i>Activity place</i>	• Hotels and accommodation	• Accessibility and parking facilities
<i>Cultural facilities</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Markets • Restaurants, cafés and catering facilities • Retail and shopping facilities 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Transport • Tourist facilities: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> – information offices – signposts – guides – websites, maps and leaflets
<i>Sports facilities</i>	• Indoor and outdoor	
<i>Convention and exhibition facilities</i>		
<i>Amusement facilities</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Bingo halls • Casinos • Festivities • Night clubs • Organised events 	
<i>Leisure setting</i>		
<i>Physical characteristics</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ancient monuments and statues • Ecclesiastical buildings • Harbours • Historical street pattern • Interesting buildings • Parks and green areas • Water, canals and river fronts 	
<i>Socio-cultural features</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Folklore • Food and cuisine • Friendliness • Language • Liveliness and ambience of the place • Local customs and costumes • Security 	

Source: after Jansen-Verbeke 1986; Page and Hall 2003.

tourism role (Walton 2013), which is very significant in European tourism (McCabe *et al.* 2011), and a broader role of interest protection (Hall 1994). However, it is important to note that the role of government in tourism changes over time and in different jurisdictions. Although some generalisations can be noted (Table 3.3), significant differences with respect to government's role in tourism occur both within and between countries.

Much government intervention in tourism is related to market failure, market imperfection and social need (Dredge and Jenkins 2007; Hall 2008a). However, the market method of deciding who gets what and how is not always adequate, and therefore government often changes the distribution of income and wealth by measures that work within the price system. Across the globe almost every industry has been supported at various times by subsidies, the imposition of tariff regulations, taxation concessions, direct grants and other forms of government intervention, all of which serve to affect the price of goods and services and therefore influence the distribution of income, production and wealth. The size or economic importance of the tourism industry, so commonly emphasised by the public and private sectors, is no justification in itself for government intervention; within market-driven economies justification must lie in some aspect of:

- market failure;
- market imperfection;
- public/social concerns about market outcomes.

Therefore, implicit in each justification for intervention is the view that government offers a corrective alternative to the market (Hall and Jenkins 1998).

The role of the state as entrepreneur in tourist development is closely related to the concept of the 'devalorisation of capital' (Damette 1980), the process by which the state subsidises part of the cost of production, for instance, by assisting in the provision of infrastructure or by investment in a tourism project. In this process what would have been private costs are transformed into public or social costs. The provision of infrastructure, particularly transport networks, is

regarded as crucial to the development of tourist destinations (Page 2009a). There are numerous formal and informal means for government at all levels to assist in minimising the costs of production for tourism developers. Indeed, the offer of government assistance for development is often used to encourage private investment in a particular region or tourist project; for instance through the provision of cheap land or government-backed low interest loans.

As well as acting as entrepreneurs, governments can also stimulate tourism in several ways: first, financial incentives such as low interest loans or a depreciation allowance on tourist accommodation or infrastructure; second, sponsor research for the benefit of the tourism industry; third, marketing and promotion generally aimed at generating tourism demand, although it may also take the form of investment promotion aimed at encouraging capital investment for tourism attractions and facilities (Hall 1995, 2008a; Dredge and Jenkins 2007).

One of the more unusual features of tourism promotion by government tourism organisations is that they have only limited control over the product they are marketing, with very few actually owning the goods, facilities and services that make up the tourism product (Hall 2005a). This lack of control is perhaps testimony to the power of the public good argument used by industry to justify continued maintenance of government funding for destination promotion. However, it may also indicate the political power of the tourism lobby, such as industry organisations, to influence government tourism policies (Hall and Jenkins 1995; Dredge and Jenkins 2007, 2011).

The private sector's involvement in tourism is usually perceived as being primarily motivated by profit, as tourism entrepreneurs (Shaw and Williams 1994) invest in business opportunities. This gives rise to a complex array of large organisations and operators involved in tourism (e.g. multinational chain hotels – Forte and the Holiday Inn) and an array of smaller businesses and operators, often employing fewer than ten people or working on a self-employed basis (Page *et al.* 1999; Getz *et al.* 2004; Hall and Rusher 2004; Ateljevic and Page 2009). However, while many

governments seek to encourage the role of the private sector in tourism their actions are often regulated in areas such as health and safety, planning, environmental quality, labour law and taxation (Hall 2009c).

Historically there has been a distinction between the role of the private and public sector in the provision of services and facilities for tourists that existed for much of the twentieth century (Dredge and Jenkins 2007). However, the tendency to privatise and commercialise functions that were once performed by government, what is usually described as neoliberalism, has been almost universal in western nations since the late 1970s and has affected the nature of many national governments' involvement in the tourism industry (Hall 1994, 2009d, 2013e; Schilcher 2007; Ayikoru *et al.* 2009). According to Hall and Jenkins (1995), three principal reasons for this trend may be identified. Market-oriented governments are interested in:

- reducing the dependency of public enterprises on public budgets;
- reducing public debt by selling state assets;
- raising technical efficiencies by commercialisation.

This has meant that there has been a much greater blurring in the roles of the public and private sectors with the development of enterprise boards, development corporations and similar organisations. In such a political and economic climate the role of government in tourism has undergone a dramatic shift, from a traditional public administration model that sought to implement government policy for a perceived public good, to a corporatist model which emphasises efficiency, investment returns, the role of the market and relations with stakeholders, usually defined as industry. Corporatism, here, is used in the sense of a dominant ideology in western society which claims rationality as its central quality and supports a notion of individualism in terms of self-interest rather than the legitimacy of the individual citizen acting in the democratic interest of the public good. However, in many policy areas, including tourism, the changed role of the state and the individual's relation to the state provides a major policy quandary (Hall 2013e).

On the one hand, there is the demand for less government interference in the market and allowing industries to develop and trade without government subsidy or assistance, while, on the other, industry interest groups seek to have government policy developed in their favour, including the maintenance of government funding for promotion as in the case of the tourism industry (Bramwell 2011). This policy issue has generally been resolved through the restructuring of national and regional tourist organisations, not only to reduce their planning, policy and development roles and increase their marketing and promotion functions, but also to engage in a greater range of partnerships, network and collaborative relationships with stakeholders (Hall 2011a). Such a situation has been described by Milward (1996) as the 'hollowing out' of the state, in which the role of the state has been transformed from one of hierarchical control to one in which governing is dispersed among a number of separate, non-government entities. This has therefore led to increased emphasis on governance in tourism (Hall 2011a), through network structures as a 'new process of governing; or a changed condition of ordered rule; or the new method by which society is governed' (Rhodes 1997: 43).

Awareness of the need of tourist organisations to create links with stakeholders is, of course, not new. For example, the community tourism approach (Murphy 1985, 1988) emphasised the importance of involving the community in destination management because of their role as key stakeholders, although in actuality this often meant collaboratively working with industry and community-based groups in a destination context rather than through wider public participation mechanisms (Zapata *et al.* 2011). The difficulty in implementing community-based tourism strategies is reflective of wider difficulties with respect to effective destination management and tourism planning (Davidson and Maitland 1997; Dredge and Jenkins 2011). Nevertheless, while collaboration clearly has potential to contribute to the development of more sustainable forms of tourism in that they can create social capital, it has to be stressed that the goal of partnership, as emphasised by a number of western governments which have restructured their

involvement in tourism in recent years, need not be the same as an inclusive collaborative approach (Hall 1999). Furthermore, the development of networks as a good in its own right has been criticised by Hall (2011f), who suggests that more focus should be given to what networks actually do.

In the case of the United Kingdom, for example, many of the partnerships established between government and business in the 1980s and early 1990s as part of urban and regional development programmes have been heavily criticised for their narrow stakeholder and institutional base. Goodwin (1993: 161) argued that in order to ensure that urban leisure and tourism development projects were carried out, 'local authorities have had planning and development powers removed and handed to an unelected institution. Effectively, an appointed agency is, in each case, replacing the powers of local government in order to carry out a market-led regeneration of each inner city.' Harvey (1989a: 7) recognised that the 'new entrepreneurialism' of the supposedly smaller central and local state 'has, as its centrepiece, the notion of a 'public-private partnership: in which a traditional local boosterism is integrated with the use of local government powers to try [to] attract external sources of funding, new direct investments, or new employment sources'. In such cases, partnership does not include all members of a community, i.e. those who do not have enough money, are not from the right lifestyle or simply do not have sufficient power are ignored.

Spatial analytical approaches to the supply of tourism facilities

Much of the research on tourism supply in relation to facilities and services is descriptive in content, based on inventories and lists of the facilities and where they are located. In view of the wide range of literature that discusses the distribution of specific facilities or services, it is more useful to consider two specific examples of how such approaches and concepts may be used to derive generalisations of patterns of tourism activity.

The tourism business district

Within the literature on the supply of urban tourism, Ashworth and Page (2011) review the 'facility approach', which offers researchers the opportunity to map the location of specific facilities, undertaking inventories of facilities on a city-wide basis. The difficulty with such an approach is that the users of urban services and facilities are not just tourists, since workers and residents as well as recreationists may use the same facilities. Therefore, any inventory will be only a partial view of the full range of facilities and potential services tourists could use. One useful approach is to identify the areas in which the majority of tourist activities occur and to use it as the focus for the analysis of the supply of tourism services in such a multifunctional city that meets a wide range of uses for a wide range of users (see Chapter 5). This avoids the individual assessments of the location and use of specific aspects of tourism services such as accommodation (Page and Sinclair 1989), entertainment facilities such as restaurants (Smith 1983b, 1989) and night-life entertainment facilities (Ashworth *et al.* 1988), plus other attractions. This approach embraces the ecological approaches developed in human geography to pinpoint regions within cities as a basis to identify the processes shaping the patterns.

The ecological approach towards the analysis of urban tourism dates back to E.W. Gilbert's (1949) assessment of the development of resorts, which was further refined by Barrett (1958). The outcome is a resort model where accommodation, entertainment and commercial zones exist and the central location of tourism facilities were dominant elements. The significance of such research is that it identifies some of the features and relationships which were subsequently developed in urban geography and applied to tourism and recreation. The most notable study is Stansfield and Rickert's (1970) development of the Recreational Business District (RBD). This study rightly identifies the multifunctional land use of the central areas of cities, including tourism and recreational activities, in relation to the central area for business (Central Business District (CBD)).

Meyer-Arendt (1990) also expands this notion in the context of the Gulf of Mexico coastal resorts, while D.G. Pearce (1989) offers a useful critique of these studies. The essential ideas in the RBD have subsequently been extended to urban and resort tourism to try to explain where the location and distribution of the range of visitor-oriented functions occur in space.

Burtenshaw *et al.*'s (1991) seminal study of tourism and recreation in European cities deals with the concept of the Central Tourist District (CTD), where tourism activities in cities are concentrated in certain areas. This was retitled the Tourism Business District (TBD) by Getz, who argues that it is

The concentration of visitor-oriented attractions and services located in conjunction with urban central businesses (CBD) functions. In older cities, especially in Europe, the TBD and CBD often coincide with heritage areas. Owing to their high visibility and economic importance, TBDs can be subjected to intense planning by municipal authorities . . . The form and evolution of TBDs reveals much about the nature of urban tourism and its impacts, while the analysis of the planning systems influencing TBDs can contribute to concepts and methods for better planning of tourism in urban areas.

(Getz 1993a: 583–4)

Figure 3.9, based on Getz's (1993a) analysis of the TBD, is a schematic model in which the functions rather than geographical patterns of activities are considered. The model illustrates the difficulty of separating visitor-oriented services from the CBD and use of services and facilities by residents and workers. While the TBD may offer a distinctive blend of activities and attractions for tourist and non-tourist alike, it is important to recognise functional and behavioural issues where tourism clusters in areas such as the TBD (Jansen-Verbeke and Ashworth 1990). Even so, the use of street entertainment and special events and festivals (Getz 1997) may also add to the ambience and sense of place for both the city worker and visitor. By having a

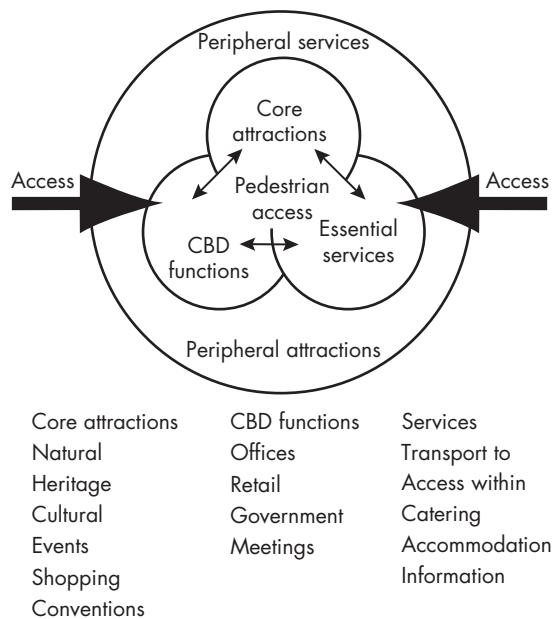


Figure 3.9 The tourism business district

Source: based on Getz 1993a.

concentration of tourism and non-tourism resources and services in one accessible area within a city, it is possible to encourage visitors to stay there, making it a place tourists will want to visit, as is the case in the West End of London (Page and Sinclair 1989; Page and Hall 2003). However, the attractions in urban areas are an important component in the appeal to potential visitors.

Tourism attractions

Attractions are an integral feature of tourism, which offer visitors passive and more active occupations on which to spend their time during a visit (Page and Hall 2003). Lew's (1987) study and Leiper's (1990) synthesis and conceptual framework of 'Tourist Attraction Systems' remain among the most theoretically informed literature published to date. Page and Connell (2014) highlight the nature of the visitor attraction as a complex product with distinct place attributes, although place and space tends to be the

neglected element in most studies of attractions, with a number of exceptions (e.g. Ding *et al.* 2011). Lew (1987) identifies three perspectives used to understand the nature of tourist attractions:

- *The ideographic perspective*, where the general characteristics of a place, site, climate, culture and customs are used to develop typologies of tourism attractions, involving inventories or general descriptions. For example, Standard Industrial Classification codes (SICs) are one approach used to group attractions (see Smith 1989).
- *The organisational perspective*, in contrast, tends to emphasise the geographical, capacity and temporal aspects (the time dimension) of attractions rather than the 'managerial notions of organisation' (Leiper 1990: 175). This approach examines scales ranging from the individual attraction to larger areas and their attractions.
- *The cognitive perspective* is based on 'studies of tourist perceptions and experiences of attractions' (Lew 1987: 560). P. Pearce (1982: 98) recognises that any tourist place (or attraction) is one capable of fostering the feeling of being a tourist. Therefore, the cognitive perspective is interested in understanding the tourists' feelings about and views of the place or attraction.

Leiper (1990) pursues the ideas developed by MacCannell (1976: 41), that an attraction incorporates 'an empirical relationship between a tourist, a sight and a marker, a piece of information about a sight'. A 'marker' is an item of information about any phenomenon which could be used to highlight the tourist's awareness of the potential existence of a tourist attraction. This implies that an attraction has a number of components. In this respect, 'the tourist attraction is a system comprising three elements: a tourist, a sight and a marker' (Leiper 1990: 178). Although sightseeing is a common tourist activity, the idea of a sight really refers to the nucleus or central component of the attraction (Gunn 1972). In this context a situation could include a sight where sightseeing occurs, but it may also be an object, person or event. Based on this argument, Leiper (1990: 178)

introduces the following definition of a tourist attraction: 'a system comprising three elements: a tourist or human element, a nucleus or central element, and a marker or informative element. A tourist attraction comes into existence when the three elements are interconnected.' On the basis of this alternative approach to attractions, Leiper (1990) identifies the type of information which is likely to give meaning to the tourist experience of urban destinations in relation to their attractions.

These ideas were developed further in Leiper's model of a tourist attraction system (Figure 3.10), breaking the established view that tourists are not simply 'attracted' or 'pulled' to areas on the basis of their attractions. Instead, visitors are motivated to experience a nucleus and its markers in a situation where the marker reacts positively with their needs and wants. Figure 3.10 identifies the linkages within the model and how tourist motivation is influenced by the information available and the individual's perception of their needs. Thus, an attraction system may develop only when the following have become connected:

- a person with tourist needs;
- a nucleus (a feature or attribute of a place that tourists seek to visit);
- a marker (information about the nucleus).

This theoretical framework has a great deal of value in relation to understanding the supply of urban tourism resources for visitors. First, it views an attraction system as a subsystem of the larger tourism system in an urban area. Second, it acknowledges the integral role of the tourist as consumer: without the tourist (or day-tripper/visitor) the system would not exist. Third, the systems approach offers a convenient social science framework in which to understand how urban destinations attract visitors, with different markers and nuclei to attract specific groups of visitors. Having examined the significance of different approaches towards the analysis of tourism supply in urban areas, attention turns to the significance of different components of Jansen-Verbeke's (1986) leisure product and tourism destinations.

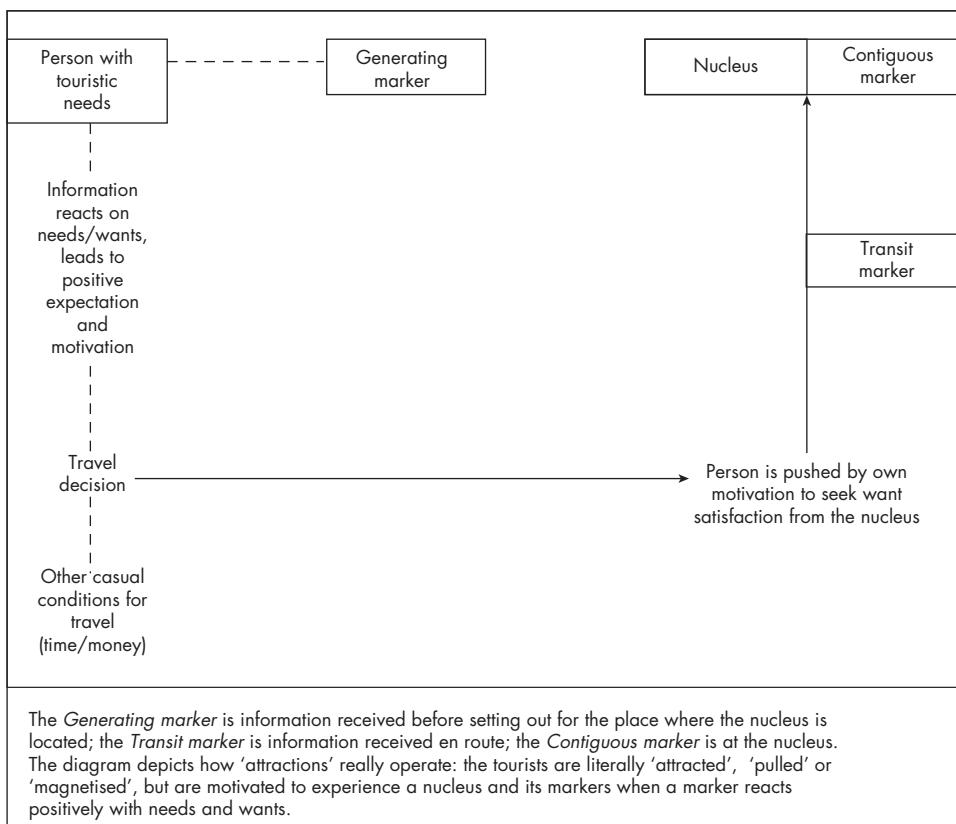


Figure 3.10 Model of a tourism attraction system

Source: based on Leiper 1990. Reproduced with permission from Elsevier.

Tourist facilities

Among the 'secondary elements' of the leisure product in urban areas, four components emerge as central to servicing tourist needs (Jansen-Verbeke 1986). These are:

- accommodation;
- restaurants, cafés and catering facilities;
- tourist shopping;
- conditional elements.

Accommodation

Tourist accommodation performs an important function in cities: it provides the opportunity for visitors

to stay for a length of time to enjoy the locality and its attractions, while their spending contributes to the local economy. Accommodation forms a base for the tourists' exploration of the urban (and non-urban) environment. The tendency for establishments to locate in urban areas is illustrated in Figure 3.11, which is based on the typical patterns of urban hotel location in west European cities (Ashworth 1989; see also the seminal article on urban hotel location by Arbel and Pizam 1977). Figure 3.11 highlights the importance of infrastructure and accessibility when hotels are built to serve specific markets, i.e. the exhibition and conference market will need hotels adjacent to a major conference and exhibition centre, as Law (1996) emphasised. The accommodation sector

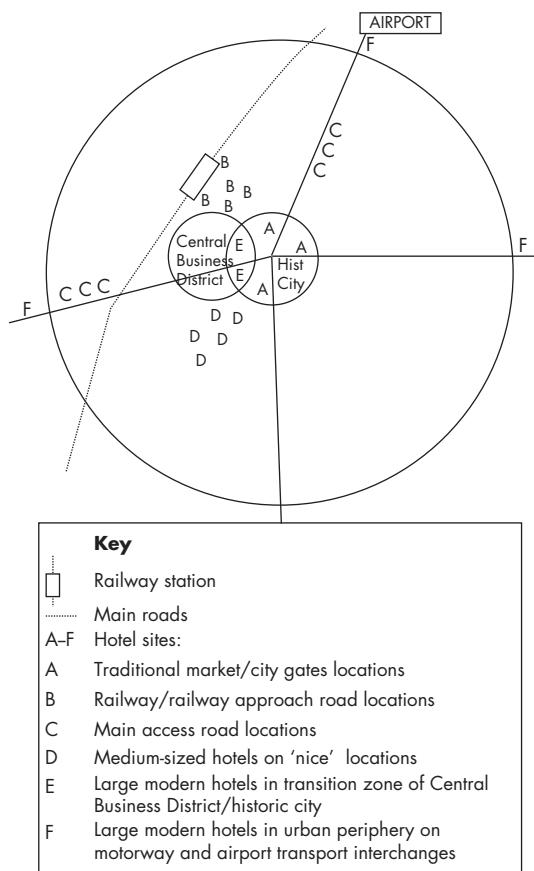


Figure 3.11 Model of urban hotel location in west European cities

Source: after Ashworth 1989.

within cities can be divided into serviced and non-serviced sectors (Figure 3.12). Each sector has developed in response to the needs of different markets, and a wide variety of organisational structures have emerged among private sector operators to develop this area of economic activity.

In London, the number of bedrooms in hotels and other forms of accommodation has grown from 44,000 bedrooms in 1966 to 80,000 in 1970, 130,000 in 1974, 137,844 in 1989, 150,419 in 1999 and 249,000 in 2011. The patterns of accommodation supply remained geographically concentrated in

Westminster, Kensington, Chelsea and Camden, with one outlier – Hillingdon – with its Heathrow Airport hotel. However, in the mid-1990s a new cluster in Croydon developed to equal and then exceed the number of bedspaces in Hillingdon. Croydon developed to service Gatwick Airport and routes to London by rail and the M25 orbital motorway. Consequently, since 1989 the spatial distribution of bedspaces has expanded from the CTD concentrated on the West End. One immediate beneficiary was the area to the south of the River Thames, as planning constraints in the main CTD area and limited development saw the CTD expand across the river (e.g. in Southwark). Bedspaces have also developed on this overspill principle to the east (i.e. in Tower Hamlets) and to the west (i.e. in Hammersmith), and also at other 'honeypots' or hubs such as Greenwich. These have also been on the periphery in outer London, where the M25 leisure/business traveller has seen budget hotels developed by many of the hotel chains (e.g. Travelodge).

At a more global scale, Ivy (2001) examined the development of gay tourism and recreation space, particularly accommodation establishments catering for this niche market. Based on the Spartacus International Gay Guide for 1997, Ivy (2001) found that the Top 10 countries for gay-friendly accommodation were, in order of significance, the USA (35.1 per cent of the total), Germany, France, the UK, the Netherlands, Italy, Spain, Brazil, Japan and Belgium. These 10 countries accounted for 74.1 per cent of bedspaces and the location of accommodation within countries was not spatially uniform, with a distinct clustering in certain locations, and even within such locations a further clustering in districts offering gay travel services. The distinctive spatial accommodation patterns of specific markets, such as the gay and lesbian market, are significant as they highlight the importance of cultural and even regulatory factors in the development and attractiveness of particular tourism spaces (Waitt *et al.* 2008).

Restaurant, café and catering facilities

Ashworth and Tunbridge (1990) note that restaurant and catering facilities are among the most frequently

Sector Market segment	Serviced sector		Non-serviced sector (self-catering)	
	Destination	Routes	Destination	Routes
Business and other non-leisure	City/town hotels (Monday–Friday) Resort hotels for conferences, exhibitions Educational establishments Serviced apartments	Motels Inns Airport hotels	Unserviced apartments Urban second homes	Not applicable
Leisure and holiday	Resort hotels Guest house/pensions Farm houses City/town hotels (Friday–Sunday) Some educational establishments	Motels Bed and breakfast Inns	Hotels Condominia Holiday villages Holiday centres/camps Caravan/chalet parks Gîtes Cottages Villas Apartments/flats Some motels Second homes (primarily rural)	Touring pitches for caravans, tents, recreation vehicles Backpackers Some hotels

Figure 3.12 Types of tourism accommodation

Source: after Middleton 1988.

used tourism services after accommodation. One initial way of grouping this sector is to use the Standard Industrial Classification which comprises restaurants, eating places, public houses, bars, clubs, canteens and messes, hotels and other forms of tourist accommodation. Using the products which this sector produces, the sector can be further divided into the provision of accommodation and the provision of food for immediate consumption. While there is considerable overlap between the two sectors, there are organisational links between each sector and integration within larger hospitality organisations (e.g. the Compass Group), with their subsidiaries offering various products. One of the immediate difficulties is in

identifying specific outlets for tourist use, as many such facilities are also used by residents.

Tourist use of restaurant and catering facilities varies according to the specific service on offer, and to their being located throughout cities, often in association with other facilities (Smith 1983b). Many restaurant and catering establishments in cities reflect local community needs, and tourism complements the existing pattern of use. Nevertheless, Ashworth and Tunbridge (1990: 65) acknowledge that restaurants and establishments combining food and drink with other entertainments, such as night clubs and casinos, have two important locational characteristics that render them useful in this context: they have a distinct

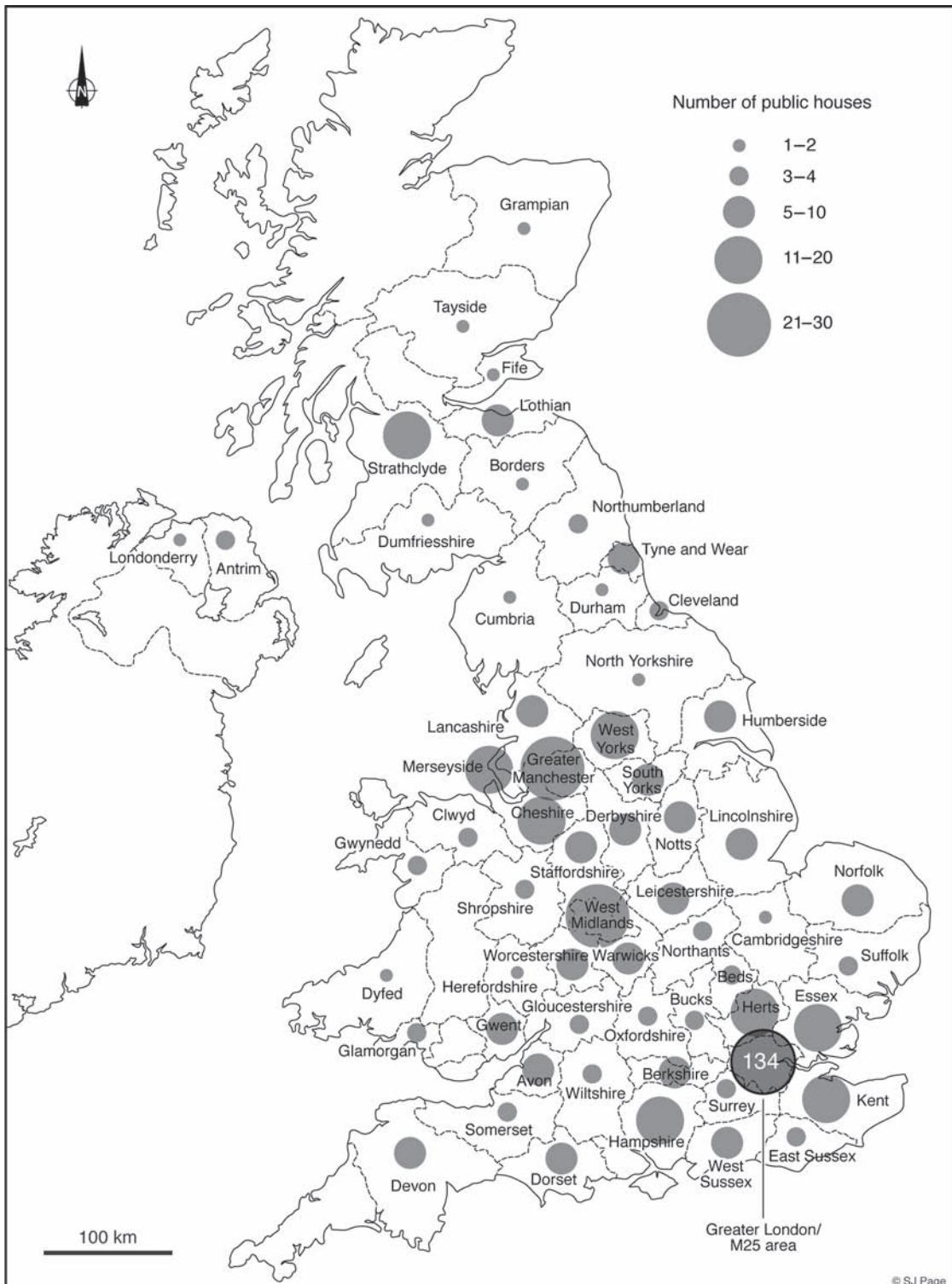


Figure 3.13 Distribution of public houses of J.D. Wetherspoon

tendency to cluster together into particular streets or districts (what might be termed the 'Latin-quarter effect') and they tend to be associated spatially with other tourism elements, including hotels, which probably themselves offer public restaurant facilities. Catering facilities also have a predisposition to cluster within areas where shopping is also a dominant activity, particularly in mall developments, where food courts have become a popular concept in the USA and

Australasia, while cosmopolitan cities have also developed a distinctive café culture aimed at residents and the visiting market who seek a café ambience. In the UK, deregulation of the brewery-owned (tied) public houses in the 1990s led to the development of new chains which have moved into this leisure market and continue to expand their UK presence, as Figure 3.13 illustrates for the more dynamic and enterprising chains such as J.D. Wetherspoon.

BOX 3.4 TOWARDS GEOGRAPHICAL ANALYSES OF HOSPITALITY: THE GEOGRAPHY OF HOSPITALITY EMPLOYMENT IN THE UK

While the geographer has primarily focused on the spatial and cultural implications of catering and hospitality, there is a well-developed hospitality literature which has examined the historical evolution of the hospitality trades (Walton 2000, 2012). Critical debates associated with the 'McDonaldization' of society (Ritzer 1993) and linked to globalisation, where the principles of fast food restaurants are dominating society, especially hospitality (e.g. the use of technology in place of people, service standardisation, set rules and procedures and clear division of labour) have introduced predictability into hospitality services globally (Zampoukos and Ioannides 2011). For the tourist experience, a global and spatial homogeneity associated with the McDonaldisation concept raises important cultural questions related to the type of experience being produced and consumed by tourists. In new conceptualisations of hospitality, Lashley (2000: 3) challenges existing concerns with hospitality as a narrowly defined commercial activity, namely the 'provision of food and/or drink and/or accommodation away from home', preferring new approaches. Lashley (2000: 4) introduces a new breadth of definition with the use of the social, private and commercial domains of hospitality. Each domain represents one aspect of hospitality which is both independent and overlapping. From the social domain, the social setting of hospitality shapes the production and consumption of food/drink/accommodation. In the private domain, the issues of hospitableness and the host–guest encounter and cultural context of these relationships became important. In the commercial domain, the focus is on the production of hospitality services and their consumption as an economic activity. For the geographer, much of the research has been conceived in the empiricist tradition and primarily concerned with employment in hospitality, its spatial form and processes shaping the supply of hospitality businesses (Getz *et al.* 2004; Hall and Rusher 2004). Again, this area of research is particularly underdeveloped and certainly is well situated to utilise a wide range of research approaches (Walle 1997) and agendas, ranging from an empiricist mode to new cultural geographies.

Research on the geography of tourism employment continues to be a rather neglected area of academic endeavour as previous studies in the UK (e.g. Bull and Church 1994) and Italy (Lazaretti and Capone 2008) have highlighted both regional variations and concentrations in employment growth in time and space. Even macro studies of tourism employment do not readily accommodate the agglomerative principles associated with many hospitality businesses that tend to cluster in areas of demand and

visitor activity, albeit with a defined seasonal element to the structure of the labour market (Ball 1989) which has persisted as a structural feature of the sector even in cities where the seasonal nature of visitation is less subject to seasonal fluctuations (Ashworth and Page 2011). Despite the seasonal variations within cities, temporal variations within the day have been a characteristic feature of the sector (Hall 2005a). What research demonstrates is that the clustering of employment tends to be associated with business ventures in a wide range of sectors each of which has its own locational characteristics.

In the UK, The People 1st (2010) *State of the Nation* report provides a number of interesting insights on the nature of the hospitality sector in one country as a description of its scale, reviewing five key themes (economic performance, workforce size and characteristics, recruitment and retention, employee engagement, workforce skills and development). The scale of the sector was reported as comprising 2.1 million workers (equivalent to 7.2 per cent of the working population) and representing 1 in 14 jobs in the UK. In terms of economic output, tourism includes travel services (18 per cent). 'Tourist Services' is only 2 per cent of the total, while self-catering accommodation is a further 2 per cent. Output is dominated by restaurants (18 per cent), pubs/bars/night clubs (18 per cent) and gambling (15 per cent). This reflects an often overlooked aspect of employment, that the sector is staff intensive to deliver the experiential aspects of hospitality operations (including tourism and leisure consumers). Much of the sector is dominated by small and medium-sized enterprises (SMEs), with half of all businesses employing fewer than five people and 24 per cent being sole traders. In contrast, almost half of the workforce is employed by large employers with over 100 employees. The sector is dependent upon part-time employees as almost half of the workforce fall into this category (compared to 28 per cent for the national economy, which is also on the increase).

The subsequent report by ONS (2012) illustrates one of the perennial problems of measuring the tourism and hospitality sector as the study used 43 different employment categories to measure tourism employment (which effectively equates to the hospitality sector as it is much broader than just tourism) and concluded that the sector employed 2.7 million people in the UK in 2011. While these issues of measurement and consistency are not uncommon (though partly addressed where countries have implemented a Tourism Satellite Accounting system), the spatial dimension to the ONS (2012) study is illustrative of the geographical patterns of tourism and leisure employment, where food and beverage service activities dominate the sector. Some 30 per cent of employment is concentrated in London and the South East, although this urban London and home counties pattern is complemented as the Top 10 regional concentrations (where tourism employment is greater than 12 per cent of the local employment structure) in more rural and remote locations (i.e. western Scotland, the west of England, North Wales, North West England (i.e. Cumbria and the Lake District), key urban/resort areas such as Torbay, Blackpool and York) and other rural locations, including the Orkney Islands, the Isle of Anglesey and the Perthshire/Stirlingshire region). These statistics at a regional level reflect the notion of hotspots within these regions, where employment concentrates in some cases around the major attractions and destinations. The statistics also mask a wider contribution of tourism to some of these seasonal destinations (e.g. Torbay, Blackpool and rural areas) versus the more year-round tourism trade in major tourism cities (e.g. London and York), as well as an underlying contribution of leisure spending (as well as the night-time economy) to underpinning such employment patterns in the food and beverage employment (as opposed to the accommodation spending by tourists).

Tourist shopping

A number of studies in the tourism and leisure literature have expanded the knowledge base on tourist shopping, providing more detailed insights on this increasingly significant activity (Hobson 2000; Snepenger *et al.* 2003; Wong and Law 2003; Timothy 2005; Henderson *et al.* 2011), with one of the most important aspects being shopping in relation to other tourist pursuits (Guo *et al.* 2009; Al-Saleh and Hannam 2010). An English Historic Town Forum's (1992) study on retailing and tourism highlights many of the relationships between tourism and retail activity that are 'inextricably linked to historic towns with three-quarters of tourists combining shopping with visiting attractions . . . The expenditure is not only on refreshments and souvenirs, as might be expected, but also on clothing and footwear, stationery and books' (English Historic Towns Forum 1992: 3). The study emphasises the overall significance of the environmental quality in towns, which is vital to the success of urban tourism and retailing. In fact the report argues that, for towns wishing to maintain or increase leisure visitor levels, the study reveals a number of guidelines, for example cleanliness, attractive shop fronts and provision of a safe environment. Research by organisations such as VisitEngland views these measures as a key element of destination hygiene factors (i.e. the need to conform to a high standard) where tourists are asked about whether the places they visited had a 'clean and tidy environment' which is underpinned by the work of other organisations such as Keepbritaintidy.org which identifies key causes of visual and physical cleanliness: dog fouling, fly posting, fly tipping, graffiti, chewing gum on the floor, litter and waste. Keep Britain Tidy operates the Blue Flag and Quality Coast Awards as a means to drive up the quality of the environment for tourists (English Historic Towns Forum 1992: 3). Unfortunately, identifying tourist shopping as a concept in the context of urban tourism is difficult, since it is also an activity undertaken by other users, such as residents. The range of motives associated with tourism and leisure shopping are complex: people visit areas due to their appeal, and shopping may be a spontaneous as well as

a planned activity. Even so, the quality and range of retail facilities may be a useful determinant of the likely demand for tourism and leisure shopping: the longer the visitor is enticed to stay in a destination, the greater the likely spending in retail outlets (Jansen-Verbeke 1990, 1991; Timothy 2005; Henderson *et al.* 2011).

One important factor which affects the ability of cities to attract tourism and leisure shoppers is the retail mix – namely the variety of goods, shops and presence of specific retailers (Henderson *et al.* 2011; Davies 2012). For example, the English Historic Towns Forum (1992) notes that over 80 per cent of visitors consider the retailing mix and general environment of the town to be the most important attraction of the destination. Although the priorities of different tourist market segments vary slightly, catering, accessibility (e.g. availability of car parking, location of car parks and public transport), tourist attractions and the availability of visitor information shape the decision to engage in tourism and leisure shopping. The constant search for the unique shopping experience, especially in conjunction with day trips in border areas and neighbouring countries (e.g. the US–Canada or US–Mexico border) are well-established forms of tourism and leisure shopping (Arreola 2010; Sullivan *et al.* 2012).

The global standardisation of many consumer products has meant that the search for the unique shopping experience continues to remain important. The growth of the North American shopping malls and tourist-specific projects (Lew 1985, 1989; Getz 1993b) and the development in Europe of out-of-town complexes (e.g. the Metro Centre in Gateshead and Lakeside at Thurrock in the UK, adjacent to the M25 motorway) have extended this trend. Such developments have been of great concern for many cities as out-of-town shopping has reduced the potential in-town urban tourism in view of the competition it poses for established destinations. The difficulty with most existing studies of leisure shopping is that they fail to disentangle the relationships between the actual activity tourists undertake and their perception of the environment. For this reason, Jansen-Verbeke (1991) distinguishes between intentional shopping and intentional leisure shopping in a preliminary attempt to explain how and

why tourists engage in this activity; and suggests criteria of the behaviour pattern of visitors; the functional characteristics of the environment; environmental quality and hospitability of the environment in order to distinguish between intentional shopping and intentional leisure and tourism. Such criteria have also been expanded and developed in more recent research, with considerable attention given to behaviours and experiences (Wong and Wan 2013), and the overall role of the servicescape (Park *et al.* 2010; Xu and McGehee 2012).

Many successful cities in western Europe have used tourism and leisure shopping to establish their popularity as destinations as a gradual process of evolution. For example, Page and Hardyman (1996) examine the concept of town centre management (TCM) as one attempt to address the impact of out-of-town shopping malls and complexes as a threat to tourism and leisure spending in town centres. Since that initial research, TCM has become a well-established principle in many cities, especially to identify their users (especially the leisure and tourist shopper) more closely and undertake in-town improvements to attract the user as a means of developing leisure shopping. In particular, improvements to town centres by city authorities have acted as catalysts to this process by:

- establishing pedestrian precincts;
- managing parking problems and implementing park-and-ride schemes to improve access and convenience;
- marketing the destination based around an identifiable theme, often using the historical and cultural attractions of a city;
- investing in new and attractive indoor shopping galleries, improving facades, the layout and design of the built environment and making the environment more attractive.

The English Historic Towns Forum (1992: 12) identifies the following factors which tourism and leisure shoppers deemed important:

- the cleanliness of the town;
- pedestrian areas/pavements which are well maintained;

- natural features such as rivers and parks;
- the architecture and facades/shop fronts;
- street furniture (seating and floral displays);
- town centre activities (e.g. outdoor markets and live entertainment).

One can also add issues of urban safety (Walker and Page 2003), particularly where new shopping environments are now designing out crime in consultation with the police. Indeed, the discussion in Chapter 2 regarding social inclusion and the rise of private spaces as shopping malls also raises many accessibility and environmental issues, where many new retail environments are being developed as synthetic, protective and cosseted environments, lacking in character and a sense of place. Many shopping malls are becoming global in their design, retail mix and focus so that attracting the tourist and leisure shopper is more competitive, given that many areas have similar retail offerings in larger cities and in out-of-town locations.

Changes that alter the character of the town, where it becomes more tourist oriented, are sometimes characterised by the development of speciality and gift/souvenir shops and catering facilities in certain areas. However, as Owen (1990) argues, many traditional urban shopping areas are in need of major refurbishment, and tourism may provide the necessary stimulus for regeneration, especially in downtown areas that are competing with out-of-town centres. Developments such as theme shopping (Liu and Wang 2010) and festival marketplaces (Sawicki 1989) are specialised examples of how this regeneration has proceeded internationally.

Jansen-Verbeke (1991) described the 'total experience' as the future way forward for this activity – retailers will need to attract tourism and leisure spending using newly built, simulated or refurbished retailing environments with a variety of shopping experiences. The opportunity to undertake a diverse range of retail activities in a locality may increase the visitor's propensity to spend. However, the growing saturation of retailing provision in many industrialised countries may pose problems for further growth in tourism and leisure shopping due to the intense competition for such spending. Urban tourism destinations are likely to have to compete

more aggressively for such spending in the future, as new investment strategies, constant expansion and value adding to the shopping experience are part of this competitive development, with public–private sector partnerships promoting such development (Albayrak and Caber 2013).

Conditional elements

The fourth feature which Jansen-Verbeke (1986) views as central to the city's 'leisure product' is conditional elements, such as transport, physical infrastructure and the provision of signposting. Unless adequate infrastructure is provided, tourists will be reluctant to divert from established patterns of visitor activity and tourism and leisure shopping will fail to materialise. Transport is a vital element in the facilitation of tourism, as it allows people to move from origin to destination (i.e. it permits mobility), and at the destination it provides the mechanism to enjoy sightseeing, touring and the linking for visitors of their place of accommodation with the attractions they wish to visit and the activities they wish to pursue (Le-Klähn *et al.* 2014). Good signposting, connectivity in transport systems, inter-modal interchanges and a clear circuit/itinerary are important to link visitors and resources/places. Numerous studies exist which examine the conceptual basis of the transport–tourism interface (Page 1994b, 1999, 2009a), with new perspectives on research agendas questioning the significance of transport (Lumsdon and Page 2004). In fact many geographical analyses of tourism have mapped the routes tourists take by car on holiday within cities and regions (Page 1998), the flows by means of air travel (Graham 1998; Page 2003b) as well as by coach (Page 2003c) and rail (Page 2002), and the importance of transport as an attraction in the 'leisure product' (e.g. Melbourne's refurbished tram restaurant) and as icons in destinations like the London Routemaster bus, which has been withdrawn from all but two tourist routes for supposed health and safety reasons. This last issue of sightseeing also highlights one new area for geographical research on tourism as part of the conditional elements – tourism and visual culture.

There is a growing body of interdisciplinary research, informed by cultural geography, which

examines how tourists consume visual culture, which refers to the image-making devices and skills of a particular culture. This has been broadened in context to include fine art, the media, television, video, photography and advertising and the way these forms of media are used to attach meanings to artefacts, objects and places. In a tourism context, Crouch and Lübbren (2003: 5) note that 'visual culture is consumed in spaces. Geographical thought is an important component of understanding the consumption of, or encounter with, visual culture. Tourism has frequently been depicted and theorized, as a journey; a journey to and in places, identities and experiences.' As the physical space and places that tourists visit are consumed, the visual culture is part of the tourist experience of the place, site and way in which it is visually consumed. In other words, tourism is a sensual encounter, based on visual images, and Baudrillard (1981) noted the strategies of desire, whereby tourists' interests and needs are met through consumption. The tourism industry is therefore very adept at using visual culture to develop the tourist offering, as well as using advertising, promotion, signs and symbols which the tourist gazes at, observes and consumes. Therefore, visual culture has important links in the conditional elements of tourism, since the consumption of tourism is part of a cultural process.

Conclusion

This chapter has examined a range of issues and concepts associated with the analysis of recreation and tourism supply issues. One interesting comparison which appears to hold true is S.J. Smith's (1983a) criticisms of recreational research being applicable to tourism due to the simplistic conceptualisation of the subject matter. In fact, Britton's (1980a, 1991) innovative and theoretically derived analyses remain a fresh and welcome attempt to rethink the geography of tourism, particularly the production side, which has been notoriously descriptive and somewhat naive in its borrowing of geographical concepts, while making little contribution to theory (Debbage and Ioannides 2004). This chapter has achieved two purposes: the first is to show how the geographer approaches the

spatial complexity of supply issues in both recreation and tourism, while introducing some of the concepts, methods and ways of thinking about supply; second, it has detailed the importance of developing a more meaningful assessment of tourism and the production system by situating the supply of tourism and recreation within the contexts of concepts of core and periphery, consumption and production, and tourism as a capitalist activity. It is apparent that in the more theoretically derived analyses of supply issues there is a need to derive more culturally specific explanations which indicate why certain phenomena exist, have developed and now dominate the tourism and leisure environment (Debbage and Ioannides 2004). Terkenli (2002) offered a number of insights on how space is organised in the postmodern western world based on a number of trends:

- conventional notions of place, particularly our sense of place, transcend geographical barriers of distance (i.e. the media and information technology have created globally aware consumers in the west);
- a de-differentiation occurring between public and private spheres of everyday life;
- a desegregation of leisure from home and work life, making distinctions such as leisure more tentative;
- globalisation processes, where communications media provide images, information and awareness of leisure travel opportunities on a daily basis through television programmes, consumer magazines and a strong dependence upon visual communication.

These trends have led to a cultural economy of space with leisure/tourism interactions shaped by processes that are simultaneously transforming geographical configurations of supply. Such processes, operating at a global scale, also have a local impact, as reflected in the many forms of mass consumption in tourism and leisure as well as changes to place and space (Hall 2013b). The spatial articulation of these forms of consumption is in a constant state of flux, particularly as the blurring of work–home life questions the geographer's conventional supply-side models of

leisure, defined in relation to home and patterns of consumption (Pacione 2001). As a result, the geographer's understanding of how tourism and leisure is integrated into the everyday lives of people is now a more complex process in both a theoretical and spatial context. Consequently, understanding the impacts of tourism and leisure activity poses questions for post-modern society and the 'myriad of ways in which local people have responded to, and sometimes resisted, tourism development' (Scheyvens 2002: 37).

Chapter 4 now turns to the impact of tourism and recreation.

Further reading

In terms of recreational supply, the following are useful introductions to the subject:

Hill, E., Bergstrom, J., Cordell, H.K. and Bowker, J.M. (2009) *Natural Resource Amenity Service Values and Impacts in the US*, Athens: University of Georgia, Department of Agricultural & Applied Economics and the USDA Forest Service, Southern Research Station.

Marcouiller, D.W. and Prey, J. (2005) 'The tourism supply linkage: recreational sites and their related natural amenities', *Journal of Regional Analysis & Policy*, 35: 23–32.

Marcouiller, D.W., Prey, J. and Scott, I. (2009) 'The regional supply of outdoor recreation resources: demonstrating the use of location quotients as a management tool', *Journal of Parks and Recreation Administration*, 27(4): 92–107.

For good reviews of conceptual issues on the supply of tourism services and facilities, see:

Agarwal, S., Ball, R., Shaw, G. and Williams, A. (2000) 'The geography of tourism production: uneven disciplinary development', *Tourism Geographies*, 2(3): 241–63.

Williams, A.M. (2004) 'Toward a political economy of tourism', in A. Lew, C.M. Hall and A.A. Williams (eds) *Companion to Tourism*, Oxford: Blackwell.

For discussions of the role of business in supply, and corresponding issues, see:

Ateljevic, J. and Page, S. (eds) (2009) *Progress in Tourism and Entrepreneurship*, Oxford: Elsevier.

Getz, D., Carlsen, J. and Morrison, A. (2004) *The Family Business in Tourism and Hospitality*, Wallingford: CAB International.

Zampoukos, K. and Ioannides, D. (2011) 'The tourism labour conundrum: agenda for new research in the geography of hospitality workers', *Hospitality & Society*, 1: 25–45.

Useful historical reviews of recreational and tourism/hospitality service provision include:

Maver, I. (1998) 'Glasgow's public parks and the community 1850–1914', *Urban History*, 25(3): 323–47.

Walton, J. (2000) 'The hospitality trades: a social history', in C. Lashley and A. Morrison (eds) *In Search of*

Hospitality: Theoretical Perspectives and Debates, Oxford: Butterworth-Heinemann.

Walton, J.K. (2012) "'The tourism labour conundrum" extended: historical perspectives on hospitality workers', *Hospitality & Society*, 2: 49–75.

Questions to discuss

- 1 How have geographers conceptualised recreational supply?**
- 2 What techniques and tools have geographers used to examine the supply of recreational facilities?**
- 3 What is the role of Britton's (1991) geography of production and consumption in the analysis of tourism?**
- 4 Are the majority of studies of tourism supply descriptive and based on empirical data rather than theoretical models?**

The impacts of tourism and recreation

The growth of international and domestic tourism has been matched by a corresponding increase in the numbers of those who study tourism and its impacts. Indeed, it has even been suggested that tourism research was one of the academic growth industries of the late twentieth century (Hall 1995)! The literature on tourism has expanded enormously. Mathieson and Wall's (1982: 2) suggestion from over 30 years ago that tourism research has become 'highly fragmented, with researchers following separate and often divergent paths' remains as true today as when it was written. Nevertheless, one of the major areas of interest for geographers, as well as other tourism researchers, is the impacts of tourism and recreation.

Tourism and recreation cannot be studied in isolation from the complex economic, environmental, political and social milieux in which they occur (Mason 2003; Hall and Lew 2009). If geographers are to make a valid contribution to the study of tourism and recreation and their impacts, it is vital that they are aware of the widest possible implications of such effects for host communities and destinations, particularly as concerns over the sustainability of tourism and recreation grow (Butler 1990, 1991, 2000; Hall and Lew 1998; Hughes 2004; Weaver 2004; Gössling and Hall 2006a; Gössling *et al.* 2010; Gössling *et al.* 2013; Hall 2011f). This has therefore meant that there has been substantial interchange of ideas, frameworks and methodologies between geographers and non-geographers in analysing the impacts of tourism and recreation. This chapter will provide a broad overview of the development of frameworks to manage recreation and tourism impacts, the impacts of tourism and recreation, and some of the main issues which arise out of the analysis and management of

impacts. However, before discussing different types of recreational and tourism impacts in more depth it is important that we address the concept of 'impact' and difficulties in its application.

The concept of 'impact'

The way the term 'impact' is used implies that tourism and recreation has an affect on something, be it a place, person, environment, community, destination or economy. The term tourism 'impact' is therefore usually used as a kind of shorthand – and a poor one at that – to describe changes in the state of something related to visitation over time. Hall and Lew (2009) suggest that a term such as tourism-related change would be a much better way of describing what people mean when they say tourism impacts, but unfortunately people tend to be lazy, and apart from discussions between a few tourism and recreation researchers the term impact is the one in common use, and the one we are stuck with! Nevertheless, there is increasing awareness of tourism and recreation and environmental, social, economic and political change, and these are issues that will be addressed in this chapter and as we go through the rest of the book. Indeed, this concept of impact as 'changes in a given state over time' is one of the key concepts contained in this chapter.

Furthermore, the term 'impact' also suggests that this is a unidimensional or 'one-way' affect (Figure 4.1) (Hall and Lew 2009). However, the impacts of tourism and recreation are very rarely, if ever, a one-way relationship. In fact, tourism and recreation affects both people and things and, in turn, is affected by

How tourism impacts are often conceived – as a one-way affect or unidimensional relationship



Tourism 'impacts' as a two-way relationship. Realisation that tourism not only affects something but is also affected itself



Recognition of tourism 'impacts' as change over time. A and B are constantly influencing and affecting each other, with each observation being a different state of the relationship between them

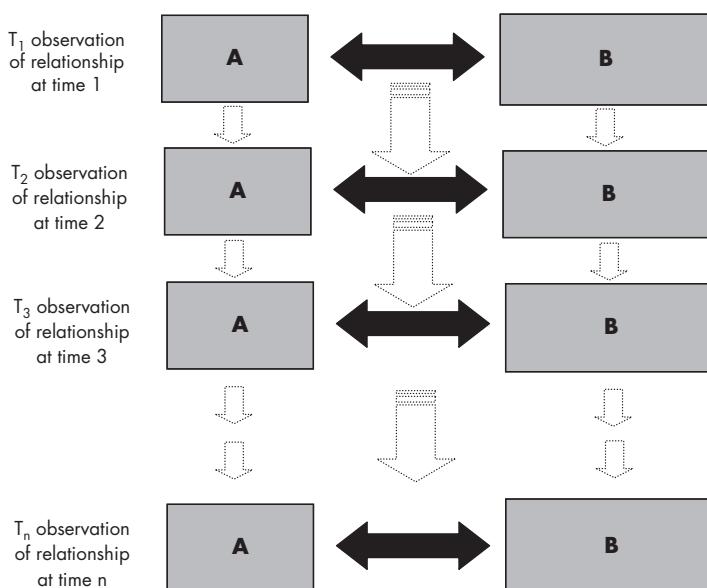


Figure 4.1 The nature of impacts

Source: Hall and Lew 2009.

them. This is something that is extremely important for issues such as climate change where there may be a time lag between the effects of the emissions of the tourism industry and the consequent effects of climate change events on tourism destinations and

industry (Scott *et al.* 2012). Impacts are also rarely, if ever, just an issue of isolated environmental, social, economic or political impact. This is because visitation affects the physical environment; it affects people, communities and the broader social environment;

it has economic effects; and it can be very political, especially with respect to how places both attract and manage visitors and how the impacts of tourism may be mitigated or adapted to. Therefore, management of the impacts of tourism and recreation requires an integrated approach that aims to bring these various dimensions of tourism together in a coherent manner.

The publication of George Perkins Marsh's book, *Man and Nature; Or, Physical Geography as Modified by Human Action* (1965) in 1864 provides a starting point for impact studies. The book had an enormous impact when it was first published, as it was the first comprehensive critique of the extent to which inappropriate development had damaged the physical environment and hence human well-being. According to Marsh (1965 [1864]: 52), 'Even now, we are breaking up the floor and wainscoting and doors and window frames of our dwelling, for fuel to warm our bodies and seethe our pottage, and the world cannot afford to wait till the slow and sure progress of exact science has taught it a better economy'. Marsh observed:

The earth is fast becoming an unfit home for its noblest inhabitant, and another era of equal human crime and human improvidence, and of like duration with that through which traces of that crime and that improvidence extend, would reduce it to such a condition of that impoverished productivity, of shattered surface, of climatic excess, as to threaten the depravation, barbarism, and perhaps even extinction of the [human] species.

(Marsh 1965 [1864]: 43)

Such words strike a distinct chord when compared to contemporary concern over biodiversity loss, deforestation, declining quality of agricultural lands, desertification and climate change. Marsh's work had an international impact, leading to a growing awareness of the limits of resources, a theme which, again, remains with us to the present day given concerns over water, energy, resource and food security. Marsh's approach, along with the closing of the American frontier in 1890, led to the development of the 'progressive conservation' movement (Hays 1959). The progressive conservation movement represented a

'wise use' approach to the management of natural resources, and its conservation motives were economic rather than aesthetic in intent, and their focus laid the foundations for the notion of sustainable development. In contrast, the 'Romantic ecology' (Worster 1977) of John Muir, the 'grandfather of National Parks', stressed the spiritual values of wilderness and nature and can be broadly categorised as more of a 'preservation' focus. Such points are important as the differing perceptions of the appropriate use of resources exist to the present day, and also underlie many of the arguments surrounding tourism development, especially in natural areas.

According to Hall (2008a: 27) 'Sustainable tourism is a sub-set of both tourism and sustainable development'. Sustainable tourism development is not the same as sustainable development, although the principles of sustainable development do inform sustainable tourism (Figure 4.2). The key difference between the two concepts is one of scale. Sustainable tourism only refers to the application of sustainability concepts at the level of the tourism industry and related social, environmental and economic change. Sustainable development, on the other hand, operates beyond tourism at a broader scale that incorporates all aspects of human interaction with the earth's environment. The implications of this scale difference are important because, for example, a tourism enterprise's operations may meet the criteria of being sustainable at the business level, but in a destination context it may be unsustainable because of its interaction with other resource users (Hall 2008a). The implications of sustainable tourism and sustainable development for planning are discussed in more detail in Chapter 9.

As noted above, an impact is a change in a given state over time as the result of an external stimulus. This is often considered in relation to specific environmental, economic or social impacts. However, increasingly, and prompted by the insights of sustainable development, impacts are being approached in a combined fashion, taking into account the interrelationship of two, or even all three, of the main impact categories of economic, social and physical (environmental) impact. A more detailed typology of the impacts of tourism is provided in Table 4.1, where

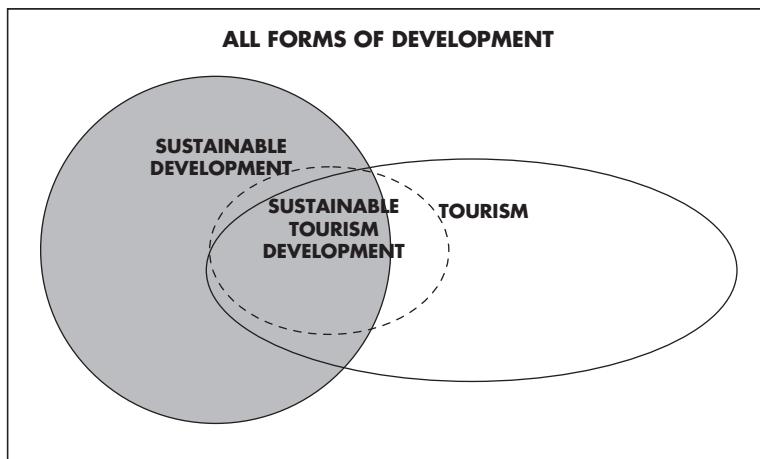


Figure 4.2 Sustainable tourism and sustainable development

they are categorised in terms of their positive or negative nature for a destination community. However, it should be noted that such a division is not absolute, as whether something is seen as positive or negative will often depend on the goals, ideology and value position of an individual and/organisation with respect to different types of tourism development and their broader development perspectives (Hall 2008a).

Understanding change in the tourism system

'Systems' approaches are integral to conceptualising the causality that exists between external factors and the subject of any study of change (Glasson *et al.* 2005). The concept of a 'tourism system' is one that has existed since the late 1960s in various forms (Hall 2008a) (see also Chapters 1 and 3). A system is a group of elements organised such that each element is, in some way, either directly or indirectly interdependent with every other element, and comprises:

- 1 a set of elements (also called entities);
- 2 the set of relationships between the elements;
- 3 the set of relationships between those elements and their larger environment;

- 4 a definition or identification of the system's boundaries;
- 5 for some analysts, identification of the system's function, goal or purpose, even if that only means the ongoing maintenance of the system.

Studies of systems have to address four main issues (Hay 2000; Hall and Lew 2009):

- *Whether the system is open or closed.* A closed system has no links to or from any environment that is external to it. Open systems interact with elements or environments outside their system boundary. Tourism constitutes an open system; however, this then raises the issue of difficulties in defining the boundary of a tourism system and therefore their arbitrary nature.
- *Whether the system can be divided into subsystems, clusters or interdependent elements that are only weakly linked to the remainder of the system.* In the case of tourism, depending on the definition of the overall tourism system, it is possible to identify a number of subsystems, although the relative strength of their relationship to the broader system will depend on the structure and dynamics of the system, e.g. particular tourism firm networks

Table 4.1 Positive and negative dimensions of the impacts of tourism on destinations

Type of impact	Positive	Negative
Economic	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • increased expenditures • creation of employment • increase in labour supply • increase in standard of living • increase in investment 	<p><i>Economic dimensions</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • localised inflation • real estate speculation • failure to attract tourists • better alternative investments • capital outflows • inadequate estimation of costs of tourism development • undesirable opportunity costs • lower wage levels • acquisition of a poor reputation as a result of inadequate facilities, improper practices or inflated prices • negative reactions from existing enterprises due to the possibility of new competition for local personnel and government assistance • increased competition for local businesses
Business	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • increased awareness of the region as a travel/tourism destination • increased knowledge concerning the potential for investment and commercial activity in the region • creation of new facilities, attractions and infrastructure • increase in accessibility 	
Social/cultural	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • increase in permanent level of local interest and participation in types of activity associated with tourism • strengthening of destination values and traditions 	<p><i>Socio-cultural dimensions</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • commercialisation and commodification of activities which may be of a personal or private nature, including culture • modification of nature of event or activity to accommodate tourism • potential increase in crime • changes in community structure • social dislocation • tendency toward defensive attitudes concerning host regions • high possibility of misunderstandings leading to varying degrees of host/visitor hostility • economic exploitation to satisfy ambitions of political elite • distortion of true nature of event to reflect values of political system • increase in administrative costs • failure to cope and inability to achieve aims • loss of local planning control • use of tourism to legitimise unpopular decisions and/or ideology of local elite
Psychological	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • increased local pride and community spirit • increased awareness of non-local perceptions 	
Political/ administrative	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • enhanced international recognition of region and values • development of skills among planners • improved spatial planning 	
		<p><i>Environmental/physical dimensions</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • development of new facilities • improvement of local infrastructure, e.g. sewerage • conservation of heritage • visitor management strategies • environmental damage • changes in natural and ecological processes, including wildlife behaviour • architectural pollution and heritage loss • drop in water, air and soil quality • overcrowding • increased pollution and waste

Sources: after Getz 1977; Mathieson and Wall 1982; Ritchie 1984; Hall 1992b, 2008a; Wall and Mathieson 2006.

- can be identified as subsystems within a larger innovation system (Weidenfeld and Hall 2014).
- *Whether the links involve flows*, causal relationships or 'black-box' relationships (the latter referring to when the consequences of a linkage is known but the causal factors are not). In a tourism system, the flows of tourists can clearly be identified, along with, in some cases, the flows of capital and energy. However, some of the causal relationships that result from those flows are not so well understood.
 - *Whether there is feedback in the system*, such that a change in x may stimulate a change in y , and this in turn will have either a positive or negative impact on x . This is well recognised in the case of the impacts of tourism associated with the interaction between markets in tourism generating regions and in destinations (see Chapters 2 and 3), for example, so that a change in the destination (x) created in part by visitors (y) leads to changes in the behaviour of visitors (y) at a later point in time (see Figure 4.3a and b).

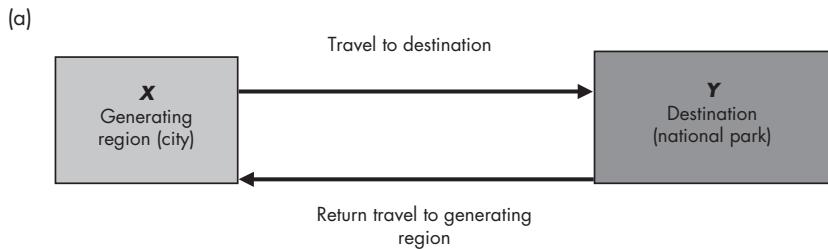
Representations of the relationships between generating regions and destinations have also been influential with respect to research on the life course of destinations (Christaller 1963; Butler 2006; Hall 2006a) (see also Box 3.2). Perhaps appropriately for understanding tourism systems, the interval between a disturbance to the system and the return to an equilibrium state is known in life cycle literature as the 'relaxation time' (Hall and Lew 2009). However, in many instances in life cycle studies of tourism the characteristics and conditions of equilibrium have not been identified, nor has the time scale of analysis been such that a return to an equilibrium state has been observed, or, if it has, it has not been recognised (Butler 2006).

McKercher (1999) argued that tourism essentially functions as a chaotic, non-linear, non-deterministic system. As such, many existing tourism frameworks and models fail to explain fully the complex relationships that occur between and among the various elements that constitute a tourism system. One of the main reasons for this is the difference between using the notion of a system as a metaphor for a kind of explanatory or educational device (e.g. Leiper 1989,

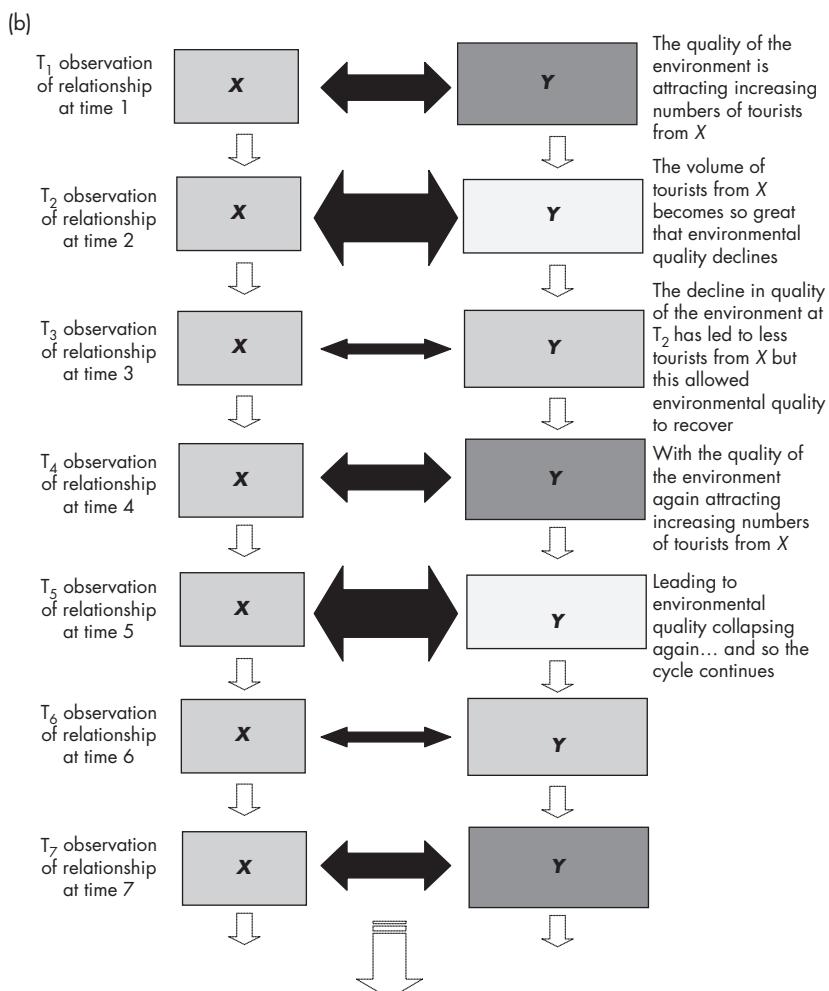
1990; Cornelissen 2005) versus using it as a framework to statistically explain positive and negative relationships between variables and to conduct a formal systems analysis (e.g. Lazanski and Kljajic 2006). In tourism studies the metaphor framework has dominated, which has often meant that terms for systems characteristics such as 'complexity' and 'chaos' have been used, often with little appreciation of the concrete analytical and predictive dimensions that such concepts provide to other fields of systems research (e.g. Faulkner and Russell 2003; Hall and Lew 2009).

A system is regarded as complex 'if its parts interact in a nonlinear manner. Simple cause and effect relationships among the elements rarely exist and instead a very little stimulus may cause unpredictably large effects or no effect at all' (Baggio 2007: 5). A complex system can also only be understood 'by considering it as a whole, almost independently by the number of parts composing it' (Baggio 2007: 5). In contrast, a complicated system is 'a collection of an often high number of elements whose collective action is the cumulative sum of the individual ones' (Baggio 2007: 6). This is a very important difference because it affects how knowledge of a part of the system affects our understanding of the whole. Tourism is usually described as a complex system (Walker *et al.* 1998; Hall and Lew 2009). For ecology, and correspondingly studies of tourism and the environment, a key question is: 'Can an ecological entity be understood through an analysis of its biotic and abiotic components (reductionism), or must any ecological entity be explained by treating it as a unitary entity with unique characteristics (holism)?' (Keller and Golley 2000: 171). Table 4.2 outlines some of these issues and the assumptions on which they rest. The different methodological assumptions pose a very real challenge for extrapolating the results of studies at one scale to other scales and to the tourism system as a whole.

Indeed, issues related to the use of the term 'impacts' has real influence on how we treat them. Head (2008: 374) argues that 'the metaphor of human impacts has come to frame our thinking and circumscribe debate about what constitutes explanation'. The metaphor of impact has several features, many of



Systems diagram of hypothetical example of the interaction between markets in tourism generating regions X and destination Y. This could be imagined to be the relationship between an urban area that generates visitors (X) and a national park (Y).



Hypothetical example of the interaction between markets in tourism generating regions X and destination Y so that change in Y is affected by X. Size of arrow illustrates strength of relationship between X and Y in terms of numbers of tourists travelling to and returning from X. Number of tourists is regarded as affecting the quality of the environment in destination Y, with the feedback in the system also indicating that the quality of the environment also influences the number of visitors who come from X to Y in the future, which is observed at the next point of time. Quality of environment in Y also indicated by shading; the darker the shading, the higher the quality of environment.

Figure 4.3 Feedback in the tourism system

Table 4.2 Ontologies and epistemologies of ecological systems

<i>Methodological approach</i>	<i>Ontology</i>	<i>Epistemology</i>
Reductionism	Properties of wholes are always found among the properties of their parts	Knowledge of the parts is both necessary and sufficient to understand the whole
Mechanism	Properties of wholes are of the same kind or type of those parts	Knowledge of the kind or type of the cause suffices to understand the type of kind of the effect
Emergentism	There is at least one property of some wholes not possessed by any of their parts. Parts can exist independently of the whole, and novel properties of wholes can be lost via submergence when a system is reduced to its parts	Knowledge of the parts and their relations is a necessary but not a sufficient condition to understand the whole
Organicism	Recognise the existence of emergent properties of wholes. Once a whole has appeared, its parts cannot exist or be understood independently of a whole	Knowledge of the whole is a necessary condition to understand the parts and vice versa
Holism	The emergent novel properties of the whole can be understood without further consideration of the parts and their relationships. The basic unit is the whole – wholes are independent of parts	Knowledge of the parts is neither necessary nor sufficient to understand the whole

Source: after Blitz 1992: 175–8; Keller and Golley 2000.

which are not adequately considered in tourism research (Hall 2013g):

- 1 The emphasis on *the moment(s) of collision between two separate entities* (e.g. the ‘impact’ between tourism and the environment) has favoured explanations that depend on correlation in time and space (Weyl 2009), and methodologies that are fully focused on dating and/or particular moments in time, to the detriment of the search for mechanisms of connection and causation rather than simple correlation (Head 2008).
- 2 The emphasis on the moment(s) of impact also *assumes a stable natural (environmental), social and/or economic baseline* (Mathieson and Wall 1982; Hall and Lew 2009), and *an experimental method in which only one variable is changed* (Head 2008). Such an approach is also inappropriate for understanding complex and dynamic socio-environmental systems (Farrell and Twinning-Ward 2004; Head 2008; Hall and Lew 2009).
- 3 Third, and perhaps most profoundly influential (Head 2007, 2008), is the way the terms ‘tourism impacts’ or ‘tourist impacts’ ontologically position *tourism and tourists as ‘outside’ the system under analysis*, as outside nature (or whatever it is that is being impacted) (Hall and Lew 2009; Hall 2013g). This is ironic given that research on global environmental change demonstrates just how deeply entangled tourism is in environmental systems (Gössling and Hall 2006a; Hall 2009e, 2010f; Gössling *et al.* 2010; Hall and Saarinen 2010), yet the metaphor remains in widespread use.
- 4 Putting a significant explanatory divide between humans and nature requires the *conflation of bundles of variable processes* under such headings as ‘human’, ‘climate’, ‘environment’ and ‘nature’ (Head 2007, 2008).
- 5 A further characteristic of dichotomous explanations is their *veil of simplicity and elegance*. Yet, ‘The principle that preference should be given to explanations that require the fewest number of assumptions has been incorrectly conflated with the idea that simpler explanations are more likely to be true than complex ones . . . In fact, the view that causality is simple takes many more assumptions than the view that it is complex’ (Head 2008: 374).

Much of the research undertaken in tourism with respect to impacts tends to be at the destination, omitting other elements of the geographical tourism system or trip, such as the transit region and the origin area (Figure 4.3a). However, if impact research is highly localised in one site or place, it clearly limits not only our capacities to generalise about the tourism system as a whole (see also Gössling and Hall 2006a), but also how tourism activities in one location can affect the entire system. For example, greenhouse gas (GHG) emissions at one location contribute to the global balance of GHG and therefore have more than a localised effect. Similarly, because tourism is a globalised industry with extended supply chains (see Chapter 3), resource use in one location can affect resource availability in another. The boundary of the system you are examining therefore determines the identification and measurement of impact.

Issues of scale and the boundary definition of systems are also important for tourism management, planning and policy-making as there is a need to try

and ensure that different levels – or scales – are in sync with one another so as to increase planning effectiveness. Environmental issues are particularly problematic with respect to trying to connect jurisdictional or governance scale (Gössling and Hall 2006a; Hall 2008a), especially because many environmental problems cross international borders. For example, smoke from forest clearance in Indonesia often travels to Malaysia and Singapore, causing health problems and creating negative images for those countries' tourism industries (Quah 2002; Aiken 2004).

Tourism is stretched over time and space, therefore it is extremely important to set appropriate boundaries for the system being examined, particularly as the smaller the size of the subsystem being examined, the more open it is to external forces for change. The selection of the boundary of a destination, or any boundary in analysing impacts, will affect the relative size and degree of system change within that boundary. Figure 4.4 illustrates some of the relativities of scales that affect tourism systems. Yet all scales are

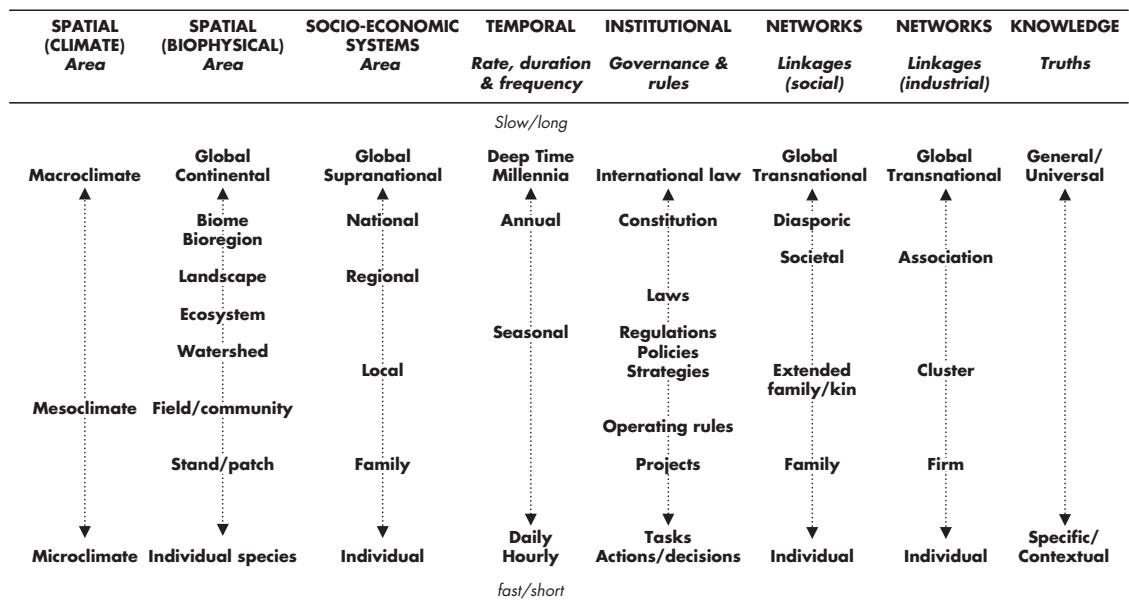


Figure 4.4 Relativities of scale in analysing tourism

Source: after Hall 2004c, in Hall and Lew 2009.

not studied equally, while there may also be a mismatch between the primary focus of tourism research and the effects that tourism brings and is also affected by. For example, the majority of tourism research in relation to ecology is at a species level rather than examining environmental change as a whole. Figure 4.5 contrasts the focus of tourism studies with the types of change that occur over space and time.

This issue has significant implications for understanding the spatial boundaries of destinations because governance jurisdictions may not match with the relative boundaries of a destination as perceived by visitors and tourism firms. To further complicate matters the destination boundary may not match with ecological boundaries, such as a watershed. Figure 4.6 illustrates some of the implications of the relativities of scale by highlighting how tourism policies, actors, climate and weather, and research intersect with the issue of tourism and climate

change. Understanding the issue of scale is therefore fundamental to being able to assess the impacts of tourism and effectively manage them. However, in the long run being able to work across scales will probably be essential for impact management and control.

Impacts: recreation resource management

Resource management for recreation purposes is a useful tool with which to begin understanding the relationships between recreation and tourist impacts, sites and the action needed to address conflicts, namely planning (Seeley 1983), a theme further explored in Chapter 9. In this context, resource management is concerned with the way the geographical approach meshes with the multidisciplinary contributions to understanding how resources need to be

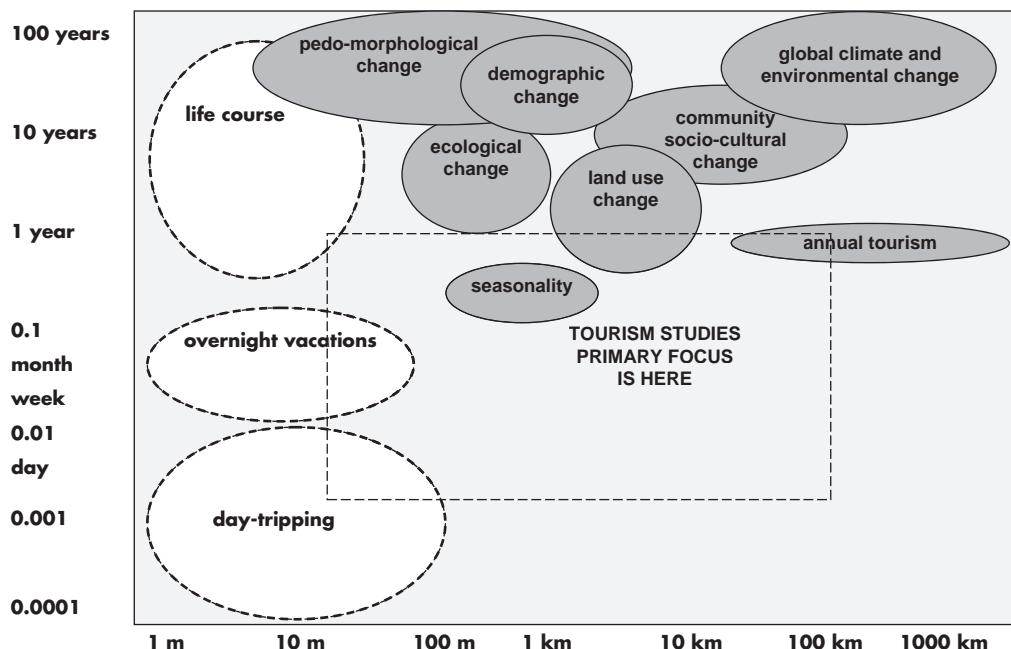


Figure 4.5 The influence of temporal and spatial resolution on assessing tourism-related phenomena

Source: adapted from Hall 2004a.

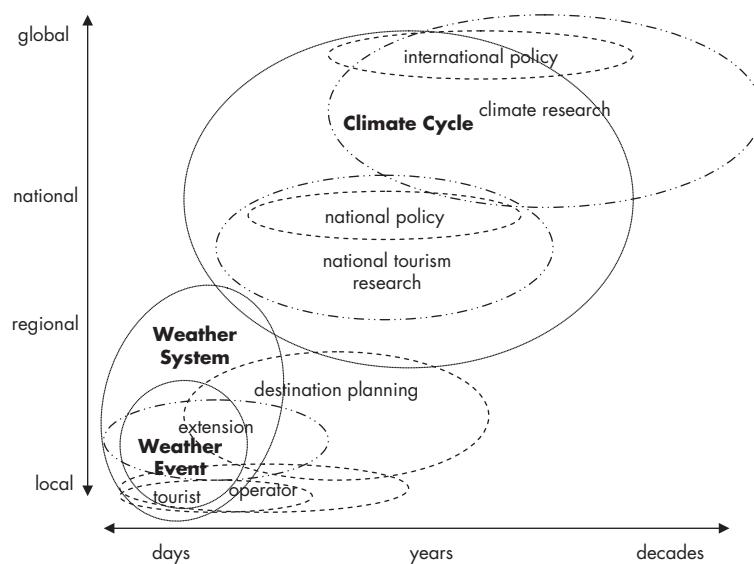


Figure 4.6 Relativities of scale with respect to tourism and climate change

managed (Mercer 2004). Glyptis (1989a) made an important fundamental assumption which many recreational texts overlook: that few recreational activities make use of resources that are solely recreational. Indeed, recreation is often juxtaposed in relation to forestry, agriculture, water supply, conservation and a host of competing activities that each make use of socially constructed leisure spaces. Consequently, the issue of multiple use of resources (as discussed in Chapter 3) is an underlying principle which recreation resource management usually seeks to accommodate. Glyptis (1989a) observed that four major influences could be discerned with respect to recreation resource management in contemporary western society:

- the belief that recreation is the right of every citizen;
- social change, particularly with respect to an ageing population and the changing demand for specific forms of recreation;
- changing economic and political doctrines which have seen debates associated with the demise of notions of full employment and leisure as non-work or of less significance than work;

- strategic planning by public sector recreation agencies in relation to the previous three influences.

Within a UK context, the 1980s under the Thatcher government saw the privatisation of many forms of recreation and leisure provision, a theme discussed later in Chapter 5 in terms of urban parks. What was critical here was the changing public policy framework with respect to public service provision in leisure in the UK and other countries (e.g. Aitchison 1997; Coalter 1998), the effects of which linger in the present day (Dahmann *et al.* 2010; Erickson 2011; Mowbray 2011). Thus political and ideological changes in government can have a major bearing on the nature and approach to recreation resource management.

What emerged from the wide range of geographical contributions to recreational resource analysis during the 1960s, 1970s and 1980s was that the fundamental starting point for any discussion is demand (Masser 1966–7; Chubb and Chubb 1981; Patmore 1983). Reiterating the discussion in Chapter 2, data from site surveys and overall levels of participation in time and space as a dynamic process provide the baseline information for resource management. It is

then a question of establishing the impact of specific activities.

Understanding the extent of impacts such as the effect on natural resources, social and psychological impacts arising from overcrowding, traffic congestion, aesthetic intrusions and conflict between recreational activities illustrates how the resource is being impacted upon (Spink 1994). Even at the present time, over four decades since Burton's (1974) innovative study of carrying capacity of Cannock Chase, Staffordshire, UK, its methodological and conceptual value remains high despite innovations in mapping and analysis with GIS. Indeed, the pursuit of critical spatial concepts such as overcrowding, tolerance to visitor numbers and contested notions of rurality has seen only a growing interest by geographers since the 1970s, especially in the context of rural recreation (Robinson 1999; Edwards and Matarrita-Cascante 2011).

Probably one of the greatest challenges facing recreational resource planners in a non-urban context is the impact of the motor car in the post-war period. Many novel studies in the 1960s and 1970s (e.g. J. Hall 1972; Wall 1971, 1972) highlighted both the greater spatial reach and flexibility of access to recreational sites afforded by the car. Even so, the car is not a surrogate for individual mobility and recreational resource use (Glyptis 1989a), although, as Page (1998, 1999) highlighted, the car is one of the major issues facing the recreational planner, especially in national parks (Eaton and Holding 1996). Mobility and access to transport do limit certain socio-economic groups from enjoying the wider continuum of outdoor recreation opportunities (Millward 1993, 1996, 2000; Hall 2010a), and especially as public transport access becomes more limited, a feature constantly reiterated in peripheral areas and urban recreation and summarised by S. Williams (1995b: 35): 'The net effect of car ownership is that participation rates in sports and outdoor recreations are significantly higher in households with access to a car'.

Population growth and increased affluence have also seen increased pressures on other rural resources such as lakes and waterways (Hall and Härkönen 2006). In the case of Loch Lomond, the pressure has come from another form of transport: recreational

boating (see Bisset *et al.* 2000; Dickinson 2000). This concern has been heightened by the designation of the area as part of Scotland's first national park – the Loch Lomond and Trossachs National Park (Page and Dowling 2001). Recreational boat pressure, as in the case of the East Anglia Broads (Page 1999), has also posed concerns in terms of environmental pollution (Bannan *et al.* 2000). For resource managers, much of the concern is with the use and management of individual sites, where specific tools such as site closure, rejuvenation, reconfiguring visitor flows on sites and discriminatory measures such as placing obstacles are used. In this respect, vehicles such as the private car have been prohibited or closely controlled to minimise impacts. At a practical level, recreation resource management involves maintaining and enhancing sites, and the geographer has a valid role to play in understanding visitor behaviour, usage patterns, potential conflicts and spatial measures which can harmonise multiple use. This provides fundamental information to feed into the management and planning process.

Carrying capacity

Carrying capacity is one of the most complex and confusing concepts which faces the geographer in seeking to understand recreation sites and their ability to support a certain level of usage (Coccossis 2004; Manning *et al.* 2010; Zacarias *et al.* 2011). In many early applications of the concept, it was viewed as a management tool to protect sites and resources from excessive use, while also seeking to balance usage with recreational enjoyment for participants (Wagar 1964; Stankey 1973; Graef *et al.* 1984a, 1984b; Shelby and Heberlein 1984, 1986; Stankey and McCool 1984). In many respects, it is a precursor of the much wider concept of 'sustainability' which has now embraced both recreation and tourism (see Hall and Lew 1998; Page *et al.* 2001). One early definition of carrying capacity by the Countryside Commission (1970: 2), with its central precept of the long-term capacity of resources and human activity, embodied the dual characteristics of protection and use: the level of recreation use an area can sustain without an unacceptable degree of

deterioration of the character and quality of the resource or recreation experience. This was followed by an identification of four types of recreational carrying capacity: physical, economic, ecological and social carrying capacity.

The notion of physical carrying is primarily concerned with quantitative measures of the number of people or usage a site can support, primarily being a design concept. This may also act as a constraint on visitor use by deliberately limiting access to sites. The notion of economic carrying capacity is primarily concerned with multiple use of resources (Pigram and Jenkins 1999; Coccossis 2004), particularly its compatibility with the site and wider management objectives for the site. The notion of ecological (or what Lavery (1971a) terms 'environmental capacity') is primarily 'concerned with the maximum level of recreational use, in terms of numbers and activities, that can be accommodated by an area or ecosystem before an unacceptable or irreversible decline in ecological values occur' (Pigram and Jenkins 1999: 91). The chief problem here lies in what individuals and groups construe as acceptable change. In an early study by Dower and McCarthy (1967) of Donegal, Ireland, they estimated the environmental capacity which recreational and tourism resources could support at any point in time. Lavery (1971a) developed these ideas to produce a series of suggested space standards for environmental capacity. Although this table may be criticised for using such absolute values of capacity, it is notable that it provides a starting point for discussing how many visitors can support a site and how many might be too many. While critics have questioned the notion of fixed capacity for individual sites, it should be stressed that carrying capacity will only ever be one element of a management strategy for outdoor recreation. This shows the need to move beyond environmental capacity to recognise the significance of users, visitor satisfaction and the role of perception – embodied in the last notion – of social carrying capacity.

Social carrying capacity, often referred to as perceptual, psychological or behavioural carrying capacity, is 'the maximum level of recreational use, in terms of numbers and activities, above which there is a decline in the quality of the recreation experience, from the

point of view of the recreation participant' (Pigram and Jenkins 1999: 93). The basic principles inherent in this approach relate to the ability of individuals and groups to tolerate others, their activities and the level of acceptability (Hallo and Manning 2010). Patmore (1973: 241) summed this up as 'the number of people [a site] can absorb before the latest arrivals perceive the area to be full and seek satisfaction elsewhere'. This has both a spatial and temporal dimension.

Developing a carrying capacity for a site involves at least eight steps (Hall and McArthur 1998):

- 1 Specify management objectives or standards for the state of the heritage resource to be maintained or attained and the type of experience to be provided.
- 2 Identify current levels of use for a defined period (e.g. hour, day, week, month, year).
- 3 Identify indicators for the biophysical, socio-cultural, psychological and managerial components.
- 4 Measure the current state of each indicator.
- 5 Identify apparent relationships between the state of the indicator and the level of use.
- 6 Make value judgements about the acceptability of the various impacts.
- 7 Determine a carrying capacity that is more, the same as or less than current visitation.
- 8 Implement management strategies to ensure carrying capacity is not breached.

The most defendable carrying capacity is an estimate representing a compromise between individual capacities for each component (Needham *et al.* 2011). For example, suppose there was a biophysical carrying capacity set at 50 visits per day, a socio-cultural capacity set at 100 visits per day, a psychological capacity set at 80 visits a day and a managerial capacity set at 90 visits a day. If each component was valued equally, then an overall carrying capacity may be set at 80 visits per day. However, the typical scenario is one where the overall figure is influenced by the most sensitive or threatened factor, so in this example the capacity may be set at 50 visits per day (Hall and McArthur 1998).

Despite the concept of carrying capacity having originated in the early 1960s, it remains in practice. Although it is a challenge to successfully implement

it, it remains an extremely significant and influential management concept:

It is commonly recognised that there are no fixed or standard tourism carrying capacity values. Rather, carrying capacity varies, depending upon place, season and time, user behaviour, facility design, patterns and levels of management, and the dynamic character of the environments themselves. Moreover, it is not always possible in practice to separate tourism activity from other human activities.

(Ceballos-Lascuarain 1996: 131)

Indeed, it is relatively easy to argue that there is no such thing as a single carrying capacity for any given site and that any capacity put forward is highly subjective and thus difficult to defend. A good example of the judgemental limitation is Green Island in far north Queensland. Concern over crowding resulted in a carrying capacity being set at 1,900 visitors per day, or no more than 800 at any one time (Queensland Department of Environment and Heritage 1993), a number reset to a maximum number of 2,240 a day arriving mainly by the five reef tour operators several years later (Zeppel 2010). Beaumont (1997) recommended a daily maximum of 1,200 to 1,345 visitors. Green Island currently receives over 300,000 visits per year, with a maximum of 1,200 to 1,500 day visitors (Zeppel 2010). Nevertheless, the notion of carrying capacity has made a methodological and practical contribution to recreational and tourism resource management and has been at the heart of a number of visitor management tools in natural areas (Page and Connell 2006). Yet management ideas are changing as new debates within the recreational literature emerge, particularly regarding recreation opportunity spectrum and the limits of acceptable change framework (Newsome *et al.* 2012).

The Recreation Opportunity Spectrum

The Recreation Opportunity Spectrum (ROS) is a conceptual framework to clarify the relationship between recreational settings, activities and experiences (Clark and Stankey 1979). It is premised on the assumption

that quality is best assured through the provision of a diverse array of opportunities. The ROS provided a conceptual framework for thinking about how to create a diversity of recreation experiences, rather than just provide standard recreational facilities (Driver 1989).

A ROS is developed by identifying a spectrum of settings, activities and opportunities that a given region may contain. For example, a national park may contain a spectrum of settings that range from easily accessible, highly developed areas and facilities, to remote, undeveloped areas with no facilities. The information relating to each setting is entered into a tabular format to present the characteristics of the site, the type of activities undertaken and the opportunities available alongside each other. Comparisons can then be made across sites to determine what sort of core opportunities appear to be provided and the under- or oversupply of specific activities and opportunities. The ROS can therefore be very useful at reviewing then repositioning the type of visitor experiences most appropriate to a recreation site (Hall and McArthur 1998; Harshaw and Sheppard 2013; Oishi 2013).

Management factors considered when determining which recreational class a setting should include the following:

- access (e.g. difficulty, access system (roads and trails) and means of conveyance);
- the non-recreational resource;
- on-site management (e.g. extent, apparentness, complexity and facilities);
- social interaction;
- acceptability of visitor impact (e.g. magnitude and prevalence);
- regimentation.

The standard range of recreational classes established by ROS are developed, semi-developed, semi-natural and natural.

Perhaps the key limitation to the use of the ROS is its emphasis on the setting at the expense of the type of visitor. Part of the reason for this is the influence of earlier cultures from the landscape planning and architecture professions that suggested visitor management could be largely addressed through site and

facility design. Although the ROS was extensively used in the early 1980s, its adoption by recreation resource managers was starting to wane by the early 1990s (Hall and McArthur 1998) but has had a resurgence in recent years, particularly as the result of the adoption of new technologies that can assist in the setting up of different opportunities (e.g. Joyce and Sutton 2009; Oishi 2013).

The Limits of Acceptable Change

The Limits of Acceptable Change (LAC) system began with the fundamentals of the Recreation Opportunity Spectrum and initial principles of carrying capacity. Its designers then shifted the focus from a relationship between levels of use and impact to identifying desirable conditions for visitor activity to occur in the first place, as well as management actions required to protect or achieve the conditions (Clark and Stankey 1979; Stankey and McCool 1984). The LAC implies an emphasis on establishing how much change is acceptable, then actively managing accordingly. The LAC model avoids the use/impact conundrum by focusing on the management of the impacts of use (Stankey *et al.* 1985). The model informs management whether the conditions are within acceptable standards; that is, that current levels and patterns of use are within the capacity of the host environment. When conditions reach the limits of acceptable change they have also reached the area's capacity under current management practices. Management is then equipped with a logical and defensible case to implement strategic actions before any more use can be accommodated. One action may be to limit use.

The LAC system is based on a nine-stage process:

- 1 Identification of area concerns and issues.
- 2 Definition and description of opportunity classes.
- 3 Selection of indicators for conditions.
- 4 Inventory of resource and social conditions.
- 5 Specification of standards for indicators.
- 6 Identification of alternative opportunity class allocations.
- 7 Identification of management actions for each alternative.

- 8 Evaluation and selection of the preferred option.
- 9 Implementation of actions and monitoring of conditions.

Prosser (1986a) identified a number of key strengths of the LAC system as being:

- emphasis on explicit, measurable objectives;
- promotion of a diversity of visitor experiences;
- reliance on quantitative field-based standards;
- flexibility and responsiveness to local situations;
- opportunity for public involvement;
- minimisation of regulatory approaches;
- a framework for managing conditions.

The most critical aspect of the development of the LAC system has been establishing stakeholder endorsement and support (Prosser 1986b). Stakeholders from the local recreation and tourism sector and community can provide valuable input into desired conditions and acceptable standards, and are usually essential in providing the economic and political support necessary to maintain monitoring programmes and implement management decisions. The failure to establish sufficient stakeholder support has largely occurred because the LAC was created by natural area managers, for natural area managers (Stankey *et al.* 1985). According to Hall and McArthur (1998), the culture of the LAC is not attuned to attracting wider stakeholder involvement, and they provide three examples of problems in its implementation: first, the use of the term 'limits' within the title, which the tourism industry has interpreted as being discouraging to growth and thus business, although this may be more attractive to some recreation organisations; second, the conventional narrow focus on the condition of the physical environment and, to some extent, the nature of the visitor experience – other critical dimensions such as characteristics of the visitor market, socio-cultural aspects of the local community and economic activity associated with the tourism industry are not included; third, the lack of co-operative involvement of the tourism and recreation sector in identifying acceptable indicators and standards. Without this involvement the monitoring

results become prone to conjecture, particularly if they reveal surprising or controversial implications. However, as the culture of the LAC system has diversified and its components broadened it has become more widely adopted as a recreation resource management tool (McCool and Cole 1997; Diedrich *et al.* 2011).

The Tourism Optimisation Management Model (TOMM)

The Tourism Optimisation Management Model (TOMM) is one of the more recent models developed to monitor and manage visitors (McArthur 1996, 2000b; Hall and McArthur 1998; Brown 2006; Newsome *et al.* 2012). The conceptual emphasis of the TOMM is on achieving optimum performance rather than limiting activity. The TOMM positions a range of influences in the heritage–visitor relationship to focus on sustainability of the heritage, viability of the tourism industry and empowerment of stakeholders. The TOMM has borrowed the key strengths of the Visitor Impact Management Model (VIMM) developed by the United States National Parks and Conservation Association (Graefe 1991) and LAC, then broadened their focus into fields linked with the tourism industry and local community. Besides environmental and experiential elements, the TOMM addresses characteristics of the tourist market, economic conditions of the tourism industry and socio-cultural conditions of the local community. The expansion recognises the complex interrelationships between heritage management, the tourism industry and supporting local populations. In this respect the TOMM is arguably more politically sensitive to the forces which shape visitation and subsequent impacts (McArthur 2000a, 2000b). The TOMM contains three main components: context analysis, a monitoring programme and a management response system (Manidis Roberts Consultants 1996; McArthur 2000b).

The context analysis identifies the current nature of community values, tourism product, tourism growth, market trends and opportunities, positioning and branding. This information is collected through literature

reviews, face-to-face interviews with relevant expertise and a community workshop. The context analysis also identifies alternative scenarios for the future of tourism, used later to test the validity of the model.

The second stage of the development of a TOMM is the development of a monitoring programme. The basis for the monitoring programme is a set of optimal conditions which tourism and visitor activity should create (rather than impacts they should avoid). In this way the model avoids setting limits, maximum levels or carrying capacities, and can offer the tourism industry opportunities to develop optimal sustainable performance. The monitoring programme is essentially designed to measure how close the current situation is to the optimal conditions. The measurement yardstick is a set of indicators (one for each optimal condition). Table 4.3 provides a list of assessment criteria for selecting the most appropriate indicators for a TOMM. Each indicator has a benchmark and an acceptable range for it to be expected to operate within. The desired outcomes should have supporting indicators and acceptable ranges. The data generated from the monitoring programme is then plotted to determine whether the status is within the acceptable range or not. Annual performance is presented via report charts already displaying benchmarks, and a relatively simple table that is principally designed to quickly reflect whether each indicator is within its acceptable range or not. The presentation of data is therefore designed to provide a ‘quick and

Table 4.3 Assessment criteria for selecting indicators for the Tourism Optimisation Management Model

Criterion	Explanation
Degree of relationship	Indicator needs to have a clear relationship with visitor activity
Accuracy	Needs to represent desired conditions
Utility	The indicator is more worthwhile if it generates additional insights
Availability of data	The indicator is more worthwhile if it already exists
Cost to collect and analyse	The indicator is more worthwhile if it requires minimal additional funding to operationalise

'dirty look' that all stakeholders can utilise (Hall and McArthur 1998).

The third stage of development is a management response system. This system involves the identification of poor performing indicators, the exploration of cause-and-effect relationships, the identification of results requiring a response and the development of management response options. The first part of the response system is to annually identify which indicators are not performing within their acceptable range. This involves reviewing the report charts to identify and list each indicator whose annual performance data are outside its acceptable range. It also involves identifying the degree of the discrepancy and whether the discrepancy is part of a longer-term trend. The trend is determined by reviewing previous annual data that have been entered onto the report charts. A qualitative statement is then entered under the degree of discrepancy. The second part in the response mechanism is to explore cause-and-effect relationships. The essential question relating to cause and effect is whether the discrepancy was principally induced by tourism activity or other effects such as the actions of local residents, initiatives by other industries, and regional, national or even global influences. The third part in the system simply involves nominating whether a response is required. Specific choices for the response could include a tourism-oriented response, a response from another sector, or identification that the situation is beyond anyone's control.

The fourth and final part involves developing response options, dependent upon whether they:

- require a response from a non-tourism sector (this involves identifying the appropriate body responsible, providing them with the results and suggesting a response on the matter);
- were out of anyone's control (in this instance no response is required);
- require a response from the tourism and recreation sector (this involves generating a series of management options for consideration, such as additional research to understand the issue, modification of existing practices, site-based development, marketing and lobbying).

After the tourism-related options are developed, the preferred option is tested by brainstorming how the option might influence the various indicators. This requires the reuse of the predicted performance and management response sections of the model. The final application of the model is to test potential options or management responses to a range of alternative scenarios. The first form of testing for application is the performance of a sample of individual indicators. The second form of testing the model's performance is against several potential future scenarios that have already been developed and presented in the contextual analysis. The testing helps ensure that the model has some degree of predictive capability.

The first TOMM was produced in late 1996 and implemented during 1997 (Hall and McArthur 1998; McArthur 2000a). It spanned public and private land in South Australia's Kangaroo Island, and was co-funded by the Federal and South Australian Tourism Departments and the South Australian Department of Environment and Natural Resources. The TOMM initially attracted support not only from its three public sector funders, but also from local government, the local tourism association, the tourism industry, conservation groups and members of the local community (Hall and McArthur 1998; McArthur 2000a), although it was not able to reconcile visitation with the environmental goals in the longer term (Higgins-Desbiolles 2011). The approach has also been applied in Western Australia (Hughes and MacBeth 2005), New Zealand (Wiltshire and Cardow 2008) and South Africa (Ngubane and Diab 2005).

Economic analysis

Within tourism and recreation research, 'attention has concentrated on the more obvious economic impacts with comparatively little consideration being given to the environmental and social consequences of tourism' (Mathieson and Wall 1982: 3–4). However, considerable debate has arisen over methodological problems in the economic analysis of tourism, including the hosting of events (see p. 161), particularly in the measurement of tourism as an economic

activity, through the use of satellite accounts, economic multipliers and cost–benefit analysis (Archer 1976, 1977a, 1977b, 1984; Smith 1994, 2000; Smith and Wilton 1997; World Tourism Organization 1999; Sinclair *et al.* 2003; Song *et al.* 2012; Li and Jago 2013; O’Malley *et al.* 2013; Robles Teigeiro and Díaz 2014), the evaluation of opportunity cost (Vaughan 1977; Andersson and Lundberg 2013), and the relationship of tourism and recreation to regional development and employment (Royer *et al.* 1974; Doering 1976; Frechtling 1976b; Ellerbrook and Hite 1980; Williams and Shaw 1988; Sinclair 1998; Plaza *et al.* 2011).

Many economic impact studies focus on what is known as the ‘multiplier effect’. This effect is concerned with the way in which tourism expenditure filters through the economy, stimulating other sectors as it does so. Several different types of multiplier are in use, each with their own emphasis (Archer 1977a, 1977b, 1982; Song *et al.* 2012). A multiplier is regarded as ‘a coefficient which expresses the amount of income generated in an area by an additional unit of tourist spending’ (Archer 1982: 236). It is the ratio of direct and secondary changes within an economic region to the direct initial change itself. In this context geographers have surprisingly not played a major role, although multiplier analysis is not devoid of a spatial component with its linkage to regional science and its spatial concerns for quantitative analysis of areas and locations. Although economic geography has overlapped with economics in some cases, tourism and recreation is not an area where this occurred on a wide scale (Ioannides 1995; Ioannides and Debbage 1998). Likewise, collaborative research between geographers and economists did not emerge as a theme in research until the mid-1990s (Martin 1999; G. Clark *et al.* 2000). This is often because each subject area has its own concepts, language, approach and few obvious intersections in the research field because tourism and recreation remained a fringe area for research in the 1960s and 1970s for both geographers and economists. Nevertheless, there has been increased overlap between geographers and economists since the 1990s given increased focus on regional economies and issues such as competitiveness, innovation

and the role of geographical factors in economic development, tourism being an important element in all of these issues (Hall and Williams 2008; Shaw and Williams 2009; Schmallegger *et al.* 2010; Brouder and Eriksson 2013; Weidenfeld and Hall 2014).

The economic impacts of tourism and recreation are usually classified as being either primary or secondary in nature (Archer 1982). Primary or direct impacts are those economic impacts which are a direct consequence of visitor spending (e.g. the purchase of food and beverages by a tourist in a hotel). Secondary impacts may be described as being either indirect or induced. Indirect impacts are those arising from the response of money in the form of local business transactions (e.g. the new investment of hotel owners in equipment and supplies). Induced impacts are those arising from the additional income generated by further consumer spending (e.g. the purchase of goods and services by hotel employees). For each round of spending per unit of initial visitor expenditure leakage will occur from the regional economy until little or no further re-spending is possible. Therefore, the recreation or tourism multiplier is a measure of the total effects (direct plus secondary effects) which result from the additional tourist or recreational expenditure. However, despite their extensive use, it should be noted that ‘multipliers are difficult to calculate precisely under the best circumstances. They require substantial amounts of very detailed data. The methods used are also difficult and require a high degree level of statistical and/or macro-economic expertise’ (Smith 1995: 16; see also Saeter 1998).

The size of the visitor multiplier will vary from region to region and will depend on a number of factors, including:

- the size of area of analysis;
- the proportion of goods and services imported into the region for consumption by visitors;
- the rate of circulation;
- the nature of visitor spending;
- the availability of suitable local products and services;
- the patterns of economic behaviour for visitor and local alike.

Selection of the size of the economy being examined is extremely important for understanding what is included in any economic analysis and what is excluded. Where boundaries are set can therefore have a substantial impact on the results of any economic analysis of tourism. As a measure of economic benefit from recreation and tourism, the multiplier technique has been increasingly subject to question, particularly as its use has often produced exaggerated results (Archer 1977a, 1982; Cooper and Pigram 1984; Frechtling 1987; Smith 1995; Sinclair *et al.* 2003; Song *et al.* 2012). Nevertheless, despite doubts about the accuracy of the multiplier technique, substantial attention is still paid to the results of economic impact studies by government and the private sector as a measure of the success of tourism development or as a way of estimating the potential contribution of a proposed development in order to justify policy or planning decisions (Hall 2008a). As S. Smith (1995: 16) noted, 'Regrettably, the abuses of multipliers often seem to be as frequent as legitimate uses – thus contributing further to the industry's lack of credibility'.

The size of the tourist multiplier is regarded as a significant measure of the economic benefit of visitor expenditure because it will be a reflection of the circulation of the visitor dollar through an economic system. In general, the larger the size of the tourist multiplier, the greater the self-sufficiency of that economy in the provision of tourist facilities and services. Therefore, a tourist multiplier will generally be larger at a national level than at a regional level, because at a regional level leakage will occur in the form of taxes to the national government and importation of goods and services from regions. Similarly, at the local level, multipliers will reflect the high importation level of small communities and tax payments to regional and national governments (Hall 1995).

According to Murphy (1985: 95), 'for practical purposes it is crucial to appreciate that local multiplier studies are just case studies of local gains and no more', and several questions remain unanswered about the real costs and benefits of tourism for local and regional development. Indeed, a major question should be: 'Who are the winners and losers in tourism development?' As Coppock argued four decades ago

in relation to the use of tourism as a tool for economic development:

Not only is it inevitable that the residents of an area will gain unequally from tourism (if indeed they gain at all) and probable that the interests of some will actually be harmed, but it may well be that a substantial proportion does not wish to see any development of tourism.

(Coppock 1977b: 1)

One of the primary justifications used by government in the encouragement of tourism development is tourism's potential employment benefits (Pearce 1992a; Hall 1994; Jenkins *et al.* 1998; Hudson 2000). However, as Hudson and Townsend (1992: 64) observed, 'often the actual impacts of tourism on local employment and the economy are imperfectly understood. The direction of causality between growing employment and increasing policy involvement is often obscure and in any case variable'. Similarly, international tourism is increasingly promoted by organisations such as the UNWTO and many government agencies in the international development community as an important element in national poverty reduction strategies and in development financing. According to the UNWTO (2005: 3) 'Tourism development, if properly developed and supported, can indeed be a "quick-win" in overcoming the economic and social conditions that prevail in LDCs and in accelerating their integration into the world economy'. The UNWTO (2006b: 1) has argued that there are several reasons that make tourism an 'especially suitable economic development sector for LDCs':

- 1 Tourism is consumed at the point of production; the tourist has to go to the destination and spend his/her money there, opening an opportunity for local businesses of all sorts, and allowing local communities to benefit through the informal economy, by selling goods and services directly to visitors.
- 2 Most LDCs have a comparative advantage in tourism over developed countries. They have assets of enormous value to the tourism industry – culture,

art, music, natural landscapes, wildlife and climate, and World Heritage Sites. Visits by tourists to such sites can generate employment and income for communities as well as helping in the conservation of cultural and natural assets.

- 3 Tourism is a more diverse industry than many others. It has the potential to support other economic activities, both through providing flexible, part-time jobs that can complement other livelihood options and through creating income throughout a complex supply chain of goods and services.
- 4 Tourism is labour intensive, which is particularly important in tackling poverty. It also provides a wide range of different employment opportunities, especially for women and young people – from the highly skilled to the unskilled – and generally it requires relatively little training.
- 5 It creates opportunities for many small and micro entrepreneurs, either in the formal or informal economy; it is an industry in which start-up costs and barriers to entry are generally low or can easily be lowered.
- 6 Tourism provides not only material benefits for the poor but also cultural pride. It creates greater awareness of the natural environment and its economic value, a sense of ownership and reduced vulnerability through diversification of income sources.
- 7 The infrastructure required by tourism, such as transport and communications, water supply and sanitation, public security and health services, can also benefit poor communities.

Similar perspectives have been advocated by other international bodies, such as the World Travel and Tourism Council (WTTC) (2004), the World Economic Forum (WEF) (2008), the Asian Development Bank and the World Bank, as well as the international development co-operation sector in many nations (Gössling *et al.* 2009a), often as part of poverty alleviation or pro-poor tourism (PPT) initiatives. Yet, as Chok *et al.* (2007) emphasised in their review of poverty alleviation strategies, tourism is all too often regarded as a panacea – an economic, social and environmental ‘cure-all’ whose claims for

sustainable development, including welfare equity and poverty reduction, need to be seriously evaluated and considered in context (see also Winters *et al.* 2013).

Although the focus of many in the development community is on small-scale, so-called ‘alternative’ cultural and ecotourism projects in more peripheral regions, the reality is that the majority of leisure tourism is what may best be described as ‘mass’ tourism which is spatially and temporally concentrated in resort areas. Development community projects are also highly dependent on mass tourism, as: (1) they rely on the mass international transport infrastructure to bring people to a country; and (2) visits to community projects are often a form of secondary activity that people will undertake in addition to, rather than instead of, travel to more conventional mass tourism attractions.

The difficulty faced by many tourism development projects is that their proponents have often not considered their relative inaccessibility to markets, especially in comparison with competing activities and/or destinations. For example, in some short-term situations ecotourism can provide win-win situations for local people and local nature, but there are substantial difficulties in maintaining such results over time, as a result of competition within the tourism sector, loss of project assistance, relative value of tourism in comparison with alternative resource use, and economic and environmental change (Hall 2007a; Zapata *et al.* 2011). Nevertheless, despite potential drawbacks, many governments continue to perceive tourism as a key development strategy (e.g. Harrison 2004). This is understandable given the disparate perspectives that exist, and particularly for island LDCs, where tourism may represent perhaps the only development option with the exception of fishing or offshore energy development.

One of the ironies of the perceived employment benefits of tourism and recreation is that areas which have tourism as a mainstay of the local economy often tend to have high levels of unemployment where there is substantial flexibility in the regulation of the labour market (Hall 2003a). For example, two of Australia’s major destination areas, the Gold Coast and

the Sunshine Coast in Queensland, have often had unemployment rates significantly above the national average (Mullins 1984, 1990). Such a situation is often regarded by local politicians as an ‘imported problem’, as a result of temporary domestic migration. Instead, the reason rests on the nature of the two regions’ economies. The economies of both areas are founded on two industries that are affected by substantial fluctuations in demand: tourism, which is seasonal, and construction, which is cyclical and is itself related to actual or predicted tourist flows. Therefore, as Mullins (1990: 39) reported, ‘high rates of unemployment seem inevitable’, although as destination regions diversify their economic base unemployment levels should fall over time as a result of less dependence on tourism demand.

Another major consideration in the potential contribution of tourism to the national economy is the organisation and spatial allocation of capital and, in particular, the penetration of foreign or international capital (Hudson 2000; Shaw and Williams 2004). The distribution and organisation of capital and tourists are also spread unevenly between and within regions; indeed, tourism may be regarded as a mechanism for redistributing wealth between regions (Pearce 1990, 1992a). However, the extent to which this actually occurs once all capital flows are taken into account is highly problematic. Geographers have long noted the manner in which tourism tends to distribute development away from urban areas towards those regions in a country which have not been developed (e.g. Christaller 1963), with the core–periphery nature of tourism being an important component of political-economy approaches towards tourism (Britton 1980a, 1980b, 1982; Shaw and Williams 2004; Hall 2005a), particularly with respect to tourism in island microstates (Connell 1988; Lea 1988; Weaver 1998; Gössling 2003; Duval 2004).

More recently, geographers have begun to critically analyse tourism with reference to issues of economic restructuring, processes of globalisation and the development of post-Fordist modes of production, including recognition of ‘the cultural turn’ in economic geography (e.g. Britton 1991; Hall 1994; Debbage and Ioannides 1998, 2004; Milne 1998;

Williams and Shaw 1998; Shaw and Williams 2004). Tourism is a significant component of these shifts which may be described as ‘post-industrial’ or ‘post-Fordist’, which refers to the shift from an industrial to an information technology/service base. In addition, tourism is part of the globalisation of the international economy, in which economic production is transnational, interdependent and multipolar, with less and less dependence on the nation state as the primary unit of international economic organisation (see Box 3.3). As Williams and Shaw recognise:

The essence of tourism is the way in which the global interacts with the local. For example, mass tourism emphasises a global scan for destinations for global (or at least macro-regional) markets, while some forms of new tourism seek to exploit the individuality of places. These global-local relationships are not static but are subject to a variety of restructuring processes.

(Williams and Shaw 1998: 59)

The notion of the ‘globalisation’ of tourism implies its increasing commodification. The tourist production system simultaneously ‘sells’ places in order to attract tourists, the means to the end (travel and accommodation) and the end itself (the tourist experience). Therefore, tourism finds itself at the forefront of an important recent dynamic within capitalist accumulation in terms of the creation and marketing of experiences. Tourists ‘are purchasing the intangible qualities of restoration, status, lifestyle signifier, release from the constraints of everyday life, or conveniently packaged novelty’ (Britton 1991: 465). Within this setting, place is therefore commodified and reduced to an experience and images for consumption (see Chapter 5 for a further discussion).

Related to the economic analysis of tourism has been the study of the forecasting of visitor demand (e.g. Blake and Sinclair 2003; Durbarry and Sinclair 2003). Several studies of hallmark events, for example, have attempted to deal with the problem of forecasting visitor demand (see Ritchie and Aitken 1984; Hall 1992b) (see also Box 4.1). Nevertheless,

BOX 4.1 THE ECONOMIC IMPACT OF EVENTS

An area which has long seen attention by geographers (e.g. Shaw 1985; Getz 1991a, 1991b, 2005, 2012; Hall 1992b, 2006b; Hall *et al.* 1995; Hall and Hodges 1996; Macbeth *et al.* 2012) is the impact of hosting staged, short-term attractions, usually referred to as hallmark, special or mega events (Ritchie 1984; Ritchie and Yangzhou 1987; Hall 1989), and particularly the impact of sports teams and events (Hall 2001b; Hinch and Higham 2003; Owen 2003). The hallmark event is different in its appeal from the attractions normally promoted by the tourist industry as it is not a continuous or seasonal phenomenon. Indeed, in many cases the hallmark event is a strategic response to the problems that seasonal variations in demand pose for the tourist industry (Ritchie and Beliveau 1974), although, the ability of an event 'to achieve this objective depends on the uniqueness of the event, the status of the event, and the extent to which it is successfully marketed within tourism generated regions' (Ritchie 1984: 2). As with other areas of research on the economic impacts of tourism, the analysis of hallmark events has been controversial and often characterised by overstated large benefit–cost ratios (Hall 1989, 1992b; Getz 1991b; Li and Jago 2013). Several reasons can be cited for this:

- There has been a failure to account for the economic impact that would have occurred anyway but has switched from one industry to another.
- There has been an 'unfortunately common mistake' of attributing all the benefits received from the event to government expenditure, instead of establishing the marginal impact of that contribution' (Burns and Mules 1986: 8, 10).
- The taxation benefits of expenditure generation have been counted as additional to the multiplier 'flow-ons' when they have already been included.
- 'Output' rather than 'value-added' multipliers, which can result in major overestimates of the economic impact of events, are frequently uncritically used.
- There has been a general failure to delimit the size of the regional economy that is to be studied. The smaller the area to be analysed, the greater will be the number of 'visitors' and hence the greater would be the estimate of economic impact.

substantial methodological problems still remain, and 'although relatively sophisticated statistical measures have been used, forecasts of tourism demand can produce only approximations' (Uysal and Crompton 1985: 13).

Tourism Satellite Accounts

Another significant area of the assessment of the economic impacts of tourism is with respect to the development of Tourism Satellite Accounts (TSAs). The national government statisticians of France were the first to explore ways to analyse aspects of a

nation's economy that are not adequately represented within the System of National Accounts (SNA), such as tourism which crosses over existing International Standards Industry Classifications (ISIC) and the Central Product Classification (CPC). To do this they developed a concept called *comptes satellites* (satellite accounts). The TSA approach identifies the tourism percentage of each ISIC/CPC listed industrial sector (account) in a country's overall economy (System of National Accounts (SNA)) and identified the economic contribution of tourism from that calculation (Smith 2004). However, it is impossible to compare TSA results between two places unless

they have used exactly the same methodology from data collection through to application (Hall and Lew 2009).

TSAs can be used to determine which industrial classifications have the highest proportion of tourism-related sales in order to try and relate tourism economic activity and behaviour to research on standard industrial classifications (Hall 2009b), as well as potentially compare labour productivity between sectors (Hall and Lew 2009). Its use is also being explored with respect to GHG emissions (Jones 2013). However, one of the most significant problems with the TSA approach is that the selection of sectors to include in the analysis, and the portions of each sector to assign to tourism, is subjective and open to debate. Although the TSA provides a useful basis for understanding the economic effects of visitor-related activity and its inter-industry linkages within an economy, the TSA approach can too easily include items as tourism outputs that are far removed from tourism, at least as it is popularly understood (Productivity Commission 2005). For example, in calculating the global economic size of travel and tourism, the WTTC includes the full budget of the US Federal Railroad Administration, the US National Park Service, and the US Fish and Wildlife Service (Hall and Lew 2009). This situation has led some commentators to argue that the use of TSAs, and the promotion of their results, by tourism interest groups has misled people in many countries because they exaggerate of the size of the industry and the employment it provides (Leiper 1999). The TSA is therefore best used to understand linkages and compare changes within a single economy at one point in time, or over a specific time period for which data is available (Hall and Lew 2009).

Competitiveness

One area in which there are some fundamental differences between geographers and much tourism research is the issue of destination competitiveness (Hall 2007b, 2013h). There is 'no single, all-encompassing economic or economic geographic theory that provides a generally accepted definition and explanation

of regional competitiveness. What we have instead is a range of different theoretical accounts of (relative) regional growth' (Martin 2005: 16), from which implications for regional, and potentially destination, competitiveness are inferred. From a regional studies perspective at least, much of what happens in tourism policy with respect to place promotion, subsidised competition to host events, build stadiums and engage in the serial replication of other infrastructure such as convention centres, casinos and leisure/retail complexes is often regarded as a 'low road' route to regional competitiveness (Malecki 2004). This compares to a 'high road' competitiveness strategy founded on high productivity achieved through constant innovation in products, services and processes, investment, a highly skilled labour force, internal and external networking, high connectivity and accessibility and continued scanning for new knowledge (Malecki 2004; Hall 2007b; Hall and Williams 2008).

The price competitiveness of destinations is clearly important (Dwyer and Forsyth 2011). However, much tourism writing on destination competitiveness fails to appreciate the broader debates over the applicability of the concept to places in regional studies and economic geography thinking on place and regions, a field in which the basic question of 'can a nation or a region be treated as a firm?' is much debated (Krugman 1994, 1996, 2005; Bristow 2005, 2010). In contrast this issue appears a virtually unquestioned basic assumption in tourism studies with respect to destinations (Hall 2007b). Yet there are surely some fundamental questions about the way in which the notion of a destination and place competitive discourse in tourism is constructed and reflects some of the ontological issues discussed in the introduction to this chapter between the parts and the whole of the tourism system (Hall 2013h). How and why is it assumed that a destination is a business entity (as opposed to an economic entity) that is somehow 'more' than a region or location to which people travel. If it is more than a place, then what has been 'defined out'? A destination is clearly more than the sum of the tourism firms within it. Furthermore, to what extent can tourism be treated as a zero-sum game; does the success of one destination actually occur at the expense of another over time, as

opposed to being part of the 'aware set' of potential destinations of an individual decision-maker at a specific point in time, or are there other factors at play (Hall 2013h)?

Many of the early studies of the effects of tourism were restricted to economic analyses and enumerated the financial and employment benefits which accrued to destination areas as a result of tourism development. However, since the late 1970s a number of studies have emerged that examine the socio-cultural impacts of tourism which cast a more negative light on tourism's development capacities (Mathieson and Wall 1982).

Analysis of tourism's social impacts

The social impact of tourism refers to the manner in which tourism and travel effect changes in collective and individual value systems, behaviour patterns, community structures, lifestyle and the quality of life (Hall 1995; Mason 2003). The major focus of research on the social impacts of tourism is on the population of the tourist destination rather than on the tourist generating area and the tourists themselves, although significant work is also done in this area, particularly with respect to outdoor recreationists. The variables which contribute to resident perceptions of tourism may be categorised as either extrinsic or intrinsic (Faulkner and Tideswell 1996). Extrinsic variables refer to factors which affect a community at a macro level (e.g. stage of tourism development, the ratio between tourists and residents, cultural differences between tourists and residents, and seasonality). Intrinsic variables are those factors which may vary in association with variations in the characteristics of individuals in a given population (e.g. demographic characteristics, involvement in tourism and proximity to tourist activity) (Hall 1998).

Researchers from a number of disciplinary backgrounds have conducted work on the social impacts of tourism. For example, interest in tourism marketing strategies and increased concern for the social consequences of tourism led to the social psychology of tourism becoming a major area of research (e.g. Pearce

1982, 2005; Stringer 1984; Stringer and Pearce 1984). Research in the marketing of the tourist product sees attention being paid to the demand, motivations and preferences of the potential tourist (e.g. Van Raaij and Francken 1984; Kent *et al.* 1987; Smith 1995; Pearce 2005), the evaluation of the tourist product and potential tourist resources (e.g. Ferrario 1979a, 1979b; Gartner 1986; Smith 1995), the intended and unintended use of tourist brochures (e.g. Dilley 1986), the utility of market segmentation for specific targeting of potential consumers (e.g. Murphy and Staples 1979; Smith 1995) and tourist and recreationist satisfaction. In the latter area, geographers have done a substantial amount of work in the outdoor recreation and backcountry use field, particularly with respect to the effects of crowding on visitor satisfaction (e.g. Shelby *et al.* 1989; see also Chapter 7).

Marketing research acts as a link between economic and psychological analysis of tourism (Van Raaij 1986; Hall 2014) and gives notice of the need for a wider understanding of the social impact of tourism on visitor and host populations. Research on the social psychology of tourism has run parallel with the research of behavioural geographers in the area, with there being increased interchange between the two fields in recent years (e.g. Jenkins and Walmsley 1993; see also Walmsley and Lewis 1993). Interestingly, the development of a more radical critique of behaviour in geography also has parallels in the social psychology of tourism as well (Pearce 2005). For example, the research of Uzzell (1984) on the psychology of tourism marketing from a structuralist perspective offered a major departure from traditional social psychology. Uzzell's (1984) alternative formulation of the role of social psychology in the study of tourism has been reflected in much of the research conducted in anthropological, geographical (e.g. Britton 1991) and sociological approaches to the social impacts of tourism (e.g. Urry 1990, 1991). Such work has also become increasingly important as geographers seek to find ways to encourage more appropriate environmental behaviours in an attempt to reduce GHG emissions (Gössling 2011; Hall 2011g, 2013e; Hibbert *et al.* 2013; Peeters 2013; Ram *et al.* 2013).

The early work of Forster (1964), Cohen (1972, 1974, 1979a, 1979b), Smith and Turner (1973) and MacCannell (1973, 1976), along with the more recent contribution by Urry (1990), have provided the basis for formulating a sociology of tourism, while V. Smith (1977) and Graburn (1983) provided a useful overview of anthropology's early contributions to tourism studies. The research of geographers such as Young (1973), Butler (1974, 1975, 1980), D. Pearce (1979, 1981), Mathieson and Wall (1982) and Murphy (1985) also yielded significant early insights into tourism's social impacts.

Many studies of the social impacts of tourism initially focused on the impact of tourism on developing countries (UNESCO 1976). This research is no doubt necessary, yet caution must be used in applying research findings from one culture to another. Nevertheless, problems of cultural change and anxiety, social stress in the host community and social dislocation resulting from changes to the pattern of economic production may be identified in a wide number of studies undertaken in a variety of cultures and social settings (e.g. Farrell 1978; Mathieson and Wall 1982; Clary 1984b; Meleghy *et al.* 1985; Lea 1988; Getz 1993c; Shaw and Williams 1994; Hall and Page 1996; Nash 1996; Mowforth and Munt 1998, 2003; Weaver 1998; Mason 2003; Reid 2003).

The social costs of tourism to the host community will vary according to the characteristics of both visitor and host (Pizam 1978). However, tourism does undoubtedly cause changes in the social character of the destination (Long 1984; Mason 2003). These changes may be related to the seasonality of tourism (Hartmann 1984), the nature of the tourist (Harmston 1980), the influence of a foreign culture (Mathieson and Wall 1982) and/or the disruption of community leisure and 'private' space (O'Leary 1976). An appreciation by planners of the social costs of tourism is essential for both financial and social reasons (Reid 2003; Dredge and Jenkins 2007). Rejection of visitors by segments of the host community may well result in a decline in the attractiveness of the tourist destination, in addition to the creation of disharmony within the host community (Murphy 1985; Getz 1994; Page and Lawton 1997). Nevertheless, it is also

important to recognise that it may be difficult at times to distinguish between tourism as a factor in social change and other dimensions of change, such as globalisation of communication technology.

Tourism development may initiate changes in government and private organisations (Hall and Jenkins 1995; Mason 2003; Reid 2003) in order to cater for the impact of tourism. For instance, additional law enforcement officers may be required (Rothman *et al.* 1979), while special measures may be needed to restrict dislocation created by increased rents and land values (Cowie 1985) where such regulation is possible. Geographers have long emphasised the importance of meaningful community participation in the decision-making process that surrounds the formulation of tourism policy and development (e.g. Butler 1974, 1975; Brougham and Butler 1981; D.G. Pearce 1981; Getz 1984; Murphy 1985; Mason 2003; Reid 2003; Murphy and Murphy 2004). Furthermore, the social impacts of tourism are complex and need to be examined within the context of the various economic, environmental, political and cultural factors that contribute to tourism development in a destination (Runyan and Wu 1979; Wu 1982; Keller 1984; Shaw 1985, 1986; Mason 2003; Murphy and Murphy 2004; Hall 2005a, 2008a).

Community attitudes towards tourism invariably simultaneously reveal both positive and negative attitudes towards tourism (Butler 1975). For example, various positive and negative attitudes towards tourism were indicated in several highly cited studies of resident attitudes towards tourism in northern New South Wales, Australia (Hall 1990). Pigram (1987) utilised Doxey's (1975) 'irridex' scale of euphoria, apathy, annoyance and antagonism to investigate resident attitudes in the resort town of Coffs Harbour. According to Pigram (1987: 67), 'the overwhelming majority felt that the economic and otherwise benefits of tourism outweighed the disadvantages'. Despite the overall favourable or apathetic response of residents, several negative reactions towards tourism did emerge from the study. According to Pigram (1987), the greatest impact of tourism on the local community was the perceived increase in the cost of goods and services because of the presence of tourists. The

respondents also indicated that they believed that petty crime was also worse during the tourist season, an observation supported by Walmsley *et al.*'s (1981, 1983) study of crime in the region during the late 1970s. Furthermore, the natural environment of the Coffs Harbour area was perceived as slightly worse as a result of tourism, with the greatest impact being on the beaches. However, opportunities for public recreation were perceived as the attribute of community life registering the most significant improvement as a result of tourism (Pigram 1987).

Resident attitudes are undoubtedly a key component in the identification, measurement and analysis of tourism impacts. However, investigation of community attitudes towards tourism is not just an academic exercise. Such attitudes are also important in terms of the determination of local policy, planning and management responses to tourism development and in establishing the extent to which public support exists for tourism (Page and Lawton 1997). For example, Getz (1994) argued that resident perceptions of tourism may be one factor in shaping the attractiveness of a destination, where negative attitudes may be an indicator of an area's ability to absorb tourism. Although Getz suggests (1994: 247) that 'identification of causal mechanisms is a major theoretical challenge, and residents can provide the local knowledge necessary to link developments with their

consequences', it assumes that residents are sufficiently aware, perceptive and able to articulate such views to decision-makers and planners. Nevertheless, negative resident perceptions may lead to adverse reactions towards tourism and create substantial difficulties for the development of further facilities and infrastructure (Page and Lawton 1997). For example, although communities with a history of exposure to tourism may adapt and change to accommodate its effects (Rothman 1978), active or passive support or opposition may exist at any given time, as interest groups take political action to achieve specific objectives in relation to tourism (Hall and Jenkins 1995; Murphy and Murphy 2004).

In locations where the original community is 'swamped' by large-scale tourism development in a relatively short space of time, disruption to the community values of the original inhabitants is more likely to occur (Hudson 1990a, 1990b). Table 4.4 details the costs and benefits of such tourism development in Broome, Western Australia. However, it must be emphasised that resident attitudes to tourism development will be influenced by where they fit into the existing social and economic order, their personal gains from the development process, and/or their response to the changing environment in light of their pre-existing values and attitudes (Hudson 1990b). Indeed, one of the interesting aspects of

Table 4.4 Costs and benefits of tourism development in Broome, Australia

<i>Costs</i>	<i>Benefits</i>
Marginalisation of the Aboriginal and coloured people	Expansion of new services and businesses
Too much power in vested interests	More infrastructure and community facilities
Destruction of multicultural flavour of the town and the original form of Shinju Matsuri	More sealed roads and kerbing and guttering
Increased racism	Increased variety of restaurants/entertainment
High accommodation costs/shortage	Restoration of Broome architecture
High local prices	Better health system
Less friendly/more local conflicts	Tidier town
Environmental impacts (e.g. dune destruction)	
Loss of historical character of town and imposition of artificially created atmosphere	
More crime/domestic violence	

Source: P. Hudson (1990b: 10).

tourism development in Broome is that, as in many other destinations, even though tourism is recognised as having some negative impacts, it nevertheless continues to be embraced for economic development and employment purposes (Frost 2004; Collins 2008). Such a situation indicated that while individuals may perceive there to be negative tourism impacts, they may still be favourable towards tourism's overall benefits to the community. Faulkner and Tideswell (1996) referred to this phenomenon as the 'altruistic surplus' and suggested that this could be the result of a mature stage of tourism development in a destination region whereby residents have adapted to tourism through experience and migration.

In addition to attitudinal studies, a number of other approaches and issues are of interest to the geographer. For example, historical studies of tourism may indicate the role tourism has in affecting attitudes and values with a destination community (e.g. Wall 1983a; Butler and Wall 1985). Studies of tourism policy may assist in an understanding of the way governments develop strategies to manage the negative impacts of tourism and in the overall manner that tourism is used in regional development (e.g. Papson 1981; Kosters 1984; Hall and Jenkins 1995, 2004; Reid 2003; Dredge and Jenkins 2007).

Another area of tourism's social impact which has received more attention in recent years is that of health (Clift and Page 1996; Wilks and Page 2003). Researchers have examined the spatial misinformation provided by travel agents when advising clients of the potential health risks they may face when travelling to Pacific Island destinations (Lawton and Page 1997a, 1997b). What such research shows is the vital role of understanding place, space and the geography of risk in relation to the epidemiology of disease (Hall and James 2011). While geographers have studied disease for many years, making the link between travel and disease is a comparatively new development (Clift and Page 1996; Hall 2011d). For example, tourism may assist in the spread of disease, while tourists themselves are vulnerable to illness while travelling. Indeed, one of the major focal points for geographers' research on tourist health in recent years has been the spread of AIDS and its association with

sex tourism (Kinnaird and Hall 1994; Ryan and Hall 2001). There is growing evidence that the geographer will continue to develop expertise in this area and a major contribution could be made at a public policy level in the rapid dissemination of disease alerts to medical practitioners and health professionals through the use of GIS technology.

Another area to which geographers have been paying increasing attention is the relationship between tourism and indigenous peoples in both developed and less developed nations. While anthropology has focused considerable attention on the impacts and effects of tourism on indigenous peoples (e.g. V.L. Smith 1977, 1992), geographers have assisted greatly in broadening the research agenda to include greater consideration of the way in which indigenous peoples interact with wildlife, the relationship between indigenous peoples and ecotourism and national parks, tourism and land rights, and indigenous business development (e.g. Nelson 1986; Nickels *et al.* 1991; Mercer 1994; Butler and Hinch 1996, 2007; Lew and van Otten 1997; Weaver 2010; Blangy *et al.* 2012).

One of the most important concepts in humanistic geography is that of a 'sense of place'. A sense of place arises where people feel a particular attachment or personal relationship to an area in which local knowledge and human contacts are meaningfully maintained. 'People demonstrate their sense of place when they apply their moral or aesthetic discernment to sites and locations' (Tuan 1974: 235). However, people may only consciously notice the unique qualities of their place when they are away from it or when it is being rapidly altered. The sense of place concept is of significance to tourism development for a number of reasons. The redevelopment and re-imaging of communities for tourism purposes (see Chapter 5) may force long-term residents to leave and may change the character of the community (Ley and Olds 1988). In these instances, the identification of residents with the physical and social structure of the neighbourhood may be deeply disturbed, leading to a condition of 'placelessness' (Relph 1976). Residents of destinations which find themselves faced with rapid tourism development may therefore attempt to preserve components

of the townscape, including buildings and parks, in order to retain elements of their identity.

The conservation of heritage is often a reaction to the rate of physical and social change within a community. Generally, when people feel they are in control of their own destiny they have little call for nostalgia. However, the strength of environment and heritage conservation organisations in developed nations is perhaps a reflection of the desire to retain a sense of continuity with the past (Lowenthal 1975, 1985). In addition, the protection of historic buildings and the establishment of heritage precincts can also effect a significant economic return to destinations because of the desire of many visitors to experience what they perceive as authentic forms of tourism (Konrad 1982; Hall and McArthur 1996; Timothy 2011).

Physical environmental impacts

One of the areas of major interest for geographers is the impacts of tourists and recreationists on the physical environment (Butler 2000). The reason for this lies in part in the nature of geography, which has a strong tradition of study of the interactions of humans with their environment (Mitchell and Murphy 1991; Wong 2004). Indeed, the impacts of tourism and recreation on the physical environment and the subsequent resource analysis are one area where human and physical geographers find a degree of common ground in studying visitor issues (Johnston 1983b; Butler 2000; Mason 2003). However, another reason is the sheer significance of the physical environment for the recreation and tourism industry.

The relationship between tourism and the environment is site and culture dependent and will probably change through time and in relation to broader economic, environmental and social concerns. As noted in Chapter 3, the recognition of something as a resource is the result of human perception; so it is also with the recognition that there are undesirable impacts on an environmental resource.

Increasing attention has been given to the impacts that tourism and recreation may have on the environmental and physical characteristics of a host

community since the early 1970s (Walter 1975; Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development 1980). Interest in this area of applied geography is partly a response to the growth of tourism and the sheer impact that increased numbers of visitors will have on specific sites. However, concern has also developed because of the activities of environmental interest groups, which have often provided an advocacy role for geographers in terms of arguing the results of the research and scholarship in direct involvement in the planning and policy process (Hall 1992a; Mercer 2000, 2004). The rise of the environmental movement has not only led to improvements in conservation practices but also encouraged public interest in natural areas and helped shape how the environment is seen. According to O'Riordan and Turner:

Although environmentalists are not the only people who object to much of what they interpret as modern day values, aspirations and ways of life, it is probably fair to say that one of the two things which unite their disparate perceptions is a wish to alter many of the unjust and foolhardy features they associate with modern capitalism of both a state and private variety. The other common interest is a commitment to cut waste and reduce profligacy by consuming resources more frugally. Environmentalists do not agree, however, about how the transition should be achieved.

(O'Riordan and Turner 1984: 1)

Nevertheless, despite confusion about what is meant by an environmentally 'responsible' approach to tourism development, it is apparent that the protection of the natural and cultural resources upon which tourism is based is essential for the sustainable development of a location (Hall and Lew 1998).

There is no fundamental difference in conducting research on the effects of tourism on the natural environment and research on the environmental impacts of recreation. The footprints of a recreationalist are the same as those of the tourist. The majority of research has been undertaken on the effects of tourism and recreation on wildlife and the trampling of

vegetation, with historically relatively little attention being given to impacts on soils and air and water quality (Wall and Wright 1977; Mathieson and Wall 1982; Edington and Edington 1986; Meyer-Arendt 1993; Parliamentary Commissioner for the Environment 1997). However, the latter is now changing because of growing concerns over climate change (Gössling 2002; Hall and Higham 2005; Scott *et al.* 2012), as well as the pressures of water use by tourism development (Gössling 2001; Gössling *et al.* 2012b).

The majority of studies have examined the impacts of tourism and recreation on a particular environment or component of the environment rather than over a range of environments. According to Mathieson and Wall (1982: 94), 'there has been little attempt to present an integrated approach to the assessment of the impacts of tourism'. However, there is clearly a need to detect the effects of tourism on all aspects of an ecosystem. For example, the ecology of an area may be dramatically changed through the removal of a key species in the food chain or through the introduction of new species, such as trout, for enhanced benefits for recreational fishing or game for hunters (Hall 1995). In addition, it is important to distinguish between perceptions and actual impacts of tourism (Orams 2002). For example, many visitors believe an environment is healthy as long as it looks 'clean and green'. The ecological reality may instead be vastly different; an environment may be full of invasive introduced species, which, although contributing to a positive aesthetic perception, may have extremely negative ecological implications (Newsome *et al.* 2012). For example, while New Zealand promotes its tourism very strongly on the basis of its 'clean, green' image, the reality is quite different with respect to many tourist locations, which may have very few indigenous species present and may have very low biodiversity (Parliamentary Commissioner for the Environment 1997; Hall 2010g).

Research on impacts has focused on particular regions or environments, which has limited the ability to generalise the findings from one area to another. In addition, research on visitor impacts is comparatively recent and is generally a reaction to site-specific problems. We therefore rarely know what

conditions were like before tourists and recreationalists arrived. Few longitudinal studies exist by which the long-term impacts of visitation can be assessed. Therefore, there are a number of significant methodological problems which need to be addressed in undertaking research on the environmental effects of tourism (Mathieson and Wall 1982; Hall and Lew 2009):

- the difficulty of distinguishing between changes induced by tourism and those induced by other activities;
- the lack of information concerning conditions prior to the advent of tourism and, hence, the lack of a baseline against which change may be measured;
- the paucity of information on the numbers, types and tolerance levels of different species of flora and fauna;
- the concentration of researchers upon particular resources or locations.

Nevertheless, despite the difficulties that have emerged in studying the relationship between tourism and the natural environment, it is apparent that 'a proper understanding of biological, or more specifically, ecological factors can significantly reduce the scale of environmental damage associated with recreational and tourist development' (Edington and Edington 1986: 2).

Tourism and recreation can have an adverse impact on the physical environment in numerous ways; for example, the construction of facilities that are aesthetically unsympathetic to the landscape in which they are situated, what D. Pearce (1978: 152) described as 'architectural pollution', and through the release of airborne and water-borne pollutants (de Freitas 2003; Hall and Härkönen 2006). Tourist or special-event facilities may change the character of the urban setting. Indeed, the location of a facility or attraction may be deliberately exploited in an attempt to rejuvenate an urban area through the construction of new infrastructure, as with the 1987 America's Cup in Fremantle (Hall 1992b) or other hallmark events such as the Olympic Games or World Fairs (see Chapter 5). The promotion of tourism without the provision of an adequate infrastructure to cope with

increased visitor numbers may well cause a decline in urban environmental quality, for instance in the impacts of increased traffic flows (Schaer 1978). However, there is a wide range of tourism and recreation impacts on the urban physical environment (Table 4.5) that may have substantial implications for the longer-term sustainability of a destination which are only now being addressed in the tourism literature (Page 1995a; Hinch 1996).

Many of the ecological effects of tourist facilities may well take a long time to become apparent because of the nature of the environment, as in the case of the siting of marinas or resorts (Hall and Selwood 1987). The impact of outdoor recreation on the natural environment has been well documented (Wall and Wright 1977; Mathieson and Wall 1982; Liddle 1997; Hammitt and Cole 1998; Mason 2003) and is discussed further in Chapter 7. However, research on the

physical impacts of tourism and tourism development presents an important area of future research, particularly with respect to sustainable tourism development (Farrell and McLellan 1987; Farrell and Runyan 1991; Hunter and Green 1995; German Federal Agency for Nature Conservation 1997; Hall and Lew 1998; Briassoulis and van der Straaten 1999; Gössling 2003; Mason 2003; Gössling and Hall 2006a).

Where the geographer has employed techniques from environmental science such as Environmental Assessment (EA), the spatial consequences of tourism and recreation activity have not always been fully appreciated. For example, Page (1992) reviewed the impact of the Channel Tunnel project on the natural and built environment and yet the generative effects of new tourist trips had been weakly articulated in the mountains of documents describing the effects to be mitigated, failing to recognise how this might impact

Table 4.5 The impact of tourism on the urban physical environment

The urban physical environment

- land lost through tourism development which might have been used for other purposes
- changes to urban hydrology

Visual impact

- development of tourism/leisure/cultural/entertainment districts
- introduction of new architectural styles
- potential reinforcement of vernacular architectural forms
- potential contribution to urban population growth

Infrastructure

- potential overloading of existing urban infrastructure with the following utilities and developments:
 - roads
 - railways
 - car parking
 - energy
 - sewerage and water supply
- provision of new infrastructure
- additional environmental management measures to accommodate tourists and adapt areas for tourist use

Urban form

- changes to land use as residential areas are replaced by accommodation developments
- alterations to the urban fabric from pedestrianisation and traffic management schemes which have been constructed to accommodate visitation
- changes to the streetscape as urban designs are modified

Restoration

- the restoration and conservation of historic sites and buildings
- reuse of the facades of heritage buildings

Source: after Page (1995a); Page and Hall (2003).

on destination areas. Again, planners and researchers had failed to recognise that recreational and tourist behaviour cannot easily be incorporated into spatially specific plans for individual infrastructure projects which will have knock-on effects for other parts of the tourism system. Page (1999) also reviews the role of geographers in developing more meaningful appraisals of environmental impacts resulting from tourist transport and the need to scrutinise private sector claims of minimising environmental impacts. Nevertheless, tourism's impacts on the natural environment have often been exaggerated. This is because the impacts of tourism have often failed to be distinguished from other forms of development impact or even such factors as overpopulation, poor agricultural practices or poor resource management (Mercer 2000). This is not to say that tourism has not affected the environment. Yet, what is often at issue are aesthetic or cumulative impacts rather than effects that can be related solely to tourism development; such an observation may apply with respect to individual species, such as manta rays (O'Malley *et al.* 2013), albatross (Higham 1998) and dolphins and whales (Orams 2005), specific environments, such as caves (Baker and Genty 1998), and locations, for example the Great Barrier Reef (Lawrence *et al.* 2002). Indeed, to focus on tourism as a form of negative impact on the natural environment can lead to a lack of appreciation of environmental problems which arise from other forms of economic development, such as depletion of fisheries and forest resources and the loss of biodiversity, and the overall lack of monitoring and management of many environments (Farrell and Marion 2001).

In the South Pacific, a region threatened by major environmental problems (Hall and Page 1996; Harrison 2004; Hall 2010h), including climate change (Hay 2013; Nunn 2013) and biodiversity loss (Hall 2010i), data and information are highly fragmented (Milne 1990; Sun and Walsh 1998; Warnken and Buckley 2000). Baseline data, i.e. information regarding the condition of the natural environment prior to tourism development, are invariably lacking. The range of tourism-related impacts is similar to that for many other destinations. However, in the case of Pacific islands, tourism impacts may be more problematic because tourism is concentrated on or near the

ecologically and geomorphologically dynamic coastal environment. Due to the highly dynamic nature of the coastal environment and the significance of mangroves and the limited coral sand supply for island beaches in particular, any development which interferes with the natural system may have severe consequences for the long-term stability of the environment. The impact of poorly developed tourism projects on the sand cays (coral sand islands) of the Pacific, for example, has been well documented (Baines 1987; Orams 2002; Wong 2003):

- near-shore vegetation clearing exposes the island to sea storm erosion and decreases plant material decomposition on the beach, thereby reducing nutrient availability for flora and fauna;
- manoeuvring by bulldozer (instead of hand clearing) results in scarring and soil disturbance and makes sand deposits loose and vulnerable to erosion;
- excessive tapping of the fresh groundwater lens induces saltwater intrusion, which then impairs vegetation growth and human water use and renders the cay susceptible to storm damage and further erosion;
- sewage outfall in shallow water and reef flats may lead to an excessive build-up of nutrients, thereby causing algal growth, which may eventually kill coral;
- sea-walls built to trap sand in the short term impair the natural seasonal distribution of sand, resulting, in the long run, in a net beach loss and a reduction of the island's land mass;
- boat channels blasted in the reef act as a sand trap; in time they fill with sand which is no longer circulating around the island; in turn this sand is replaced by other sand eroded from the vegetated edges, changing the size and shape of the island and in time threatening the island's integrity.

Another component of the coastal environment in the Pacific and in other tropical and subtropical areas that are substantially affected by tourism is the clearing and dredging of mangroves and estuaries for resorts. Mangroves and estuarine environments are extremely significant nursery areas for a variety of fish species. The loss of natural habitat due to

dredging or infilling may therefore have a dramatic impact on fish catches. In addition, there may be substantial impacts on the whole of the estuarine food chain, with a subsequent loss of ecological diversity. A further consequence of mangrove loss is reduced protection against erosion of the shoreline, thereby increasing vulnerability to storm surge, particularly given the likely increase of high magnitude events and sea-level rise as a result of climate change (Nunn 2013), as well as increased pressures on coral reefs as a result of bleaching and ocean acidification (Scott *et al.* 2012). Therefore, removal of mangroves and loss of coral reefs will not only have an adverse impact on the immediate area of clearance, but also affect other coastal areas through the transport of greater amounts of marine sediment (Clarke 1991; Barnett and Adger 2003). However, despite concerns over environmental change in the South Pacific, tourism development continues to occur in the absence of other development opportunities for rapidly growing urbanised populations.

Such expressions of concern clearly give rise to questions regarding how sustainable tourism can really be and the need to provide limits on the expansion of tourism and corresponding human impact. Indeed, observation of the potential combined pressures of the social and environmental impacts of tourism has long led researchers to speculate as to whether there exists a carrying capacity for tourist destinations (e.g. J.M. Hall 1974; McCool 1978; Getz 1983; Coccossis 2004). Yet regardless of the empirical validity of the notion of carrying capacity (Wall 1983b; Coccossis 2004), attention must clearly be paid to the ability of an area, and especially island environments, to absorb tourism in relation to the possibilities of environmental degradation in both the short and long term (see Chapter 9).

Conclusion

The purpose of this chapter has been to give a brief account of some of the potential economic, social and environmental impacts of tourism and recreation. This provides a framework for the discussion of specific forms of tourism and recreation in Chapters 5–8.

Tourism and recreation needs to be well managed in order to reduce possible adverse impacts (Mason 2003; Reid 2003; Murphy and Murphy 2004; Hall 2008a). In turn, good management is likely to be related to the level of understanding of tourism and recreation phenomena. There is clearly a need to go beyond the image of tourism and recreation, and develop rigorous integrated economic, environmental, social and political analyses.

Geographers have contributed much to the understanding of the impacts of tourism and recreation, particularly with respect to the impacts on the physical environment and the spatial fixity of such effects. What the geographer has contributed is a better understanding of the wider consequences of individual impacts and their cumulative effect on the natural environment. However, there has been considerable exchange of approaches and methodologies through the various social sciences, which means that the demarcation line between geographical and other approaches has become increasingly fuzzy (Goodenough and Page 1994; Hall and Lew 2009). Nevertheless, no one discipline will have all the answers. Given the complex nature of tourism phenomena, particularly with respect to ‘solving’ environmental problems, the development of multidisciplinary approaches towards recreation and tourism may provide an appropriate starting point for the development of more sustainable forms of tourism.

Further reading

Although now somewhat dated, one of the most influential books on understanding the impacts of tourism is:

Matheson, A. and Wall, G. (1982) *Tourism: Economic, Physical and Social Impacts*, London: Longman.

Most general textbooks on recreation and tourism will include overview chapters on the impacts of tourism. However, for some specific work on impacts, see:

Gössling, S. (2003) *Tourism and Development in Tropical Islands: Political Ecology Perspectives*, Aldershot: Edward Elgar.

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

Hall, C.M. and Saarinen, J. (eds) (2010) *Polar Tourism and Change: Climate, Environments and Experiences*, London: Routledge.

Wall, G. and Mathieson, A. (2006) *Tourism: Change, Impacts and Opportunities*, Harlow: Pearson.

Useful books which deal with the environmental dimensions of tourism and recreation and their management include:

Gössling, S. and Hall, C.M. (eds) (2006) *Tourism and Global Environmental Change*, Routledge: London.

Newsome, D., Moore, S. and Dowling, R. (2012) *Natural Area Tourism: Ecology, Impacts and Management*, 2nd edn, Clevedon: Channel View.

Scott, D., Gössling, S. and Hall, C.M. (2012) *Tourism and Climate Change: Impacts, Adaptation and Mitigation*, London: Routledge.

Questions to discuss

- 1 What are the key factors in determining the accuracy of assessment of the economic impacts of tourism?**
- 2 What may determine the acceptability of a recreation resource management model to stakeholders?**
- 3 Why are the impacts of tourism on the natural environment poorly assessed?**
- 4 Is tourism necessarily a negative impact on a destination?**
- 5 What is the difference between 'impact' and 'change'?**

Urban recreation and tourism

Towns and cities hold a special fascination for the geographer, since their evolution as places where people live, work, shop and engage in leisure has resulted from the process of urbanisation (Johnston *et al.* 1994; Pacione 2001). Since classical times, towns and cities have performed tourism and leisure functions (Page 2011), and therefore such places have a long history as places where tourism and leisure experiences have been produced and consumed. In recreational terms, town and city dwellers traditionally consumed their leisure time in the areas where they lived, with the exception of the wealthy elites (Borsay 2012) who were able to afford properties in the country, and up to the mid-nineteenth century mass forms of urban leisure and recreation were undertaken in close proximity to the home, local family and kinship networks, and local pastimes and holidays. As Page and Connell (2010: 302) argue, ‘urban places are potentially the most significant environments in which to examine . . . leisure given the increasing urbanization of the world’. By 2020 there will be 16 world cities with a population of 20 million, while the regional focus of this growth in Asia and Latin America will create new conditions for urban leisure and tourism.

Page and Connell (2010) outline the growing urbanisation of leisure (and tourism) through history, particularly as processes of change transform the nature of society and the economy (i.e. a shift from pre-industrial to industrial to post-industrialism) and the concomitant changes in the spatial configuration of urban land uses. In the case of nineteenth century Warsaw, Olkusnik (2001) documents the process of change in urban recreation. Therefore, urbanisation is a major force contributing to the development of

towns and cities, where people live, work and shop (see Johnston *et al.* 1994 for a definition of the term ‘urbanisation’). Towns and cities function as places where the population is concentrated in a defined area, and economic activities locate in the same area or nearby, to provide the opportunity for the production and consumption of goods and services in capitalist societies. Consequently, towns and cities provide the context for a diverse range of social, cultural and economic activities which the population engage in, and where tourism, leisure and entertainment form major service activities in the developed and developing world (Okello *et al.* 2012; Minhat and Amin 2012). These environments also function as meeting places, major tourist gateways, accommodation and transportation hubs, and as central places to service the needs of visitors. Most tourist trips will contain some experience of an urban area, for example when an urban dweller departs from a major gateway in a city, arrives at a gateway in another city-region and stays in accommodation in an urban area. Within cities, however, the line between tourism and recreation blurs to the extent that at times one is indistinguishable from the other, with tourists and recreationalists using the same facilities, resources and environments, although some notable differences exist. Therefore, many tourists and recreationalists will intermingle in many urban contexts.

While most tourists will experience urban tourism in some form during their holiday, visits to friends and relatives, business trips or visits for other reasons (e.g. a pilgrimage to a religious shrine such as Lourdes), recreationalists will not use the accommodation but frequent many similar places as tourists.

This chapter seeks to examine some of the ways geographers conceptualise, analyse and research urban recreation and tourism, emphasising their contribution to understanding the wider context in which such activities take place. One key feature of the chapter is the emphasis on five specific aspects of geographical inquiry: description; classification; analysis; explanation; application of theoretical and conceptual issues to practical problem-solving contexts.

According to Coppock, the geographer's principal interest in the geographical analysis of leisure provides a useful starting point in understanding the areas of research which have also been developed in urban recreation and tourism research in that they examine

the way in which . . . pursuits are linked to the whole complex of human activities and physical features that determine the distinctive characters

of places and region, and the interactions between such pursuits and the natural and man-made environments in which they occur . . . [and] the study of the spatial interactions between participants and resources probably represents the most significant contribution the geographer can make.

(Coppock 1982: 2–3)

The focus on the behavioural aspects of recreational and tourism behaviour together with the planning and, more recently, the management implications of such activities in the urban environment have become fruitful areas for geographical research, particularly the critical and radical perspectives where inequality and access to leisure are politicised and imbued with exclusivity (e.g. Byrne 2012). Issues of race along with ageing and the implications for individuals' and groups' quality of life have clear spatial divisions (Engberg *et al.* 2012).

BOX 5.1 STANLEY PARK, VANCOUVER

In 1886, 1,000 acres (404 hectares) of federal government land on a largely logged peninsula was leased to the Vancouver City Council for park and recreation purposes. The area, which was named Stanley Park, after Lord Stanley, Governor General of Canada in 1888 when the park was officially opened, now lies at the heart of Vancouver's park system and attracts an estimated 8 million visitors a year to North America's third largest urban park. As well as providing a significant secondary growth forest ecosystem and wetland (Kheraj 2007), the park also contains a number of built attractions and recreation opportunities. Although the former zoo in the park has been closed, the park still contains such attractions as the Vancouver Aquarium Marine Science centre, a miniature railway and children's farmyard, summer theatre and Brockton Point Visitor's centre, which features a number of First Nations totem poles. Recreational sites include swimming areas, golf course and putting green, tennis courts and, probably most significantly in terms of use, numerous bicycling, roller blade, jogging and walking paths. Stanley Park therefore continues many of the traditions of a multiple-use large urban park or commons of the Victorian Period (Mawani 2004), comparable with similar large areas of urban green space elsewhere in the world, such as Kings Park in Perth, Western Australia, Centennial Park in Sydney, New South Wales, or the Domain, in Auckland, New Zealand.

Stanley Park also has considerable ecological importance and is an urban ecotourism attraction. The great blue heron, the largest in the heron family, with a wing span of up to 2 metres, and a bird species considered vulnerable because of the loss of its natural habitat, has recently staged a revival in the park, with about 80 adult herons nesting in the park in 2004. The species was first identified in the park in the

1920s, but they had deserted the park by 1998. The return of the birds has turned them into something of a tourist attraction. However, as well as being noisy the colony is also quite smelly during springtime because of the waste of nesting chicks and adults and the regurgitation of crab and fish by parents in the feeding of chicks. Indeed, park officials have received complaints from people living in apartments near the colony (Hutchinson 2004), which illustrates the potential conflicts that may arise between different users of urban space. (See <http://vancouver.ca/parks-recreation-culture/stanley-park.aspx>.)

Geographical approaches to urban recreation

Despite the growth in geographical research on leisure and recreation (Coppock 1982), the focus on urban issues remained neglected. (Three geographical studies which are exceptions are Seeley (1983); Williams (1995a); and Page and Connell (2010)). As Patmore (1983: 87) noted, 'in the past geographers, with their inherently spatial interest, have tended to concentrate on outdoor recreation in rural areas, where spatial demands, and spatial conflicts have been the greatest'. This is a strange paradox according to Patmore, since

the greatest changes in recreation habits [since the early 1930s] have taken place in two opposing directions. High personal mobility has extended opportunities away from the home and brought a growing complexity to the scale and direction of leisure patterns. Conversely, the home has come to provide for a greater range of leisure opportunities, and home-centred leisure has acquired a greater significance. The family has become socially more self-sufficient, its links with the immediate community and with its own extended kinship network weaker. Social independence has been underpinned by greater physical independence of homes in the expanding suburban communities, by the weakening need for communal space that comes with lower housing densities and the command of greater private space.

(Patmore 1983: 87)

For the geographer, understanding the spatial implications of such processes and the geographical

manifestation of the urban recreational demand for and the supply of resources requires the use of concepts and methodologies to understand the complexity and simplify the reality of recreational activities to a more meaningful series of concepts and constructs. However, one area that has been largely neglected in reviews of urban recreational activities is the historical dimension (Borsay 2006). Although Towner (1996) and Page and Connell (2010) provide an all-embracing review of tourism and leisure in an historical context, it is important to acknowledge the significance of social, political, economic and geographical factors which shaped the evolution of modern-day urban recreation.

For this reason, no analysis of urban recreation can commence without an understanding of the historical and geographical processes associated with its development (see Bailey 1989). By focusing on the development of modern-day recreation in cities since their rapid expansion in the early nineteenth century, it is possible to examine many changes to the form, function and format of urban recreation and its spatial occurrence in the nascent urban-industrial cities and conurbations in England and Wales.

Evolution of urban recreation in Britain

Within the context of towns and cities, S. Williams argues that

urban populations engage in most of their leisure activities within the same urban area in which they live. The geographical patterns of residence are translated very readily into a pattern of recreation

that is focused upon the urban environment, purely by the fact that most people spend the majority of their leisure time in, or close to the home.

(Williams 1995a: 8)

Patterns of residence and recreation are closely related. Contemporary patterns of recreation and the ways in which they developed in Britain are fundamental to any understanding of the development of recreational opportunities in urban areas. According to Williams (1995a), these passed through three distinct phases: foundation, consolidation and expansion.

Phase 1: foundation

During the nineteenth century, public provision for urban recreational activities emerged through legislative provision (e.g. the number of urban parks in Britain increased from 19 between 1820 and 1850 to 111 between 1850 and 1880 (Conway 1991), while innovations in town planning and urban design led to improved quality of streets and housing areas, expanding the space for recreation. In addition, the nineteenth century saw the social geography of towns and cities in England and Wales (Lawton 1978) develop, with social patterns of segregation and suburbanisation fuelled by urban growth. This also affected the development of recreational opportunities as cities expanded during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. In the case of Liverpool, Marne (2001) examined the class, gender and ethnicity issues associated with the growth of urban park provision in Liverpool, highlighting many of the socio-geographic inequalities which exist at the present time.

Phase 2: consolidation

The period 1918 to 1939 saw a growth in more specialised forms of urban recreational land uses stimulated by legislation such as the rise of the Small Holdings and Allotments Act 1908, which expanded the range and type of amenity space in towns and cities, while other gaps in provision (e.g. the National Playing Fields Association, formed in 1925)

recognised the need for space in urban areas to support the role of sport. Likewise, the Physical Training and Recreational Act 1937 effectively signalled the emergence of public sector aid from central government for local authority provision of playing fields, gymnasias and swimming baths.

Phase 3: expansion

During the post-war period several key trends emerged, including 'greater levels and diversity of provision in which traditional resources established in earlier phases have been augmented by new forms of provision designed to reflect the diversity and flexibility of contemporary recreational tastes' (Williams 1995a: 20). One common theme is the recognition of recreation as an element in statutory planning procedures as the range and consumption of land for recreational purposes increased. However, according to Williams (1995a: 21), in the absence of theoretical approaches to describing and explaining the pattern of recreation resources in urban areas, the approach to the task must inevitably become empirical, outlining the typical patterns of provision where older parks and recreation grounds are concentrated towards the core of the settlement (see Box 5.2 on Leicester), while newer parks and grounds associated with inter-war and post-1945 housing produce further significant zones of provision to the periphery of the city. The outer edges of the built area are important for provision of extensive facilities such as sports grounds and golf courses.

While these conclusions are typical of recreational land use patterns in many towns and cities in England and Wales, one must question the extent to which a purely empirical analysis truly explains the spatial development of recreational resources in Britain's urban areas. For this reason it is valuable to consider the social, economic and political processes which contributed to the spatial organisation and occurrence of urban recreation in such areas in the period after 1800, because traditional empirical analyses are devoid of the diversity of people and users of such resources. For this reason, a series of historical snapshots taken in 1800, the 1840s, 1880s, 1920s, 1960s

and post-1960s help to explain how present-day patterns were shaped.

Urban recreation: a socio-geographic perspective

According to Clark and Crichter (1985), during the evolution of British capitalism the analysis of leisure and recreation has traditionally emphasised institutional forms of provision, while each social class has its own history of organised and informal leisure and recreation. The predominant urban histories are those of male leisure, with female leisure and recreation structured around the family, with free-time activities associated with the family, the street and neighbourhood in working class society. Within historical analyses of urban recreation during the evolution of mass urban society in Victorian and Edwardian Britain, the emergence of distinctive forms of urban recreation and leisure and their spatial occurrence within different social areas of cities have been associated with a number of concepts, the most notable being 'popular culture' (see Williams 1976). As Clark and Crichter (1985: 55) argue, 'the early nineteenth century was to bring a dramatic transformation to the form . . . and context of popular culture, imposing very different parameters of time and space, rhythms and routines, behaviour and attitude, control and commerce'. However, the resulting changes cannot simply be conceptualised as a straightforward linear progression since different influences and cross-currents meant that this transformation affected different people and areas at different rates and in varying degrees.

Clark and Crichter (1985) provide an historical analysis of leisure and recreational forms in Britain during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, with the emphasis on the urban forms and political factors, forms of social control (Donajgrodski 1978), and the underlying development and functioning of an urban capitalist society; leisure and recreational forms emerged as a civilising and diversionary process to maintain the productive capacity of the working classes as central to the continued development of capitalism. Therefore, the geographical patterns and

manifestation of urban recreation and leisure for all social classes in the British city in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries have to be viewed against the background of social, economic and political processes which conditioned the demand for and supply of leisure and recreation for each social class (see Dagenais (2002) for a comparable discussion of Montreal). However, Huggins (2000) questioned conventional stereotypes of the respectable urban middle class in different leisure contexts during the Victorian period. Huggins (2000) highlights the spatial differentiation between highly respectable behaviour in cities where work, home and respectability were interconnected. Yet in more liminal locations away from the home (e.g. the seaside and the racecourse), less respectable and 'sinful' pleasures were consumed by the same middle class, where less respectable behaviour occurred.

According to Billinge (1996: 450), 'Perhaps the single newest element in the townscape after the general regulation of the street, was the park, and more specifically the recreation ground . . . [since] the urban park, as distinct from the garden square, was essentially a nineteenth century phenomenon' and a symbol of civic pride. As Maver (1998: 346) argued, 'the development of Glasgow's public parks . . . sparked municipal interest during the 1850s, given the recognised impact of parks in improving the amenity value of middle-class residential areas'. The acknowledged role of parks as the 'lungs of the city', as a haven from industrialisation, was an attempt to recreate notions of community well-being. Similarly, in the development of San Francisco's city parks between 1850 and 1920, the main proponents of park development were a middle to upper class elite who embodied notions of parks contributing to well-being, reflecting elements of nature which were balanced and inherently good (Young 1996).

Billinge (1996: 444) recognised the way in which the Victorians engineered the term 'recreation' 'to perfection, they gave it a role and a geography. Confined by time, defined by place and regulated by content, recreation and the time it occupied ceased to be possessions freely enjoyed and became instead, obligations dutifully discharged.' The Victorians established

a system of approved urban leisure and recreation activities and, as Billinge (1996) recognised, these were allocated to appropriate times and places. In spatial terms, this led to a reconfiguration of the Victorian and Edwardian town and its hinterland to accommodate new, organised and, later, informal recreational and leisure pursuits in specific spaces and at nominated places. In fact, the natural corollary of this in the late nineteenth century was the rise of the English seaside resort (Gilbert 1939, 1949, 1954; Walton 1983; Towner 1996). As Billinge (1996: 447) argued, it was 'the provision of set aside resorts for the masses at the scale of the whole township: the seaside resort where behaviour inappropriate in any other occasion could be loosed to burn itself out'. This can be viewed as a further example of the way in which Victorian society sought to exercise both a degree of social and spatial control of recreational spaces and activities among its populace. This created a social necessity for recreation as freedom from work: a non-work activity to recreate body and soul, to be refreshed for the capitalist economic system, with its regulated time discipline of a place for everything, and everything in its place.

For this reason, it is pertinent to consider the key features of Clark and Crichter's (1985) historical synthesis of urban leisure and recreation in Britain, since it helps to explain how changes in society shaped the modern-day patterns of urban recreation. Clark and Crichter (1985) adopt a cross-section approach to analyse key periods in nineteenth and twentieth century British urban society to emphasise the nature of the changes and type of urban recreation and leisure pursuits. It also helps to explain how the evolution of urban places and recreational activities emerged. This also has many parallels, as Page and Connell (2010) outline, with the increasing urbanisation of leisure in the USA and other countries at different times and with varying results.

The 1800s

As emphasised earlier in this chapter, Britain was in the process of emerging from a pre-industrial state. While cities were not a new phenomenon, the movement of the rural population to nascent cities meant

that the traditional boundary between work and non-work among the labouring classes was increasingly dictated by the needs of factory or mechanised production. Therefore, pre-industrial flexibility in the work–non-work relationship associated with cottage industries and labouring on the land changed. This led to a clearer distinction between work and non-work time, as time discipline emerged as a potent force during the Industrial Revolution (Pred 1981). In the pre-industrial, non-urbanised society, leisure and recreational forms were associated with market days, fairs, wakes, holidays, religious and pagan festivals which provided opportunities for sport. While the 1800s are often characterised by brutish behaviour and ribaldry, civilising influences emerged in the form of Puritanism to engender moral sobriety and spatial changes associated with the enclosure movement, which removed many strategic sites of customary activity. In contrast, the geographical patterns of recreation of the ruling classes

eschewed contact with lower orders. Its forms were as yet disparate. Shooting, hunting and horse racing . . . the major flat race classics date from the 1770s onwards . . . For the increasingly influential urban bourgeoisie, the theatre, literature, seaside holidays and music hall denoted more rational forms of leisure which depended for their decorum on the exclusion of the mass of the population.

(Clark and Crichter 1985: 55)

The 1840s

In historical analysis, this period is often characterised as a period of deprivation for the urban working classes. Endemic poverty, associated with rapid urbanisation and inadequate housing, poor living standards and limited infrastructure, culminated in high rates of mortality, disease and exploitation of the labouring classes through long hours of work (12 hour, six day weeks) (Page 1988). In terms of urban leisure and recreation, the pre-industrial opportunities for pursuits decreased, as did the legal outlets, with many customary pastimes suppressed so that popular culture was conditioned through legislative changes. For

example, the New Poor Law Act 1834 (Rose 1985) aimed to control the movement of 'travelling balladeers', 'entertainers' and 'itinerant salesmen', all of whom were deemed to be vagabonds and returned to their parish of origin. Similarly, the Highways Act 1835 was intended to remove street nuisances such as street entertainers and traders while the Cruelty to Animals Act 1835 sought to suppress working class pastimes involving animals, thereby driving many activities underground and leading to the emergence of a hybrid range of recreational activities, including popular theatre, pantomime and circuses. In the late 1840s, railway excursions marketed by Thomas Cook also developed. In addition, a range of rational recreation pursuits emerged in purpose-built facilities made possible by Parliamentary Acts, including the Museums Act 1845, the Baths and Wash Houses Act 1846 and the Libraries Act 1850. Social theorists argue that such legislation may have acted as a form of social control (Donajgrodski 1978), to tame a new industrial workforce while demarcating recreation and work. Furthermore, the 1840s saw the emergence of the Victorian concept of domesticity and a bourgeois culture, with the use of a gender separation of male and female work.

The 1880s

While the early Victorian period saw the establishment of urban recreational facilities, improved working conditions and living standards in the mid- to late Victorian period were accompanied by greater municipal provision (Briggs 1969). Yet as Clark and Crichter (1985) argue, four processes were at work in the 1850s and 1860s which led to significant changes in the 1880s:

- a rise of middle class urban recreation which excluded the working classes;
- the expansion of local government's role in leisure and recreational provision;
- an increasing commercialisation and greater capitalisation of urban recreation, relying upon mass audiences and licensing (e.g. the rise of football), which also required large areas of land;

- attempts by the working classes to organise urban recreation according to their own aspirations.

By the 1880s, the pattern of urban conurbations had emerged in England, which focused on London, the West Midlands, West Yorkshire, Merseyside and Tyneside (Lawton 1978). In addition to these trends in urban recreation, the rise of urban middle class recreational pursuits centred on religion, reading, music and annual holidays reflected a more rational form of recreational activity.

Nevertheless, the 1870s saw growth in public parks and by 1885 nearly 25 per cent of the urban population had access to public libraries. At the same time, informal urban recreation based on street and neighbourhood activities largely remains invisible in documentary sources and official records, although limited evidence exists in the form of autobiographies and oral history. For example, R. Roberts' (1971, 1976) *The Classic Slum* observed that the pub played a major role in informal recreation in Victorian and Edwardian Salford, where a community of 3,000 people had 15 beer houses. Through sexual segregation it was possible to observe the rise of male-only urban recreational pursuits in the 1880s. Yet the street life and neighbourhood forms of recreation remained unorganised and informal despite the institutionalisation, segmentation and emergence of a customer-provider relationship in Victorian urban recreational pursuits.

The 1920s

In Britain, the 1920s are frequently viewed as the era of mass unemployment, with social class more spatially defined in the urban environment. While the 1900s saw rising patronage of the cinema, with 3,000 cinemas operating in Britain by 1926 and audiences of 20 million, and many people visiting the cinemas once or twice a week, this pursuit increasingly met the recreational needs of women as it displaced the Victorian music-hall, being more heavily capitalised and more accessible in terms of price and social acceptability. The ideological separation of work and home was firmly enshrined in the 1920s, with a

greater physical separation and the rise of annual holidays and day trips using charabancs and cars. Spectator sports also retained large audiences, although the social segregation of urban recreation based on social class, mass markets and institutional provision characterised this era (see Page and Connell 2010).

The 1960s and beyond

Clark and Crichter (1985) identified six distinct trends occurring from the 1960s on (see also Pahl 1975; Page and Connell 2010):

- rising standards of domestic consumption;
- family-centred leisure;
- the decline of public forms of urban leisure and recreation;
- emergence of a youth culture;
- the establishment of ethnic leisure and recreation cultures;
- increased state activity in prescribed spheres of urban recreation and a growing commercial domination of leisure institutions and services.

In terms of urban recreation, various debates exist in relation to the changes induced by a post-industrial society and the implications for urban recreation. Social theorists point to the concomitant changes induced by economic, occupational and technological change, associated with the demise of manufacturing and the rise of the service sector in towns and cities, affecting the pattern of life and recreational activities of urban populations associated with a growing polarisation of wealth and opportunity. S. Williams (1995a: 213) outlines the impact of such changes for post-industrial towns and cities, as older central areas of towns decayed as they lost their economic rationale. In some cases this has led to the creation of space for recreation, as high density housing and industry have been removed and urban regeneration results.

Williams (1995a) also points to the effect of the rise of environmentalism since the 1960s, reflected in the concept of the 'green city', where redundant space is 'greened' to enhance the quality of the city environment while adding recreational opportunities (e.g.

greenways, linear parks, green wedges and natural corridors). The greening of cities also has a wider concern with the sustainability of urban life. Williams (1995a) also argues that a range of factors militate against the continued well-being of urban recreation provision, many of which are associated with political change (Page *et al.* 1994). A greater concern with financial costs of publicly provided services, more efficient service delivery and the introduction of compulsory competitive tendering (Benington and White 1988; Page *et al.* 1994) characterised public and private sector recreational provision in urban areas in the 1980s and 1990s. Henry (1988) argued that the outcome will be determined by the political climate and philosophy prevailing in public sector environments, fluctuating between a limited role for the state characterised by right-wing ideology and one based on principles of social equity and significant levels of public intervention influenced by principles of equality (see Page and Connell 2010 for detail post-1990).

In the UK in the new millennium, New Labour sought to critically analyse the quality of the urban environment, given the previous 20 years of changing policies to towns and cities to improve their liveability. A number of notable developments emanating from the Office of the Deputy Prime Minister (ODPM) include the *Cleaner, Safer, Greener Public Space* (ODPM 2002) report, which identified a typology of open space in cities that could be divided into green space, comprising parks, gardens, amenity green space, children's play areas, sports facilities, green corridors, natural/semi-natural green space and other functional green space, and civic space, comprising civic squares, marketplaces, pedestrian streets, promenades and seafronts.

Having briefly examined the evolution of urban recreational opportunities in Britain since the 1880s, it is pertinent to focus on one example which typifies the development processes in time and space, notably the evolution of parks and open space. This is considered in relation to one particular city in Britain – Leicester – although similar patterns of evolution occurred in many other cities in Europe, the USA and antipodes at later points in time.

BOX 5.2 THE EVOLUTION OF PARKS AND OPEN SPACE IN VICTORIAN LEICESTER

The development of open space in towns and cities in Britain traditionally developed through the emergence of commons and walks prior to the nineteenth century, followed by private squares and greens for the wealthy classes. While towns and cities remained small in scale, the populations were able to enjoy recreation in the surrounding rural areas (Clarke 1981). Urban industrial growth in the Industrial Revolution transformed the spatial form of towns and cities, as open land was consumed for economic and residential development. Two specific legislative changes during the Victorian era in Britain contributed to the development of large parks, namely the Select Committee on Public Walks (1833) and the Health of Towns (1840), in a period of concern for the health and social well-being of the labouring classes. As Strachan and Bowler (1976) acknowledged, early park development was prompted by donations from industrialists and landowners, and four pieces of legislation enabled local authorities to purchase land for park development, notably the Towns Improvement Act 1847, the Public Health Act 1848, the Public Parks, Schools and Museums Act 1871 and the Public Improvements Act 1860. While Edwardian and subsequent legislation enhanced park development, including the Housing and Town Planning Act 1909 and Town and Country Planning Acts of 1932 and 1947, the Victorian era was important in terms of the development of large-scale parks and open space as permissive legislation permitted councils to engage in park and open space development.

Park development in Victorian Leicester

Leicester expanded as a Victorian city: its population grew from 18,445 in 1801 to 64,829 in 1851, 174,624 in 1891 and 211,579 in 1901. While Pritchard (1976) and Page (1988) examine the spatial development of the city (Figure 5.1), and constraints and opportunities for urban development, the city retained a medieval pattern of land development up until the 1800s. The poorly drained River Soar constrained development to the west of the river and also by owners of estates who refused to sell land for development. Most early urban growth in the 1800s occurred to the east and north-east. Prior to 1850, two open spaces existed: St Margaret's Pasture, a 13 acre (5.2 ha) meadow to the north of the urban area; and at Southfield race course, established in 1806 (Figure 5.2). In 1838, the city council provided 40 acres (16 ha) of land at Southfield at Welford to form the first public recreation ground, although only 8 acres (3.2 ha) now remain. This was complemented by a series of private gardens and squares laid out from 1785 at the town council's request along New Walk, which forms the sole surviving urban pedestrian way in England (Strachan and Bowler 1976: 279).

With the growth in population by 1851 urban development occurred to the west of the Soar and the city council developed four parks and recreation grounds (Figure 5.2) in the period 1880–1900. Victoria Park (27.6 ha), established in 1882 on city-owned land, was made possible by the relocation of the city's race course from Southfield to Oadby. The purchase of Abbey Meadows (22.8 ha) in 1877, for the purpose of draining a marsh area unsuitable for building, resulted in an ornamental park. The third park, aimed at providing open space access for the fast growing suburb of Highfields, led to the development of 13.6 ha at Spinney Hill with a formal park in 1885. The fourth major park, established in the western suburbs, saw the establishment of the new parks estate (71.2 ha) in 1899. Each park developed in the tradition of

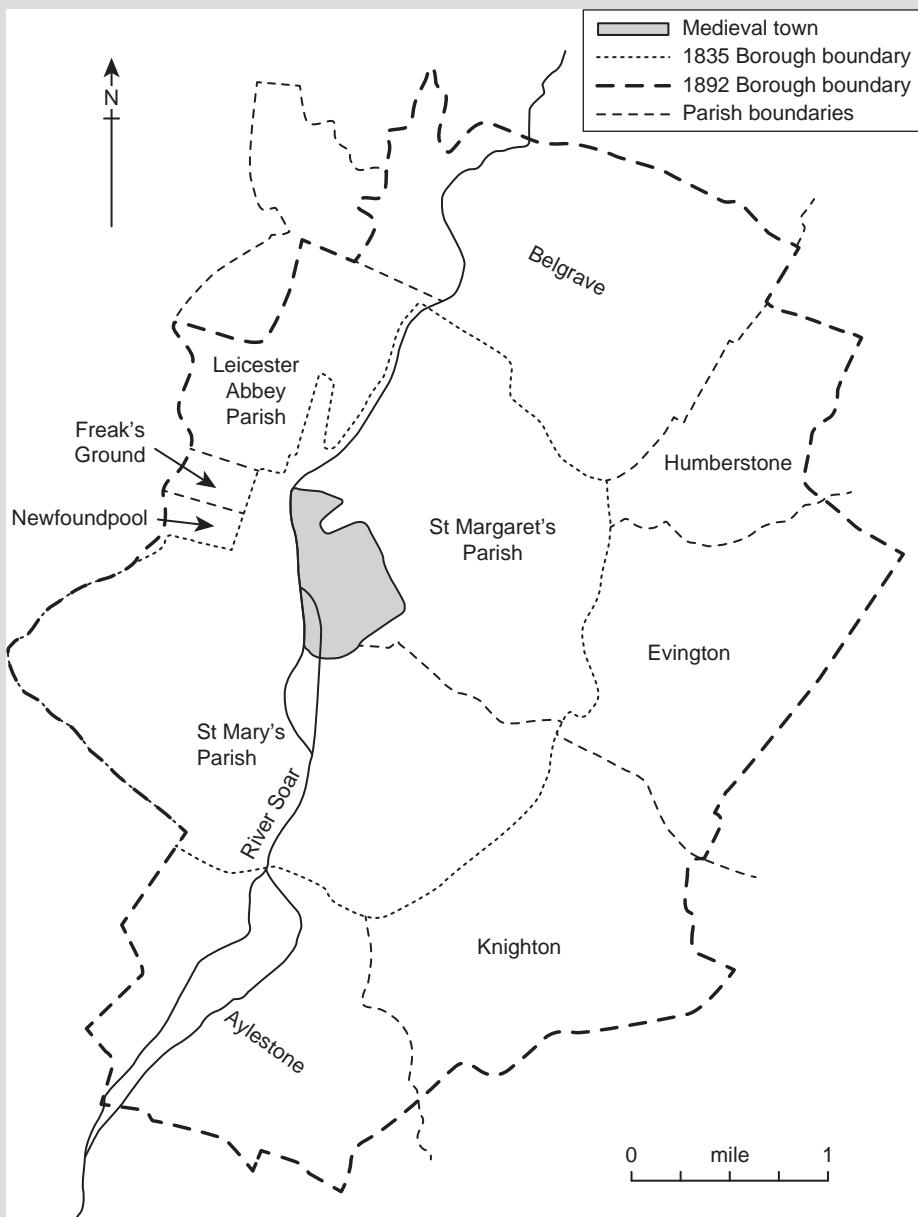


Figure 5.1 The expansion of Leicester in the nineteenth century

Source: S. Page.

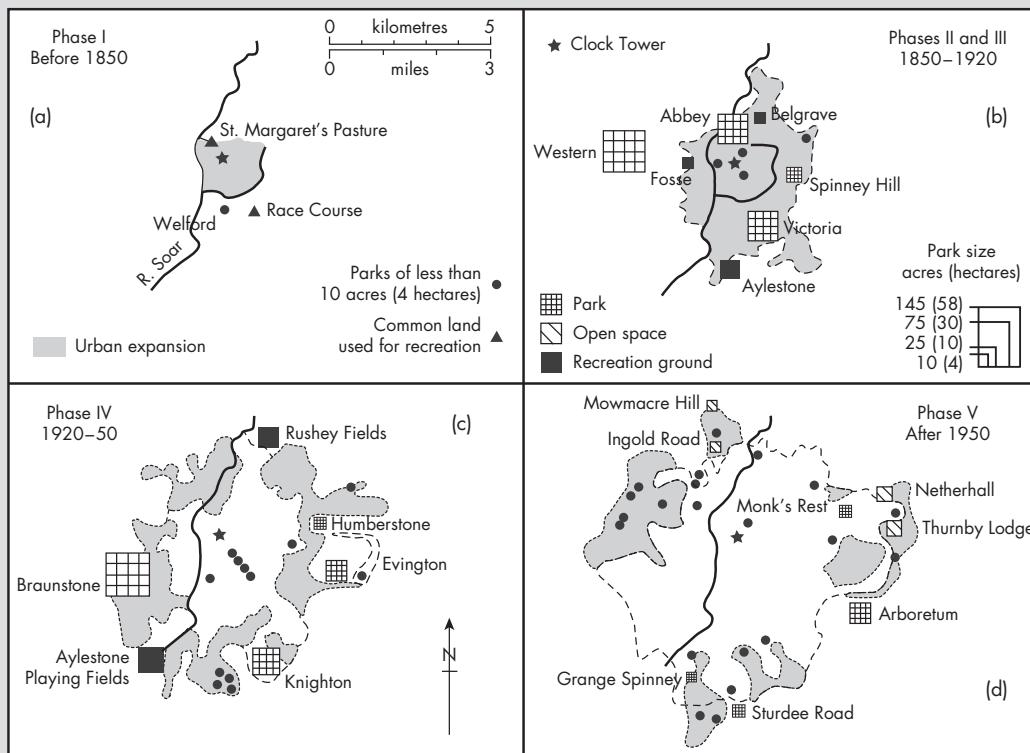


Figure 5.2 Urban park development in Leicester

Source: redrawn from Strachan and Bowler 1976 and with permission from Leicester City Council's Legal Services Department.

Victorian formal use, with fountains, band stands, gardens and open stretches of grass. In the case of Abbey Park boating, river views, greenhouses and formal flower beds attracted users from across the city. To complement formal park provision, recreation grounds were also established in 1892 at Belgrave (4.8 ha) and Fosse Road (4.4 ha) in 1897.

Post-Victorian park development

In 1902, the Aylestone site (8 ha) was purchased as a recreation ground, followed by a lull up until the 1920s. Between 1900 and 1920 small open spaces in the town centre led to the establishment of three ornamental gardens (Castle, Westcotes and St George's Church), two playgrounds and a small park at Westcotes. After 1920, further urban expansion led to the establishment of six multipurpose parks with sports facilities, the largest at Braunstone (66.8 ha) in 1925 on the periphery of the city as a focal point of a large inter-war council estate. In contrast, other parks developed in the inter-war period were located in

private housing areas, such as Humberstone (8 ha) in 1928, Knighton (32.9 ha) in 1937, Evington (17.6 ha) in 1949, in eastern and southern suburbs. To balance the geographical distribution of provision, two large recreation grounds were opened at Rusley Fields (11.4 ha) in 1921 and Aylestone Playing Fields (33.2 ha) in 1946; a number of smaller open spaces were also developed on new council estates at Braunstone Park and Humberstone and a number of amenity open spaces amounting to 40.8 ha. In the post-war period, attention in Leicester City Council shifted towards provision of small neighbourhood and local facilities as key features of new council estates. Only a limited number of larger open spaces were created, on land unsuitable for residential development (e.g. Netherhall's 12.8 ha site in 1958 and Ingeld's 5.6 ha site in 1970). Amenity open space was also incorporated into 13 council estates, providing 105.6 ha of open space. A number of small village parks and playgrounds in old villages (e.g. Old Humberstone) contributed to the 27 parks and recreation grounds opened between 1950 and 1975. Since 1975 Leicester City Council has maintained an active role in enhancing open space and park provision, to the point where in 1994 it maintained 1,200 ha of parkland and open space. This represented one-fifth of the total area of the city, an extremely high level of provision by European and North American standards.

By 2000, this had risen to 3,000 ha of public open space, comprising country parks, formal parks, gardens, wetlands, allotments (for a discussion of allotments as a form of recreation, see Thorpe 1970; Crouch 1989a, 1989b) and woodlands. This is complemented by the provision of gardens with houses, which perform an important recreational function (Halkett 1978) in the wider leisure context of the home (Glyptis and Chambers 1982). However, the dominant element is parkland. The City of Leicester Local Plan aim is to have public open space within 500 metres of every home. Within new residential developments, the City Council requires developers to provide 1.6 ha of open space per 1,000 people housed. As a result in Leicester recreation space is an average of only 2.9 km from the city centre for parks/gardens, 3.6 km for recreation grounds, 3.5 km for playing fields, 3.7 km for sports grounds and 4.6 km for golf courses, illustrating the role of low cost land for such facilities. Thus, as S. Williams (1995a) argues, the level of recreational opportunity in modern-day Leicester increases with distance from the city. The result of such patterns of park development and other recreational resources in the case of Leicester is the rationalisation of provision into a geographical planning framework whereby an open space hierarchy results, with different parks fulfilling different functions according to their size, characteristics and resource base.

Methods of analysing urban recreation

Within the limited literature on urban recreation, the geographer has developed a number of concepts used within human geography and applied them in a recreational context to understand how the supply of recreational resources fits within the broader recreational context. For example, the use of the concept of a 'hierarchy of facilities' (Patmore 1983) highlights the catchment relating to the users' willingness, ability and knowledge of the facility or resource (Smith 1983a). What the hierarchy concept does is allow one

to ascertain what type of catchment a recreational resource has at different spatial scales, taking into account users' willingness to travel to use them. Constraints of time and distance act as a friction on the potential use of resources. The outcome is an ordered pattern of resources which serve specific catchments depending on their characteristics, whereby the typical levels of provision may include:

- the neighbourhood level (e.g. a community centre);
- local areas (e.g. a recreation ground);
- regions within cities;
- a city-wide level (e.g. an art gallery).

An illustration of such a hierarchy for urban open space is given in Table 5.1. The result is an ordered provision, each with its own set of users and meeting the needs and aspirations of users, which will vary in time and space. Within any urban context the challenge for recreational planning is to match the supply and demand for such resources. One further technique which Patmore (1983) advocated for urban recreation is the resource inventory, whereby the range of existing resources is surveyed and mapped in relation to the catchment population. This population may then be compared to existing recommended levels of provision set by organisations for recreational provision. For example, the National Playing Fields Association in the UK recommended 2.4 ha of space per 1,000 population, 'excluding school playing fields except where available for general use, woodlands and commons, ornamental gardens, full-length golf courses

and open spaces where the playing of games by the general public is either discouraged or not permitted' (Patmore 1983: 118). In the UK, such playing fields were under increased pressure for housing development, to the point that new guidelines were issued to prevent schools and local authorities from selling such leisure assets for short-term development gains.

Patmore (1983) outlined the range of urban recreational resources and facilities and provides a detailed spatial analysis of their occurrence and level of provision within the UK in terms of:

- capital-intensive facilities (those with modest land requirements but a high capital cost – and those with a high capital cost where the land requirement is extensive);
- parks and open spaces;
- golf courses.

Table 5.1 Hierarchical pattern of public open space

Type and main function	Approximate size and distance from home	Characteristics
<i>Regional park</i> Weekend and occasional visits by car or public transport	400 ha (3.2–8 km)	Large areas of natural heathland, common woodland and parkland, primarily providing for informal recreation, with some non-intensive active recreations. Car parking at strategic locations.
<i>Metropolitan park</i> Weekend and occasional visits by car or public transport	60 ha (3.2 km but more when park is larger than 60 hectares)	Either natural heath, common, woods or formal parks providing for active and passive recreation. May contain playing fields, provided at least 40 hectares remain for other pursuits. Adequate car parking.
<i>District parks</i> Weekend and occasional visits on foot, by cycle, car or short bus trip	20 ha (1.2 km)	Landscaped settings with a variety of natural features providing for a range of activities, including outdoor sports, children's play and informal pursuits. Some car parking.
<i>Local parks</i> For pedestrian visitors	2 ha (0.4 km)	Providing for court games, children's play, sitting out, etc. in a landscaped environment. Playing fields if the park is large enough.
<i>Small local parks</i> Pedestrian visits, especially by old people and children, particularly valuable in high density areas	2 ha (0.4 km)	Gardens, sitting-out areas and children's playgrounds.
<i>Linear open space</i> Pedestrian visits	Variable Where feasible	Canal towpaths, footpaths, disused rail lines, etc., providing opportunities for informal recreation.

Source: Williams 1995a.

S. Williams (1995a) adds an interesting array of other contexts, including:

- the home;
- the street;
- gardens and allotments;
- playgrounds;
- other sporting contexts.

In the case of the street, there has been a retreat from its focus in Victoria and Edwardian times as a leisure environment, progressively eroded as the car has filled many such spaces (see Box 5.3, on the street as a leisure environment). One interesting example that runs contrary to this trend in the western world was observed by Drummond (2000) in Vietnam. Here the street as a pseudo public leisure space is actually expanding as a phenomenon.

To assist in understanding the spatial analysis of these resources and their interrelationship in an urban context, Williams (1995a) developed a typology of urban recreational resources. To achieve this, and to incorporate the perception and use of the resource by urban users, he used seven variables to construct a simple typology (illustrated in Table 5.2). However, as Patmore (1983: 98) rightly argued, patterns of facility use are not related to location alone: effective access is not synonymous with convenience of location. As a result, barriers to urban recreational use include:

- *physical barriers* based on factors such as age, stage in the family life cycle (e.g. dependent children) and physical access;
- *financial barriers* include direct economic constraints due to costs of participation such as admission

Table 5.2 Summary and explanation of key variables deployed within the recreation resource typology

Variable	Sub-categories	Explanation
Design	Purpose-built	Resource is designed for specific recreational uses
	Adapted	Resource has been converted to a recreational use from a previous function
	Annexed	Resource is not designed or intended for recreational use, but will be used as such by some groups
Organisational	Formal	Resource has a structured design/layout and/or management
	Informal	Resource has no such structure
Function	Single	Resource has one intended recreational function
	Multi	Resource has a diversity of intended recreational functions
	Shared	Resource has a variety of functions of which recreation is one
Space/use characteristics	Extensive	Individual recreational functions range over large areas, with generous use of space
	Intensive	Functions are concentrated, with little or no unused/wasted space
Scale	Large	Over 10 acres in extent
	Medium	Between 2 and 10 acres in extent
	Small	Below 2 acres in extent
Catchment	City-wide	Resource draws use from across the urban area
	District	Resource draws use primarily from its district
	Local	Resource draws use primarily from its neighbourhood
Source of provision	Public	Funded/managed by government at either local or national level
	Private	Funded/managed by private individuals/groups for their own use
	Voluntary	Funded/managed by groups acting as co-operatives, clubs or societies, for the use of members

Source: Williams 1995a.

- or membership costs (e.g. golf club fees), which may raise issues related to the public sector's role in provision;
- *social barriers* often reinforce the financial barriers whereby lower socio-economic groups do not participate due to financial barriers – even when such barriers are removed, the image of participation still has cultural and social barriers (e.g. opera-going);
 - *transport* can be a deterrent to urban recreational participation where access is limited by car ownership or where a short journey by bus may be difficult and costly in time for public transport users.

Using the key variables, which reflect basic resource attributes, Williams (1995a) devised a further typology of urban recreational resources (Table 5.3).

The challenge for recreational provision in any urban context is the planning and management undertaken to ensure that principles of equity and equal access are permitted where possible, and it is to this that we now turn.

Urban recreational planning

It may be possible to view [urban recreation] provision in a rational, hierarchical frame, to develop models for that precision that equate access and opportunity in a spatial pattern with mathematical precision, but reality rarely gives an empty canvas where such a model can be developed in an unfettered form. Rather, reality is conditioned by the accident of historic legacy, by the fashions of spending from the public purse and by the commercial dictates of the public sector.

(Patmore 1983: 117–18)

In geographical terms, urban recreational provision in town and cities grew in an ad-hoc fashion, and in many western European contexts the task of city planners in the 1960s and 1970s was to tidy up the decades of incremental growth. In the UK, one solution used was to create 'leisure directorates' in city councils to amalgamate public recreation interests into one consolidated department. As Burtenshaw *et al.* (1991) argued, the consolidation of recreation

Table 5.3 Basic typology of outdoor recreation facilities in urban areas

Scale	Public facilities		Private/voluntary facilities		
	Formal	Informal	Formal	Informal	By groups
<i>Large scale</i> City-wide catchment	Major parks	Major commons	Private golf courses		Major shopping centres
	Major sports fields/ stadiums	Major urban woodland			Major transport centres, e.g. airports, stations
	Municipal golf courses	Major water space			
<i>Medium scale</i> District catchment	Recreation grounds	Urban country parks	Sports clubs, e.g. bowls or cricket		
	Small parks	Urban greenways			
		Minor urban woodland			
<i>Small scale</i> local catchment	Children's play areas	Minor water space	Domestic gardens	Local streets/ pavements Waste ground Grass verges	
		Cycleways			

Source: Williams 1995a.

BOX 5.3 THE STREET

The street (usually 'Main Street' in the USA) has been a central feature of the leisure lives of urban dwellers since the rapid growth of industrial cities, highlighted earlier in the chapter. Historians have examined the street as a site of consumption and leisure activity (e.g. Roberts 2004; Bailey 1999) characterised by retail activity, children's play and as a setting for social gatherings. It is a key element in the 'routine of everyday life' (Moran 2005) as cultural studies have evaluated the nature of such locations for leisure consumption. Moran (2012) illustrates the transition in the way the street has developed since 1945 as a space of spontaneous community. The street has even become a setting for television soap operas in the UK (e.g. *Coronation Street* and *EastEnders*), where leisure time is spent in social interaction.

Previous reviews of the street as a location for modern-day leisure argued that because 'little is known . . . in the realm of public space, it is arguably the street that has been overlooked as the location for popular leisure' (Williams 1995b: 23). Recent developments in urban studies (incorporating cultural studies, cultural geography, architecture, leisure studies and planning) have begun to redress this imbalance in attention. Whilst much of this research is not necessarily undertaken by geographers, the street represents the micro scale of analysis of out-of-home leisure epitomised in London by its colourful street markets (e.g. Brick Lane) and leisure shopping areas (e.g. Carnaby Street, Oxford Street and Regent Street) where tourists, leisure shoppers, workers and residents coalesce. In an event context, streets are also the setting for celebratory carnivals and festivals (e.g. the Notting Hill Carnival in London, Sydney's Mardi Gras (Waitt and Stapel 2011) and the world's largest carnival, Rio's Mardi Gras). The street provides the spatial setting for these transitory and performing events that have a unique identity and sense of place, transformed by these performances. As Duffy (2009: 91) argues 'festivals and spectacles formalize space, time and behavior in ways that distinguish these events from everyday events'. In the tourism and hospitality literature there is also a growing interest in the notion of the street in the 'night-time city' (see the next section, on urban tourism, pp. 198–208) and the performances of night market food vendors in Taiwan (Sun *et al.* 2012) and Singapore (Yeo *et al.* 2012) in its Little India district. The informality of these urban nightscapes focused on the street creates unique cosmopolitan settings for leisure consumption, building upon the notion of public consumption in city spaces and in cafés by Oosterman (1992). Not only does this consumption generate activity for small businesses (Mehta 2011), but the vitality of activity in the street provides sensory stimulation, forms of engagement where urban design can reduce problems and conflict with the car and road traffic.

Social changes since 1945 have also shifted leisure consumption indoors both in a home and commercial setting, to the detriment of the street. Even so, Williams (1995b: 23) argues that people at leisure may use streets in a number of ways. Streets are, of course, a means of access to other recreational resources in the built-up area but they are also recreational resources in themselves. As Page and Connell (2010) argue, Williams (1995b) presents the essential spatial element of the street as a linear structure, where principal users are:

- pedestrians walking from A to B as part of the leisure or to go shopping or to start a commuter journey;
- residents who commence a journey on a bicycle or in a motorised vehicle;

- localised groups as a setting for leisure activity, as in the case of children's play;
- people who use the street for other leisure-related activities such as socialising or as a place to hang out.

At a micro scale, Gehl (1980, cited in Williams 1995b) outlined six distinct activities which occurred within the street based on research undertaken in Canada and Australia, which included (see also Jansen-Verbeke 1989):

- people sitting down or standing around;
- people engaged in domestic chores such as washing the car;
- walking (particularly significant where it can be used as a recreational activity to address the ongoing national epidemic of obesity in many developed countries (Huston *et al.* 2003));
- social interaction;
- children's play;
- movement of traffic within the street.

Many challenges face planners with the street, namely road traffic and the safety/pollution this causes, along with concerns over the design of the environment and personal safety, as outlined in Chapter 2. Planners and town centre managers have sought to re-image the street as a place of vitality despite the rise of out-of-town shopping. Measures to improve the attractiveness of the street as a place to visit and space in which to consume one's leisure time have been aided by improved seating, lighting, better environmental design (i.e. trees and vegetation) and a vibrancy through attractive cafés, shops and increasingly pedestrianisation to add a spatial zone of pedestrian safety. Creating better opportunities for people to dwell, interact, relax and to perform leisure activities through enhancements such as public art have sought to regenerate public leisure spaces such as the street. The geographer has a major contribution to make in understanding how people engage with the street, its central attributes as a leisure space and the social dimensions of consumption in such spaces (Hall 2008b).

activities in the public sector led to debates on the extent to which such activities should be a commercial or municipal enterprise. In fact, no one coherent philosophy has been developed, with individual cities deciding the precise range of activities which should be publicly funded. However, as Veal (1994: 185) poignantly noted, 'urban outdoor recreation takes place primarily in parks, playing fields and playgrounds. The provision of such facilities constitutes the largest single public leisure sector, in terms of expenditure, land allocation and staff and is the longest established.' As a result, the public sector is a key agent in developing urban areas for leisure and recreation. For this reason, it is interesting to focus on

some of the spatial principles used in open space planning in cities.

Open space planning: spatial principles

Within cities, open space can provide a focal point for community interaction (Fleischer and Tsur 2003), a context for conservation, allowing opportunities for meeting recreation needs, provision of visual amenity and a context for enhancing environmental education. To achieve these functions, open space planning needs to be able to integrate such areas into the wider city environment. This is often easier if initially

undertaken as part of a master plan. For example, as Tables 5.4 and 5.5 show, for Warsaw this was developed along many of the principles discussed so far in this chapter, with standards for open space provision. At the time the standards were developed Warsaw covered 495 km², with a population of over 1.6 million and a population density of 3,258 persons per km². Open spaces cover over 50 per cent of the urban area (e.g. agricultural land, open space and open water), with residential areas comprising 27 per cent and open green space at 36.3 per cent of the open space. Warsaw is managed by 11 local authorities and an independent capital city council (Szulczevska and Kaliszuk 2003).

Similarly, in the planning for open space in the Papakura District, Auckland, New Zealand, the

planners stated that in the new millennium planning for urban recreation would need to develop a system that could accommodate:

- active leisure areas (e.g. playing fields, sports centres);
- passive leisure areas (e.g. picnic sites, walking/horse riding trails, cycle routes, grassed areas);
- conservation areas (e.g. nature reserves, nature trails);
- agricultural areas (e.g. allotments and market gardening);
- informal areas (e.g. street reserves and public spaces such as reserves) (after Pentz 2002).

In the development of an open space system Pentz (2002) pointed to the use of three spatial

Table 5.4 The evolution of greenstructure planning in Warsaw

Era	Concepts used in planning at the city level	Key features of Warsaw greenstructure
1916	First spatial development plan	System of existing and planned urban parks
1929	Master plan for Warsaw	Linking of recreational areas of the city centre to the suburbs
1934	Functional Warsaw	Green space to be analysed as a key element of land-use zoning
1950s	Political and social aspects of planning in post-war reconstruction	Neighbourhood green spaces established
1968–1974	System of open spaces in cities	Cultural entertainment, sport and recreation facilities (i.e. stadiums and parks constructed)
1970s onwards	Ecological emphasis and development of the concept of an urban natural system (e.g. 1998 The Study of Preconditions and Directions for Spatial Development of Warsaw and the 2001 Capital City of Warsaw Development Plan)	Multifunctional centres for leisure and entertainment
1990s	Sustainability debate embodied in two competing ideas: the green city and compact city concepts in the wider idea of an ecological city	Structural role for open spaces Standards and indicators of green space used 1960s–1980s. (8–15 m ² greenery per inhabitant) and facilities Hierarchical pattern of recreational provision at neighbourhood, district and city level Environmental protection (e.g. areas for nature)
		The green city to protect green structure and the compact city adds to more intensified development in built-up areas, which may lead to the loss of green space The competing demands of developers with the move to a market economy, as green space has been lost to development

Source: developed from Szulczevska and Kaliszuk 2003.

Table 5.5 Categories of green space in Warsaw in 2001

Category	%
Parks	17
Forest	36.4
Residential green space	9.8
Allotment garden	8.1
Botanical garden and zoo	0.4
Cemeteries	2.5
Promenades and squares	1.0
Greenery associated with the transport system	6.7
Other greenery	18.2

Source: developed from Szulczevska and Kaliszuk 2003.

concepts around which conservation zones could be incorporated:

- cores;
- corridors, to provide connectivity between elements in the system;
- buffers (e.g. sports fields) between densely developed areas and cores.

In planning for urban leisure facilities, Pentz (2002) identified changing patterns of leisure provision, reflecting many of the issues discussed in Chapter 2. The effect of changing trends has been specific spatial requirements for leisure facility locations, including:

- agglomeration of urban leisure facilities in nodes or centres;
- links between education/social facilities to create shared facilities;
- increased emphasis on capital-intensive facilities such as stadiums;
- rising numbers of spectators at sporting events;
- overcrowding at some sports venues due to common leisure periods (late afternoons and weekends);
- a range of small-scale suburban facilities that no longer meet modern-day needs;
- disparities between small and large urban areas in the funding and development of capital projects;
- gaps in the hierarchy of provision of urban leisure facilities.

In terms of a hierarchy of urban leisure facilities, different standards exist in different countries. Table 5.6 highlights one of two distinct approaches which exist in planning urban leisure and recreation. The first is a more traditional approach, using quantitative measures based on minimum standards regardless of quality, need and locality. In contrast, more innovative approaches are local needs based and less dependent upon the space standards. The latter approach has become a feature of modern recreation planning, with a greater emphasis on 'users', 'market research', 'local culture' and specific target groups with individual needs, including pre-school children, primary school children, teenagers, adults and elderly people. Add to this, gender, ethnicity and the policies towards social inclusion in urban recreation provision, and one begins to understand the complexity of modelling and planning local leisure needs. However, place and

Table 5.6 Open space standards

Facility	USA Minimum space (ha)	Total population it should serve
Playlot	0.020	1,000
Playground	1.5	3–5,000
Local park	1	3–10,000
Community park	15	10–50,000
Urban park	45	40,000
Regional park	450	city-wide
Average provision	3–7.5 ha per 1,000 people	

UK: National Playing Fields Association Standards Facility	ha per 1,000 people
Children's playground	0.68
General park	0.90
Sports ground	1.10
Average provision	4.5

South Africa: Natal Facility	ha per 1,000 people
Playlots	0.4
Active recreation	1.6
Passive recreation	0.8
Average	2.8

Source: modified from Pentz 2002.

space are vital in the planning of open space and leisure facilities, as individual localities and their populations have divergent needs and wants.

While the use of space standards has the advantage of simplicity, efficiency, equity and uniformity in the planning process, it has many disadvantages, including the lack of fit with the social, economic and resource base of the locality, as well as the lack of spatial specificity in the fit with the local area (e.g. in relation to the catchment, social mix, uses by social groups and need). As a result more innovative

approaches are being proposed, which include a substantial market research element to assess local needs, the use of GIS to match supply with demand and models of provision that are linked to current leisure consumption trends and more sophisticated than simple space standard methods. To illustrate how these issues have been embodied in one large urban area and the implications for the local population, the case study in Box 5.4 highlights many of the basic principles used in urban recreational provision and planning in the London Borough of Newham.

BOX 5.4 THE MANAGEMENT, PLANNING AND PROVISION OF PARKS AND OPEN SPACE IN THE LONDON BOROUGH OF NEWHAM

There has been a comparative neglect of urban parks by leisure and recreation researchers (Veal 2001; Byrne and Wolch 2009; Page and Connell 2010). A number of early notable studies (e.g. Greater London Council 1968; Balmer 1971; Bowler and Strachan 1976) have been expanded in terms of the locations examined and range of themes reviewed. Previous studies of urban park use indicated that their catchments were localised and for informal, fulfilling, short-distance and short-stay recreational needs (Patmore 1983), and this continues to be valid, as subsequent studies confirm.

The largest single area of research on urban parks has focused on accessibility (Harrison 1983) and behavioural-type studies, exemplified by Burgess *et al.* (1988a, 1988b, 1988c). In addition, Gregory (1988) and Grahn (1991) examined the attitudes and psychological constructs of different socio-economic groups using parks and open spaces, while Grocott (1990) considered the role of public participation in the design and creation of community parks. There has also been a growing interest in the management issues associated with urban parks, particularly the state of green space at a national level, as discussed in Chapter 3 and, by Reeves (2000), where budget cuts in green space management have occurred since the early 1970s despite green space comprising 13.5 per cent of the developed land in England and Wales. One major development which has altered the philosophy and delivery of leisure services in local authorities concerns the management of services through a unified 'Leisure Services Department'. These departments have created a new organisational structure for leisure service provision to accommodate the additional administrative functions created by the Local Government Act 1988. However, critics have argued that this organisational structure has contributed to fragmentation and poor integration in service provision, owing to the increased bureaucracy and centralised management of service provision by administrators rather than practitioners, who had daily contact with clients.

Barber (1991) examined the significance of management plans of parks and the role of local accountability, identifying individual park managers as the most effective personnel to ensure that the delivery of park-based services contributed to the quality of life in the local area, moving away from the principle of space standard planning at a regional level, with greater emphasis needed at the community level.

However, being responsive to local needs has an economic cost and this may not always be compatible with the pursuit of efficiency in service provision. G. Morgan (1991) acknowledged the growing importance of consumer orientation in the planning and management process for parks and open spaces, to ensure that community needs and desires were adequately considered. The increased use of attitude surveys and monitoring of urban park planning and management by local authorities is a direct response to the new ethos pervading public service provision. Against this background, attention now turns to London in terms of open space provision and the London Borough of Newham as a context in which to understand the role of spatial analysis.

Urban park and open space provision in London

Research on recreation and leisure in London has hitherto attracted little interest at a city-wide level following the abolition of the Greater London Council (GLC) in 1986 and its various replacement bodies prior to the formation of the Greater London Authority. After 1986 each London borough's Unitary Development Plan was the framework for the formulation of policies to guide the provision of parks and open spaces. Planning advice from the London Planning Advisory Committee (LPAC) has continued with many of the former GLC leisure planning principles, although the draft London Plan (<http://www.london.gov.uk/>) launched in June 2002 was a spatial development strategy for London and seeks to maintain strategic open spaces in the capital – particularly London's green belt, Metropolitan Open Land and green corridors or chains. These designations were incorporated into most London boroughs' leisure and recreation plans with the Unitary Development Plans (UDPs). Since 2011, the London Plan produced by the Greater London Authority represents the overall regional spatial strategy for London and outlines the broad planning principles it embraces for public open space categories (see Table 5.7). At the local level, London boroughs have been required to prepare Local Development Frameworks, replacing the previous UDPs. Major studies of London's urban geography and expanding service sector (e.g. Hoggart and Green 1991) fail to acknowledge the significance of leisure service provision, although R. Bennett (1991) did examine the London boroughs' statutory responsibility for leisure and recreation provision. The scale and nature of open space provision in London was set out in the Greater London Development Plan (Greater London Council 1969).

Table 5.1 outlined the hierarchy of parks and open space provision envisaged in the late 1980s within the revised Greater London Development Plan (see Nicholls 2001 for a North American illustration of this hierarchy). This is still very much a space standard driven approach. Provision was based on a hierarchical principle, with different parks fulfilling various functions according to their size and distance from the users' home. The concept of variety in park supply was to be achieved by the diversity of functions offered by parks in the capital, emphasising the social principle that parks of equal status were to be accessible to all sections of London's population. According to Burgess *et al.* (1988a), research in Greenwich questioned the suitability of a hierarchical system of park provision at the local area level, arguing that local communities did not recognise parks in terms of the differing functions that the GLC park hierarchy assigned to them. They claimed that most people in their survey felt that open spaces closest to their home failed to meet their leisure needs. This reinforces why some local authorities, such as Newham in East London, have recognised that improving accessibility and use among all sections of the population is an important objective.

Table 5.7 Public open space categorisation

<i>Open space categorisation</i>	<i>Size guideline</i>	<i>Distances from homes</i>
<i>Regional parks</i> Large areas, corridors or networks of open space, the majority of which will be publicly accessible and provide a range of facilities and features offering recreational, ecological, landscape, cultural or green infrastructure benefits; offer a combination of facilities and features that are unique within London, are readily accessible by public transport and are managed to meet best practice quality standards	400 ha	3.2–8 km
<i>Metropolitan parks</i> Large areas of open space that provide a similar range of benefits to regional parks and offer a combination of facilities at a sub-regional level, are readily accessible by public transport and are managed to meet best practice quality standards	60 ha	3.2 km
<i>District parks</i> Large areas of open space that provide a landscape setting with a variety of natural features, providing a wide range of activities, including outdoor sports facilities and playing fields, children's play for different age groups and informal recreation pursuits	20 ha	1.2 km
<i>Local parks and open spaces</i> Providing for court games, children's play, sitting-out areas and nature conservation areas	2 ha	400 m
<i>Small open spaces</i> Gardens, sitting-out areas, children's play spaces or other areas of a specialist nature, including nature conservation areas	Under 2 ha	Less than 400 m
<i>Pocket parks</i> Small areas of open space that provide natural surfaces and shaded areas for informal play and passive recreation and that sometimes have seating and play equipment	Under 0.4 ha	Less than 400 m
<i>Linear open spaces</i> Open spaces and towpaths alongside the Thames, canals and other waterways, paths, disused railways, nature conservation areas, and other routes that provide opportunities for informal recreation; often characterised by features or attractive areas which are not fully accessible to the public but contribute to the enjoyment of the space	Variable	Wherever feasible

Source: Greater London Authority 2011: 232.

The London Borough of Newham

Newham is an east London borough (<http://www.newham.gov.uk/>) created in the 1960s from the amalgamation of two former town councils – West Ham and East Ham. The area developed in the Victorian and Edwardian periods, with the extension of the London Underground, the creation of the Royal Docks and other service/utilities (e.g. the Beckton Gas Works, Beckton Sewage Works and Railway Yards at West

Ham and Stratford) and manufacturing activities (e.g. Tate and Lyle in Silvertown). The population reached a peak of 249,000 in 1949, declining in the 1980s due to out-migration with the closure of the docks and other employers. In 1991, the population was 212,170, and it had risen to 236,000 in 2001 and over 300,000 in 2011. Newham is one of London's largest boroughs, with a very diverse ethnic population. Despite gentrification in pockets of London Docklands and around Stratford, the London Borough of Newham's (LBN) Unitary Development Plan (UDP) of 2001 stated that the area is one of the most deprived areas in the UK, using the government's own deprivation indices, a feature apparent in geographies of London (Hoggart and Green 1991). Although Newham is an outer London borough, it has many inner city characteristics, which has led it to consider being classified as part of inner London. In 2012, the borough hosted the Olympic Games, benefiting from the regeneration programme which preceded the Games, although the borough's main open spaces and parks were created in the Victorian and Edwardian periods, with notable additions in the inter-war and post-war period. In 1991, the proportion of the borough deemed to be parks/open space was 180 ha, or 4.9 per cent of the total area of the borough. By 2001, this had increased to 253 ha (6.95 per cent of the borough) and in 2012 it had increased to 479 ha, reflecting the creation of new sites/improvements to existing sites as development has occurred in the south and north of the borough, often as a condition of planning consent for development alongside the Olympic-led regeneration in the Lea Valley.

Newham Council undertakes a number of roles in leisure service provision (e.g. sports centres, libraries, arts and cultural services, parks and open space provision and tourism). Prior to 2011, the UDP was guided by the borough's Leisure Development strategy and London-wide strategies that have to be accommodated at a local level. In planning terms, the LBN established policies in its UDP to guide open space provision which are now embodied in the Local Development Framework – Newham 2027 – Planning Newham – the Core Strategy. Prior to 2011, two of its key objectives for increasing open space provision were to incorporate its needs into larger urban regeneration plans for the Stratford railyards area adjacent to the new Channel Tunnel rail terminal and the redevelopment of the Beckton Gas Works site, the former achieved by the Olympic Park.

The council has a number of open space designations: green belt land to the north of the borough (for example Wanstead Flats and the City of London Cemetery); Metropolitan Open Land; sites of borough-wide importance; sites of local importance and green corridors, complemented by urban parks (Archer and Yarman 1991). Urban parks form one of the most widely available forms of open space either as large multipurpose parks or smaller community-based recreation grounds.

What is notable in the LBN 1993 and 2001 UDP is the lack of open and green space, with Newham among the lowest of London boroughs for green space and park provision. The LBN, utilising the National Playing Fields Association Standard of 2.43 ha of playing space per 1,000 population, observed that even with new developments. By 2012, the LBN Core Strategy parks deficiency mapping began to use individual address points to identify populated areas (see concentrations of dots on the map in Figure 5.3), which used coverage from parks in adjacent local authorities to meet local leisure needs. Clearly, while Figures 5.4a–5.4d still remain valid for many areas, changes to planning policy guidelines mean some park types can project an 800 m catchment instead of 400 m (although they have not become any more accessible as a result) by being able to spatially extend access into other boroughs to meet local park demand. In 2012, the LBN was still short of national standards of provision. In 2001 this provision was only 1.1 ha per 1,000 population and in 2012 it was 1.99 ha, illustrating the progress towards the national target. The



Figure 5.3 Open space designations and deficiency

Source: London Borough of Newham Geospatial Team (2012) Core Strategy, <http://www.newham.gov.uk/Pages/ServiceChild/Planning-policy-documents.aspx>, reproduced with kind permission of the London Borough of Newham.

spatial distribution of similar deficiencies in park provision are shown in Figure 5.4c, which shows that in 2001 large areas of the borough fell short of access to local parks (i.e. where the population is more than 400 metres from any park area over 2 ha). Similarly, the extent of area which is more than 200 metres from an equipped children's play space is also notable (Figure 5.4b). But the 2001 UDP did acknowledge that by 2006 a further 12 ha of play space would be provided. This under-provision is reflected in areas needing additional space, but the UDP recognised that the absence of sites may make this difficult. A study by Page *et al.* (1994) examined the user groups within the hierarchy of open spaces in Newham and confirmed many of the assumptions on park use, namely:

- the overwhelming pattern of use was local in relation to the catchment area;
- parks perform an important social role, being an accessible leisure resource regardless of gender, race, age and disability;
- many concerns related to conflicts between dog owners and non-dog owners emerged in the management of park areas;

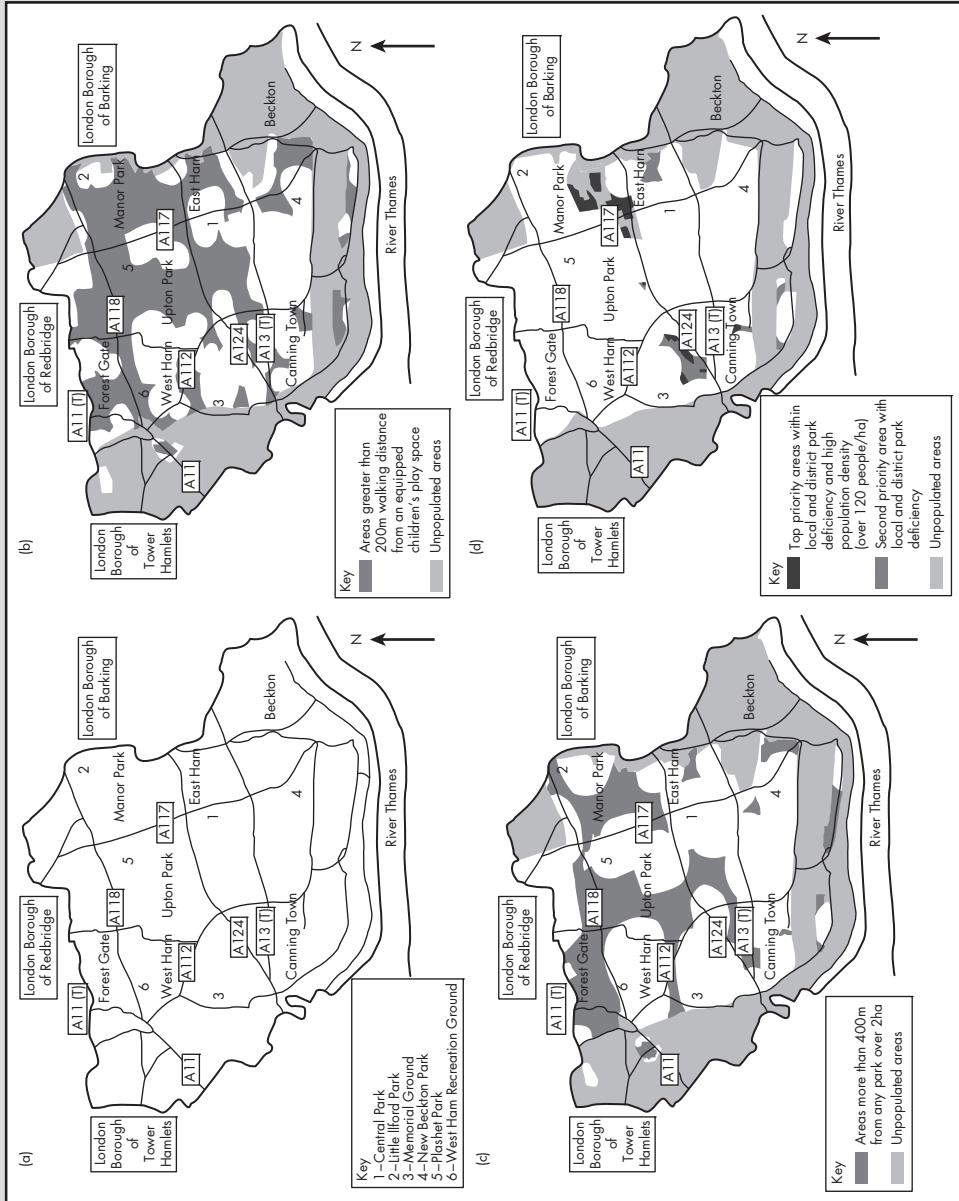


Figure 5.4 London Borough of Newham maps: (a) Location of urban parks in the London Borough of Newham; (b) Children's play space deficiency; (c) Areas of local park deficiency; (d) Priority areas for tackling open space deficiency

- passive leisure pursuits dominated park use;
- local park plans were seen as an innovative way of matching user needs to the management of parks and open spaces.

Therefore while parks and open spaces may not be as fashionable as capital-intensive leisure facilities, they are operated on a non-commercial basis and offer access to the entire population. Their value within the urban environment should be given greater recognition as they contribute to the wider public good of metropolitan populations compared with more specialised and targeted sport and leisure facilities. It is clear that further research is needed to establish how local leisure needs can be met in terms of park provision, so that park management plans focus attention on local areas and communities. Urban parks and open spaces are an important sustainable leisure resource which can accommodate multiple uses, being accessible to local communities who may not have access to countryside areas. They are an integral feature of the urban landscape and assume an important part in the daily lives of local communities.

Urban tourism

The second half of this chapter examines the concept of urban tourism, reviewing the principal contributions towards its recognition as a tourism phenomenon worthy of study, and it also emphasises the scope and range of environments classified as urban destinations, together with some of the approaches towards its analysis. It then considers a framework for the analysis of the tourist's experience of urban tourism, which is followed by a discussion of key aspects of urban tourist behaviour: where do urban tourists go in urban areas, what activities do they undertake, how do they perceive these places and learn about the spatial attributes of the locality, and how is this reflected in their patterns of behaviour? Having reviewed these features, the chapter concludes with a discussion of service quality issues for urban tourism.

Ashworth's (1989) seminal study of urban tourism acknowledges that a double neglect occurred in the 1980s and earlier with respect to urban tourism. Those interested in the study of tourism 'have tended to neglect the urban context in which much of it is set, while those interested in urban studies . . . have been equally neglectful of the importance of the tourist function of cities' (Ashworth 1989: 33). However, since then the field has changed rapidly. Indeed Ashworth and Page (2011) highlighted that there are now over a thousand research articles on urban

tourism. Ashworth and Page (2011: 1–2) shifted the discussion from the neglect thesis, arguing that a series of strange paradoxes characterise urban tourism:

- 1 Urban tourism is an extremely important, worldwide form of tourism. It has received a disproportionately small amount of attention from scholars of either tourism or the city, particularly in linking theoretical research to Tourism Studies more generally. Consequently, despite its significance urban tourism has remained only imprecisely defined and vaguely demarcated, with little development of a systematic structure of understanding.
- 2 Tourists visit cities for many purposes. The cities that accommodate most tourists are large multi-functional entities into which tourists can be effortlessly absorbed and thus become to a large extent economically and physically invisible.
- 3 Tourists make an intensive use of many urban facilities and services but little of the city has been created specifically for tourist use.
- 4 Tourism can contribute substantial economic benefits to cities but the cities whose economies are the most dependent upon tourism are likely to benefit the least. It is the cities with a large and varied economic base that gain the most from tourism but are the least dependent on it.
- 5 Thus, ultimately, and from a number of directions, we arrive at the critical asymmetry in the

relationship between the tourist and the city, which has many implications for policy and management. The tourism industry clearly needs the varied, flexible and accessible tourism products that cities provide; it is by no means so clear that cities need tourism.

Ashworth and Page (2011) point to the lack of theoretical engagement by tourism researchers, with debates in urban studies as well as noting that many geographers who engage in urban studies research ignore tourism phenomena in spite of the obvious importance of cities as tourist places. They point to key research themes that assist in a better understanding of urban tourism, including: urbanisation, particularly the wider development of cities in middle and low income countries; and globalisation and world cities, particularly the role of cities as business centres and the world city hierarchy.

Within cities the processes of change arising from globalisation are creating internal micro-geographies within which tourism may feature. In fact Pacione (2004) argues that in a postmodern society the emergence of the cultural industries in world cities may be blurring the distinction of production and consumption, leading to:

- re-globalisation and urban tourism, where globalisation is a continuous process in which capital and political decision-makers are constantly repackaging and re-presenting cities as places to visit (and live and work in);
- rescaling and globalisation, where political processes are challenging the conventional notion of the nation state so localities and regions can take advantage of globalisation benefits;
- internal geographies of tourism in cities predicated on 'why tourists visit cities', 'how they use cities'.
- Ashworth and Page (2011) characterised tourist use of cities around the following themes:
 - *selectivity*, where visitors only make use of a small element of the city's tourist offer;
 - *rapidity*, where urban tourists tend to consume cities rapidly, compounded by short stays (i.e measured in hours in small cities and days in large cities) (also see UNWTO 2012b);

- *repetition*, where urban tourists are unlikely to be repeat visitors;
- *capriciousness*, being very susceptible to shifts in trends and tastes.

Approaches to urban tourism: geographical analysis

To understand how research on urban tourism has developed distinctive approaches and methodologies, one needs to recognise why tourists seek urban tourism experiences. Shaw and Williams (1994) argue that urban areas offer geographical concentration of facilities and attractions that are conveniently located to meet both visitor and resident needs alike. But the diversity and variety among urban tourist destinations have led researchers to examine the extent to which they display unique and similar features. Shaw and Williams (1994) identify three approaches:

- the diversity of urban areas means that their size, function, location and history contribute to their uniqueness;
- towns and cities are multifunctional areas, meaning that they simultaneously provide various functions for different groups of users;
- the tourist functions of towns and cities are rarely produced or consumed solely by tourists, given the variety of user groups in urban areas.

Ashworth (1992a) conceptualises urban tourism by identifying three approaches towards its analysis, where researchers have focused on

- the supply of tourism facilities in urban areas, involving inventories (e.g. the spatial distribution of accommodation, entertainment complexes and tourist-related services), where urban ecological models have been used; the facility approach has also been used to identify the tourism product offered by destinations;
- the demand generated by urban tourists, to examine how many people visit urban areas, why they choose to visit and their patterns of behaviour, perception and expectations in relation to their visit;

- perspectives of urban tourism policy, where the public sector (e.g. planners) and private sector agencies have undertaken or commissioned research to investigate specific issues related to their own interests in urban tourism.

A limited number of attempts to interpret urban tourism theoretically can be traced to Mullins (1991) and Roche (1992), and other studies are reviewed by Ashworth and Page (2011). While these studies do not have a direct bearing on attempts to influence or affect the tourist experience of towns and cities, their importance should not be neglected in wider reviews of urban tourism: they offer explanations of the sudden desire of many towns and cities with a declining industrial base to look towards service sector activities such as tourism. Such studies examine urban tourism in the context of changes in post-industrial society and the relationship with structural changes in the mode of capitalist production. In other words, both studies question the types of process now shaping the operation and development of tourism in post-industrial cities, and the implications for public sector tourism and leisure policy. One outcome of such research is that it highlights the role of the state,

especially local government, in seeking to develop service industries based on tourism and leisure production and consumption in urban areas, as a response to economic restructuring, which has often led to employment loss in the locality. It also illustrates the significance of place-marketing in urban tourism promotion (Ashworth and Voogd 1990a, 1990b; Gold and Ward 1994; Gold and Gold 1995; Hall 1997b) as destinations seek to reinvent and redefine themselves in the market for cultural and heritage tourism (Houinen 1995; Judd 1995; Bramwell and Rawding 1996; Chang *et al.* 1996; Schofield 1996; Dahles 1998; Hall and McArthur 1998; Timothy 2011).

Mullins' (1991) concept of tourism urbanisation is also useful as it assists in developing the following typology of urban tourist destinations:

- capital cities;
- metropolitan centres, walled historic cities and small fortress cities;
- large historic cities;
- inner city areas;
- revitalised waterfront areas;
- industrial cities;
- seaside resorts and winter sport resorts;

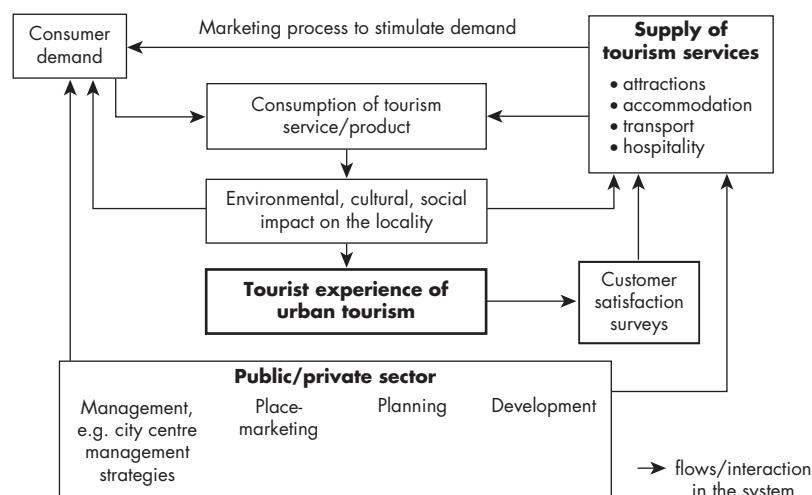


Figure 5.5 A systems approach to urban tourism

Source: Page and Hall (2003).

- purpose-built integrated tourist resorts;
- tourist-entertainment complexes;
- specialised tourist service centres;
- cultural/art cities (after Page 1995b: 17).

This typology illustrates the diversity of destinations which provide an urban context for tourist visits, and highlights the problem of deriving generalisations from individual case studies without a suitable conceptual framework. Page and Hall (2003) provide a framework for understanding the complexity of urban tourism, as shown in Figure 5.5, which identifies many of the interrelationships between the supply, demand and external factors.

Ashworth and Page (2011) posed the question: 'Is there a distinct urban geography of tourism?! They concluded that research in the last 20 years by geographers has begun to advance our understanding, albeit in a partial manner as the wider themes of the urban tourist, the urban tourism industry and planning and management. Even so, few studies have derived wider generalisations and urban services and space is too multifunctional to identify a distinctive urban geography of tourism.

Interpreting urban tourism: from concepts to theoretically informed analysis

Page and Hall (2003) point to the growing geographical research on postmodernism (e.g. Dear 1994, 1999; Dear and Flusty 1999) to identify the defining characteristics of the postmodern city. These characteristics have highlighted the significance of sociological literature in the arising urban places and spaces used to produce and consume urban tourism. The postmodern era has been characterised by cultural transformations which have a spatiality, epitomised by the cultural industries that embody the arts, leisure and tourism. Dear and Flusty (1998) coined a number of buzz words to describe the postmodern urbanscape, including:

- *privatopia*, an edge city residential form and housing development on the periphery;

- *cultures of heteropolis*, where cultural diversity and social polarity arise from the combined processes of racism, structural inequality, homelessness and social unrest;
- *the city as a theme park*, embodied in Hannigan's (1998) *Fantasy City*;
- *the fortified city*, where residents' concerns with safety, fear and crime have created 'fortified cells of affluence' juxtaposed with 'places of terror', where police seek to try and control crime;
- *interdictory space*, where spaces within cities exclude people through their activities and design (i.e. shopping malls as private spaces that have replaced high streets as public spaces).

In the postmodern city, Dear and Flusty (1998: 65) argued that the concentric ring structure of the Chicago School 'was essentially a concept of the city as an organic accretion around a central, organising core. Instead, we have identified a postmodern urban process in which the urban periphery organises the centre within the context of a globalising capitalium.' The urban core is no longer the defining and controlling influence upon development, although ironically strengthening of the urban core is often a justification for encouraging tourism development (Hall 2005a). Instead, Dear and Flusty (1998) argued that a 'Keno' capitalism had developed where a collage of non-contiguous consumption-oriented spaces develop. The process of urbanisation and development is far more complex in shaping tourism and leisure spaces. As a result, Page and Hall (2003) produce a model of tourism in the postmodern city where capital defines the nature, form and extent of consumption experiences. The tourism and leisure landscapes that emerge are part of a mosaic of social and cultural layers that add diversity to the urban fabric. The visitor may not easily recognise the tourist city as a distinct entity, since the patchwork of consumption experiences is often grouped into zones.

Figure 5.6a identifies a series of processes at work, including gentrification, interconnected zones of tourism and leisure where the conventional downtown area is rivalled by more space-extensive out-of-town areas, such as Garreau's (1991) *Edge City* and

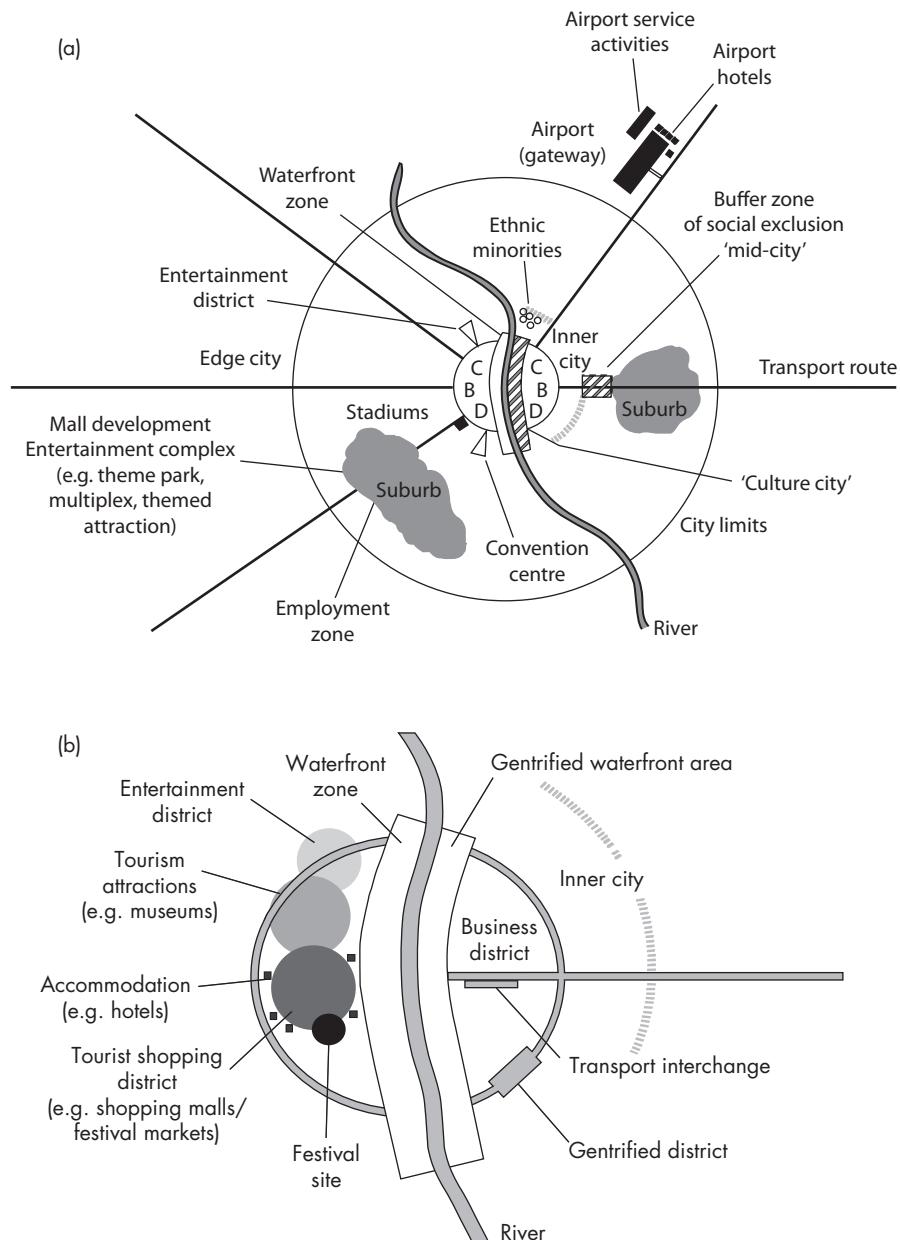


Figure 5.6 (a) Tourism, leisure and the postmodern city (b) Tourism, leisure and the postmodern city: the inner city dimension

Source: Page and Hall (2003).

Hannigan's (1998) *Fantasy City* (e.g. a theme park/entertainment zone). These developments further accentuate social exclusion and social polarity as Figure 5.6b suggests, as neighbourhoods are cleared by gentrification and marginalised by the emergence of consumption-oriented activities in former housing areas. This contributes to the development of what Roche (2000) called the 'new urban tourism', based on the consumption of places in a post-industrial society, which Meethan points to as involving

the visual consumption of signs and increasingly, simulacra and staged events in which urban townscapes are transformed into aestheticised spaces of entertainment and pleasure . . . within these places of consumption . . . a variety of activities can be pursued, such as promenading, eating, drinking, watching staged events and street entertainment and visually appreciating heritage and culture of place.

(Meethan 1996: 324)

For this reason, it is pertinent to focus on the concept of the 'tourist experience of urban tourism' as a framework to assess some of the experiential aspects of this phenomenon.

The tourist experience of urban tourism

There is a growing literature on tourist satisfaction (e.g. Ryan 1995) and what constitutes the experiential aspects of a tourist visit to a locality. In the context of urban tourism, the innovative research by Graefe and Vaske (1987) offers a number of important insights as well as a useful framework. Graefe and Vaske (1987) acknowledge that the 'tourist experience' is a useful term to identify the experience of an individual, which may be affected 'by individual, environmental, situational and personality-related factors as well as the degree of communication with other people. It is the outcome which researchers and the tourism industry constantly evaluate to establish

if the actual experience met the tourist's expectations' (Page 1995a: 24). Operationalising such a concept may prove difficult in view of the complex array of factors which may affect the visitor experience (Table 5.8) (Haywood and Muller 1988; Page and Hall 2003; Le-Klähn *et al.* 2014).

For example, where levels of overcrowding occur at major tourist sites (e.g. Canterbury, Venice, St Paul's Cathedral, London and the Tower of London), this can have a negative effect on visitors who have a low tolerance threshold for overcrowding at major tourist sites. Yet conversely, other visitors may be less affected by use levels, thereby illustrating the problem within tourism motivation research – predicting tourists' behaviour and their responses to particular situations. In fact Graefe and Vaske (1987: 394) argue that 'the effects of increasing use levels on the recreation/tourist experience can be explained only partially . . . as a function of use level'. Therefore, the individual

Table 5.8 Factors to consider in evaluating the urban tourism experience

- Weather conditions at the time of visit
- Standard and quality of accommodation available
- The cleanliness and upkeep of the city
- The city's aesthetic value (i.e. its setting and beauty)
- Tourists' personal safety from crime
- Accessibility of attractions and points of interest in the city
- Extent to which local people welcome visitors in a warm manner
- Ability of tourism employees to speak foreign languages
- Availability of signage
- Range of cultural and artistic amenities
- Ambience of the city environment as a place to walk around
- Level of crowding and congestion
- Range of night-life and entertainment available
- Range of restaurants and eating establishments in the city
- Pleasurability of leisure shopping
- Price levels of goods and services in the city
- Level of helpfulness among local people
- Adequacy of emergency medical care
- Quality of public transport

Source: modified from Page and Hall 2003.

BOX 5.5 TOURISM IN CAPITAL CITIES

Capital cities represent a special case of urban tourism (Hall 2002; Maitland and Ritchie 2007; Maitland 2012). As Canada's National Capital Commission (NCC) (2000b: 9) observed, 'The combination of political, cultural, symbolic and administrative functions is unique to national capitals'. The capital functions as 'the political centre and symbolic heart of the country. It is the site of crucial political decision-making, yet it is also a setting for the nation's culture and history, where the past is highlighted, the present displayed and the future imagined.' Although such statements are obviously significant in political and cultural terms the wider significance of capital city status for tourism has been grossly under-researched and, perhaps, under-appreciated (Taylor *et al.* 1993; Hall 2000a, 2002; Pearce 2007; Maitland and Ritchie 2007). Nevertheless, capital status is important. As capitals provide an administrative and political base of government operations there will therefore be spin-off effects for business travel in terms of both those who work in the capital and those who are seeking to lobby government or influence decisions. In addition to business-related travel, capital cities are also significant for tourism because of their cultural, heritage and symbolic roles. They are frequently home to some of the major national cultural institutions while also tending to have a significant wider role in the portrayal, preservation and promotion of national heritage and which showcase national culture (Therborn 1996). Such a concentration of arts and cultural institutions will therefore have implications for the travel and activity behaviour of culturally interested tourists as well as contributing to the image of a city as a whole. If capital status is lost it can have a significant affect on visitor numbers, as in the case of the transfer of the German national capital from Bonn to Berlin after the reunification of Germany, as a result of which Berlin has witnessed a dramatic increase in overnight stays and Bonn a decline.

The use of the notion of a capital in terms of branding and culture is significant for tourism not only regarding place promotion but also for attracting high yielding cultural tourists. Indeed, given the growth of place-marketing in an increasingly competitive global economic environment such a development is logical in terms of branding places and place competition. However, for the purpose of this discussion the notion of a capital is related primarily to political, administrative and symbolic functions which operate at a national or provincial level. Indeed, as Dubé and Gordon (2000: 6) observed, 'Planning for cities that include a seat of government often involves political and symbolic concerns that are different from those of other urban areas'. The historical development of capital cities may also provide them with a significant transport gateway or hub function, e.g. London and Paris.

A good example of the relationship between capital city status and tourism is Ottawa in Canada, which was declared the capital of the new Canadian Confederation in 1867. Tourism now contributes well over CAN\$1 billion to the Ottawa region economy and makes a substantial contribution to employment as well as government taxes. Ottawa is an excellent example of Gottmann's (1983) observation that 'capital cities often act as hinges between different regions of a country'. Ottawa lies at the border between French and English speaking Canada, a history of interaction between labour and capital, as well as being at a location where different ecological regions also coincide (NCC 1999). There are a number of primary benefits of visiting Ottawa that are unique to a capital city. In a survey conducted in 1991 85 per cent of respondents agreed that it was a good way for young people to learn about their country, while the opportunity to learn about Canada was cited as important by 57 per cent of respondents (NCC 1991). Indeed, a unique characteristic that is shared among all visitors to Ottawa Hull is 'the

desire to visit national cultural institutions and physical landmarks that symbolize and reflect all of Canada' (NCC 1991: v):

The function of a national cultural institution (e.g., museum) is to display, protect and explain past, present and future national phenomena and human achievements. National cultural institutions are also used to communicate social, cultural, political, scientific, technical, or other knowledge through various media.

(NCC 1999: 63)

The main avenue for Canadian government actions to reinforce the role of Ottawa's capital city status is the National Capital Commission, which has the mission 'To create pride and unity through Canada's Capital Region' (NCC 2000a: 5). Established in 1959, the NCC is a Crown corporation governed by a national board of directors (the Commission) and reports to the Canadian Parliament through the Minister of Canadian Heritage. The NCC is not primarily a tourist organisation, but its actions and policies over the years have created substantial tourism resources for the region in the form of attractions as well as imaging the city through its promotional and marketing campaigns. The significance of the NCC for tourism cannot be overstated. As Tunbridge observed,

In an unmanaged state Ottawa's tourism resource would be modest: a physical environment recreationally attractive, but unexceptional in Canada; a historic ambience with distinctive elements, but weak by international standards; and an overall cultural environment which was in the 1960s the butt of jests . . . and a non-place to most further afield.

(Tunbridge 1998: 95)

According to the NCC, it 'exists to promote national pride through the creation of a great capital for an increasingly diverse body of Canadians' (2000a: 8). A key focus of achieving its strategic goals since the early 1990s has been the theme of renewal and the development of core area vision for the National Capital Region (NCR). In order to achieve its goals it has fostered the redevelopment of the By Ward Market heritage neighbourhood (see also Tunbridge 2000; Picton 2010) and continues to try and regenerate the Sparks Street mall area one block from Parliament Hill. In addition, the NCC has developed a series of parkways in the Ottawa region that have an historic role as recreational and leisure corridors for motorists and cyclists. The parkways also link into the transitway system and act as 'gateways' to the NCR which remain, 'influencing the perception of visitors and to communicating the image and landscape of the Capital' (NCC 1998: 52) (see also Amati and Taylor 2010).

tourist's ability to tolerate the behaviour of other people, level of use, the social situation and the context of the activity are all important determinants of the actual outcome. Thus, evaluating the quality of the tourist experience is a complex process which may

require careful consideration of the factors motivating a visit (i.e. how tourists' perception of urban areas makes them predisposed to visit particular places), their actual patterns of activity and the extent to which the expectations associated with their

perceptions are matched in reality (Page 1995a: 25). For this reason, attention now turns to some of the experiential aspects of urban tourists' visits and the significance of behavioural issues influencing visitor satisfaction. In view of the diversity of tourists visiting urban areas, it is useful to define the market for urban tourism.

The urban tourism market: data sources

Identifying the scale, volume and different markets for urban tourism remains a perennial problem for researchers. Urban tourism is a major economic activity in many of the world's capital cities, but identifying the tourism markets in each area is problematic. Page (1995a) provides a detailed assessment of the principal international data sources on urban tourism, reviewing statistics published by the World Tourism Organization and the OECD. Such data sources commonly employ the domestic and international tourist use of accommodation as one measure of the scale of tourism activity. In the context of urban tourism, they require researchers to have an understanding of spatial distribution of tourist accommodation in each country to identify the scale and distribution of tourist visits. In countries where the majority of accommodation is urban based, such statistics may provide preliminary sources of data for research. While this may be relevant for certain categories of tourist (e.g. business travellers and holidaymakers), those visitors staying with friends and relatives within an urban environment would not be included in the statistics. Cockerell (1997) recognised that data on urban-based business travel were notoriously difficult to monitor, since it was often associated with a range of non-tourism functions and more specific activities located in towns and cities due to their central place functions in regions and countries, notably the meetings, incentives, conferences and exhibitions (MICE) market. The specialist facilities and infrastructure required for such business are frequently located in urban areas to make use of complementary facilities such as

accommodation, transport hubs (i.e. airports) and the wider range of tourist attractions to provide the wider context for MICE venues.

Within a European context, Cockerell (1997) indicated that comparative data on urban tourism rarely exists due to the different survey methodologies, sampling techniques and inconsistency in the use of terminology or lack of agreement on what an urban tourist is. For example, many European surveys do not consider the day trip or excursion market as a pure form of urban tourism, and therefore exclude them from surveys. Cockerell (1997) pointed to the only pan-European data source – *The European Travel Monitor* (ETM). The section on city trips refers only to the holiday sector, ignoring business and VFR travel, and including only those international trips involving a minimum stay of one night. A number of other data sources, including academic studies (e.g. Mazanec 1997; Mazanec and Wöber 2010) and research institutes in Paris, namely the Institut National de la Recherche sur les Transports et leur Sécurité (INRETS), and Venice, the Centro Internazionale di Studi sull'Economica Turistica (CISET), have generated research data on urban tourism demand.

Even where statistics can be used, they provide only a preliminary assessment of scale and volume, and more detailed sources are needed to assess specific markets for urban tourism. For example, Page (1995a) reviews the different market segmentation techniques used by marketing researchers to analyse the tourism market for urban areas, which helps one to understand the types of visitors and motives for visiting urban destinations. According to Blank and Petkovich (1980), the motives for visiting urban areas can be classified as:

- visiting friends and relatives;
- outdoor recreation activities business/convention visitation;
- entertainment and sightseeing activities;
- personal reasons;
- shopping;
- other factors.

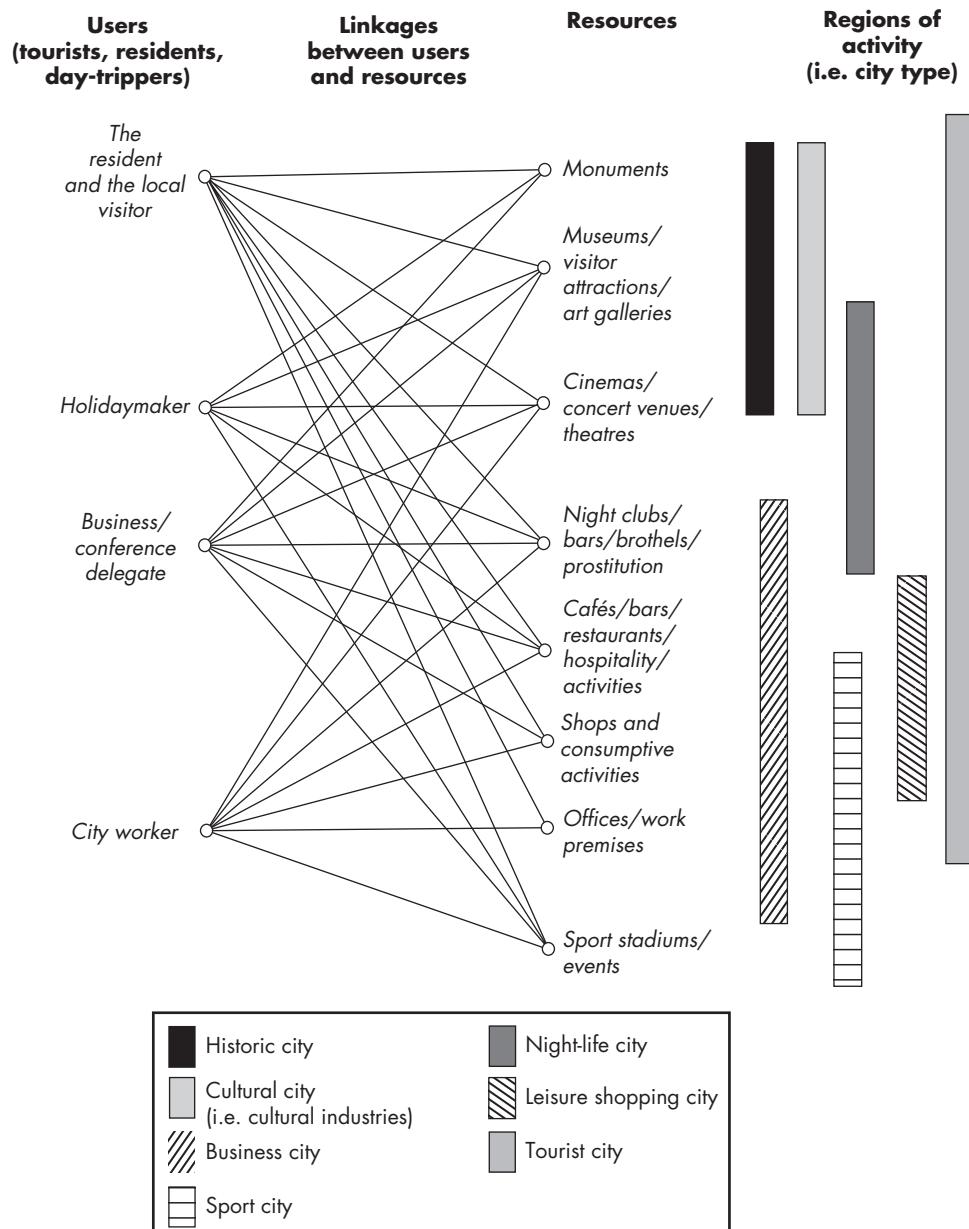


Figure 5.7 Functional areas in the tourist city

Source: modified and developed from Burtenshaw et al. 1991.

In contrast, Page (1995a: 48) identified a broader range of motivations for visiting urban areas:

- visiting friends and relatives;
- business travel;
- conference and exhibition attendance;
- educational reasons;
- cultural and heritage tourism;
- religious travel (e.g. pilgrimages);
- hallmark events attendance;
- leisure shopping.

However, Jansen-Verbeke (1986) does point to the methodological problem of distinguishing between the different users of the tourist city. For example, Burtenshaw *et al.* (1991) discuss the concept of functional areas within the city, where different visitors seek certain attributes for their city visit (e.g. the historic city, the culture city, the night-life city, the shopping city and the tourist city) and no one group has a monopoly over its use (Figure 5.7 shows the idea of such functional areas as extended by Page and Hall 2003). In other words, residents of the city and its hinterland, visitors and workers all use the resources within the tourist city, but some user groups identify with certain areas more than others. Thus, the tourist city is a multifunctional area, which complicates attempts to identify a definitive classification of users and the areas/facilities they visit.

Ashworth and Tunbridge (1990) prefer to approach the market for urban tourism from the perspective of the consumers' motives, focusing on the purchasing intent of users, their attitudes, opinions and interests for specific urban tourism products. The most important distinction they make is between use/non-use of tourism resources, leading them to identify international users (who are motivated by the character of the city) and incidental users (who view the character of the city as irrelevant to their use). This twofold typology is used by Ashworth and Tunbridge (1990) to identify four specific types of users:

- intentional users from outside the city-region (e.g. holidaymakers and heritage tourists);

- intentional users from inside the city-region (e.g. those using recreational and entertainment facilities – recreating residents);
- incidental users from outside the city-region (e.g. business and conference/exhibition tourists and those on family visits – non-recreating visitors);
- incidental users from inside the city-region (e.g. residents going about their daily activities – non-recreating residents).

Such an approach recognises the significance of attitudes and the use made of the city and services rather than the geographical origin of the visitor as the starting point for analysis. Although the practical problem with such an approach is that tourists tend to cite one main motive for visiting a city, any destination is likely to have a variety of user groups. For example, a recent review of urban tourism in China (UNWTO 2012c) focusing on its top tourism cities (Figure 5.8) identified the scale of demand in Beijing, with a 16.3 million population and receiving 140 million domestic tourists whose main purpose for visiting was: sightseeing (48 per cent); vocational reasons (31.2 per cent); VFR (13.8 per cent); business tourism (0.5 per cent); conference tourism (3.2 per cent); pilgrimage (0.8 per cent); as part of an exchange (1 per cent); other reasons (0.9 per cent). This illustrates the uniqueness of the visitor market in different cities and the problem of deriving generalisations. But this does confirm the multi-use hypothesis advanced by Ashworth and Tunbridge (1990), which was subsequently developed in a geographical context by Getz (1993a).

Having outlined some of the methodological issues associated with assessing the market for urban tourism, attention now turns to the behavioural issues associated with the analysis of tourist visits to urban areas.

Urban tourism: behavioural issues

Any assessment of urban tourist activities, patterns and perceptions of urban locations will be influenced by the supply of services, attractions and facilities

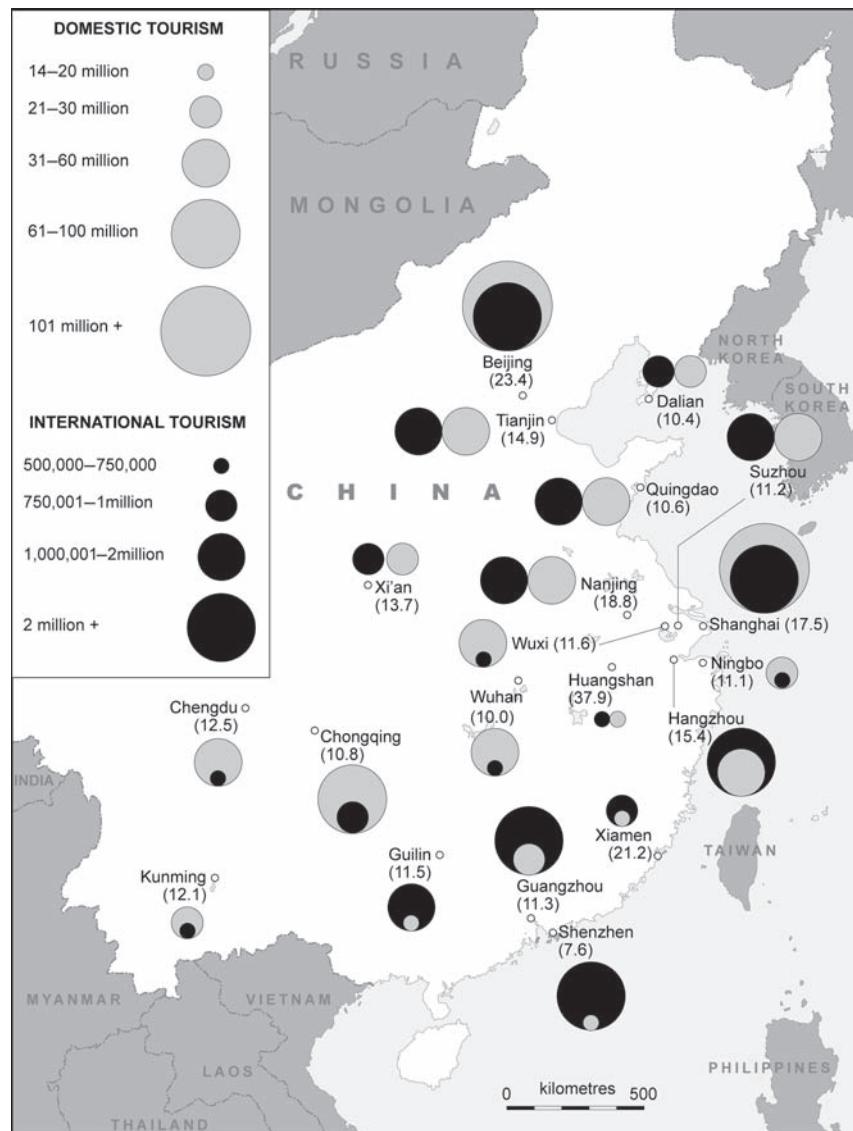


Figure 5.8 Urban tourism in China

Source: developed from UNWTO data.

in each location. It is necessary to understand the operation and organisation of tourism in terms of the production of tourism services and the ways in which tourists consume the products in relation to the locality, their reasons for consumption, what they consume

and possible explanations for the consumption outcome as visitor behaviour. As Law argues:

tourism is the geography of consumption outside the home area; it is about how and why people

travel to consume ... on the production side it is concerned to understand where tourism activities develop and on what scale. It is concerned with the process or processes whereby some cities are able to create tourism resources and a tourism industry.

(Law 1993: 14)

One framework developed in the Netherlands by Jansen-Verbeke (1986) to accommodate the analysis of tourism consumption and production in urban areas is that of the 'leisure product'. The facilities in an urban environment may be divided into the 'primary elements', 'secondary elements' and 'additional elements' (see Chapter 3). To distinguish between user groups, Jansen-Verbeke (1986) identified tourists' and recreationalists' first and second reasons for visiting three Dutch towns (Deneter, Kampen and Zwolle). The inner city environment provides a leisure function for various visitors regardless of the prime motivation for visiting. As Jansen-Verbeke (1986) suggests:

On an average day, the proportion of visitors coming from beyond the city-region (tourists) is about one-third of all visitors. A distinction that needs to be made is between week days, market days and Sundays. Weather conditions proved to be important . . . the hypothesis that inner cities have a role to play as a leisure substitute on a rainy day could not be supported.

(Jansen-Verbeke 1986: 88–9)

Among the different user groups, tourists tend to stay longer, with a strong correlation between 'taking a day out', sightseeing and 'visiting a museum' as the main motivations to visit. Nevertheless, leisure shopping was also a major 'pull factor' for recreationalists and tourists, though it is of greater significance for the recreationalists. Using a scaling technique, Jansen-Verbeke (1986) asked visitors to evaluate how important different elements of the leisure product were to their visit. The results indicate that there is not a great degree of difference between tourists' and

recreationalists' rating of elements and characteristics of the city's leisure product. While recreationalists attach more importance to shopping facilities than to events and museums, the historical characteristics of the environment and decorative elements combined with other elements, such as markets, restaurants and the compact nature of the inner city, to attract visitors. Thus 'the conceptual approach to the system of inner-city tourism is inspired by common features of the inner-city environment, tourists' behaviour and appreciation and promotion activities' (Jansen-Verbeke 1986: 97). Such findings illustrate the value of relating empirical results to a conceptual framework for the analysis of urban tourism and the necessity of replicating similar studies in other urban environments to test the validity of the hypothesis, framework and interpretation of urban tourists' visitor behaviour, as reflected in Box 5.6.

But how do tourists and other visitors to urban areas learn about, find their way around and perceive the tourism environment?

Tourist perception and cognition of the urban environment

How individual tourists interact and acquire information about the urban environment remains a relatively poorly researched area in tourism studies, particularly in relation to towns and cities. This assumes an even greater significance, as Box 5.6, on modelling tourist movements, illustrates. Modelling mobility is an important element of advancing research knowledge, but we also need to explore beyond this to explain, as the 11 movement styles McKercher and Lau (2008) constructed reflect the degree of tourist engagement with the destination urban environment. This area of research is traditionally seen as the forte of social psychologists with an interest in tourism, though much of the research by social psychologists has focused on motivation (e.g. Guy and Curtis 1986).

Reviews of the social psychology of tourism indicate that there has been a paucity of studies of tourist

BOX 5.6 MODELLING THE MOVEMENT PATTERNS OF TOURISTS IN URBAN DESTINATIONS

According to McKercher and Lau (2008: 355), 'understanding movements within a destination plays a fundamental role in understanding tourist behavior, which in turn is directly applicable to the entire suite of destination management activities, including planning, tour product development, transport, attraction planning and accommodation development. In short, it is central to the understanding of how tourism works at a destination level'. McKercher and Lau (2008) identified four broad types of itinerary, operating at different geographical scales. These were: the single destination with or without side trips; transit leg and circle tour at a destination; circle tour with or without multiple access; egress points and various itinerary styles and a hub and spoke style. Whilst Connell and Page (2008) reviewed these four types within the context of a national park in Scotland, it is more problematic when seeking to understand the totality of tourist travel in a destination. In other words, tourists have an unlimited number of places to go and McKercher (2014) concluded that tourist itineraries are highly individualistic. Despite these obvious problems of scale and the complexity of visits in an urban setting, Walmsley and Jenkins (1992) observed that two broad types of urban visitor characteristics existed in the same trip: space searchers, who had a wide search area and visited multiple sites; and space sitters, who had a very confined spatial activity space. The decision to adopt either behavioural characteristic was dependent upon the knowledge of the destination (which we explore further on pp. 214–217).

Understanding the factors which condition tourist trips (e.g. spatial relationship between the tourist(s) and the accommodation–attraction–transport nexus) and the pattern of tourist supply will partly explain the resulting patterns of tourist travel and exploration in a destination. McKercher and Lau (2008) use the concept of 'territoriality' to explain the resulting movement patterns, ranging from the very restricted to unrestricted patterns of movement, and examined the daily movement patterns of tourists in Hong Kong: 250 respondents, some 5,274 visit points/places were observed (an average of 3.6 visits to places per

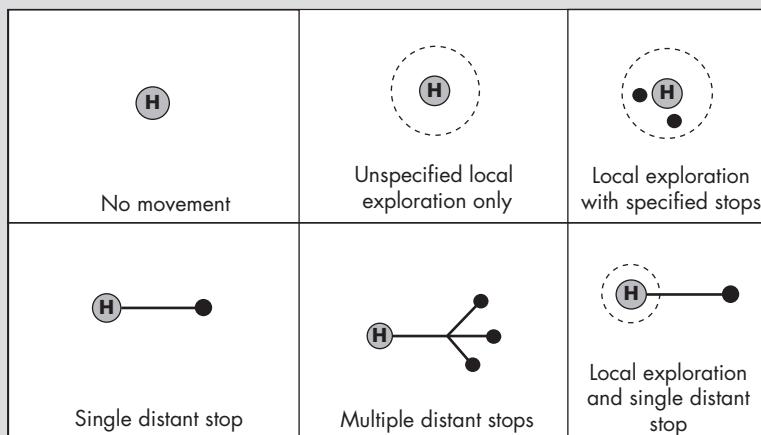
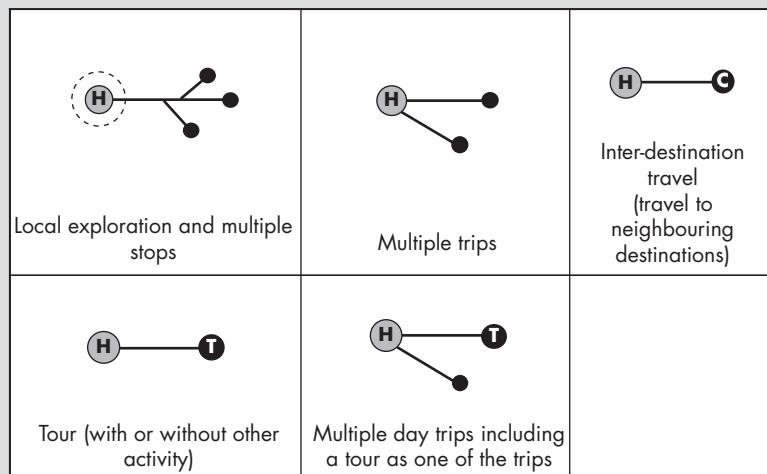


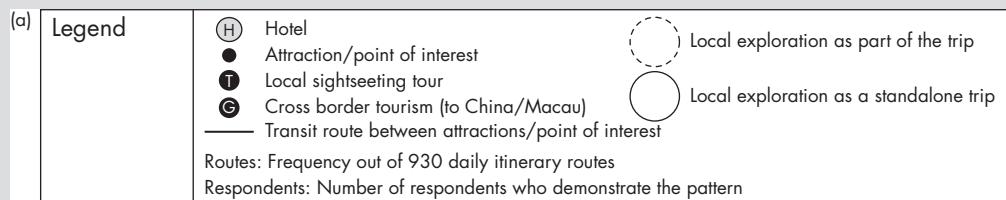
Figure 5.9 Tourist movement styles

**Figure 5.9 (Continued)**

Source: McKercher and Lau 2008: 366.

tourist per day). Using GIS technology, the visualisation of the individual itineraries was grouped into 78 discrete patterns of movement. These patterns were categorised with seven key factors in mind (i.e. territoriality; the number of trips taken per day; number of stops per journey; observed pattern of multi-stop journeys; participation in a commercial day tour; participation in cross-border trips to China/Macau; combinations of the previous factors).

These 78 patterns were then summarised into 11 broad movement styles (Figure 5.9). The 11 movement types, while not exhaustive, do begin to address the weaknesses of urban tourism research identified by Ashworth and Page (2011) in relation to the geography of urban tourism. Figure 5.10 is a useful starting point for further research to assess the generalisability of the main findings. McKercher and Lau (2008) found the most common trip type was a single day trip with a local exploration element and visits to additional distant visitor attractions.

**Figure 5.10 Observed tourist movement patterns**

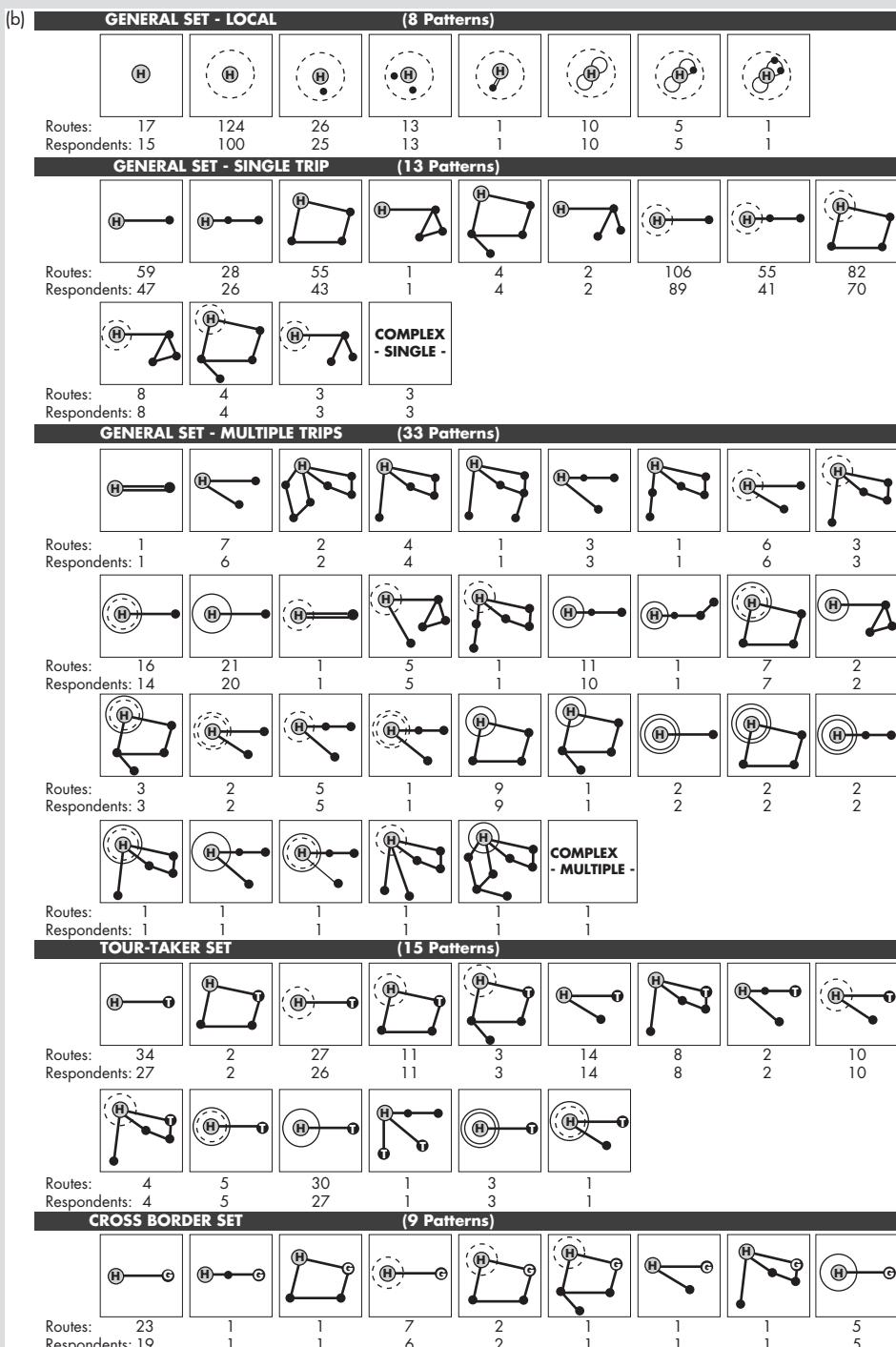


Figure 5.10 (Continued)

Source: McKercher and Lau 2008: 362.

behaviour and adaptation to new environments they visit. This is somewhat surprising since 'tourists are people who temporarily visit areas less familiar to them than their home area' (Walmsley and Jenkins 1992: 269). Therefore, one needs to consider a number of fundamental concerns related to the following questions:

- How will the tourists get to know the areas they visit?
- How do they find their way around unfamiliar environments?
- What features in the urban environment are used to structure their learning experience in unfamiliar environments?
- What type of mental maps and images do they develop?

These issues are important in a tourism planning context since the facilities which tourists use and the opportunities they seek will be conditioned by their environmental awareness. This may also affect the commercial operation of attractions and facilities, since a lack of awareness of the urban environment and the attractions within it may mean tourists fail to visit them. Understanding how tourists interact with the environment to create an image of the real world has been the focus of research into social psychology and behavioural geography (Walmsley and Lewis 1993). Geographers have developed a growing interest in the geographic space perception of all types of individuals (Downs 1970), without explicitly considering tourists

in most instances. Behavioural geographers emphasise the need to examine how people store spatial information and 'their choice of different activities and locations within the environment' (Walmsley and Lewis 1993: 95). The process through which individuals perceive the urban environment is shown in Figure 5.11. While this is a simplification, Haynes (1980) notes that no two individuals will have an identical image of the urban environment because the information they receive is subject to mental processing. This is conditioned by the information signals they receive through their senses (e.g. sight, hearing, smell, taste and touch) and this part of the process is known as *perception*. As our senses may comprehend only a small proportion of the total information received, the human brain sorts the information and relates it to the knowledge, values and attitudes of the individual through the process of *cognition* (Page 1995a: 222).

The final outcome of the perception and cognition process is the formation of a mental image of a place. These images are an individual's own view of reality, but they are important to the individual and group when making decisions about their experience of a destination, whether to visit again, and their feelings in relation to the tourist experience of place. As Downs and Stea (1977: 2) observed, 'a cognitive map is a cross section representing the world at one instant in time', a feature explored by Crang and Travelou (2001) in relation to the historic sites of Athens. In the psychology literature, Curiel and Radvansky (2002) note that one way to examine this issue is to understand how people memorise a map to recognise

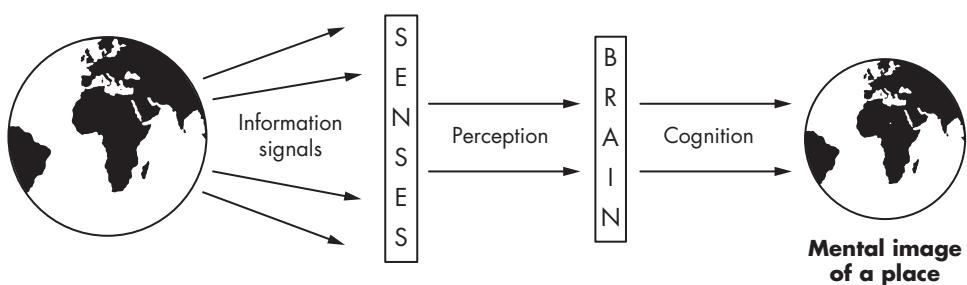


Figure 5.11 Perceptions of place

how their resulting mental representation of that map influences their use of that map.

Nevertheless, as Walmsley and Lewis (1993: 96) suggested, the distinction between cognition and perception is 'a heuristic device rather than a fundamental dichotomy because in many senses, the latter subsumes the former and both are mediated by experience, beliefs, values, attitudes, and personality such that, in interacting with their environment, humans only see what they want to see'. Consequently, an individual tourist's knowledge of the environment is created in their mind as they interact with the unfamiliar environment they are visiting (or a familiar environment on a return visit). Pacione (2001: 353) observed that 'Certain places are regarded as distinctive or memorable through their unique characteristics or imageability and so have a strong *sense of place*'. This may be explained in terms of the attachments people have to a specific place, gained through experience, memory and intention, a condition described by Tuan (1974) as topophilia. Such issues are relevant for tourism as place attachment can be a significant indicator of future visitation and positive word of mouth.

According to Powell (1978: 17–18), an image of the environment comprises 10 key features, which include:

- a spatial component accounting for an individual's location in the world;
- a personal component relating the individual to other people and organisations;
- a temporal component concerned with the flow of time;
- a relational component concerned with the individual's picture of the universe as a system of regularities;
- conscious, subconscious and unconscious elements;
- a blend of certainty and uncertainty;
- a mixture of reality and unreality;
- a public and private component expressing the degree to which an image is shared;
- a value component that orders parts of the image according to whether they are good or bad;
- an affective component whereby the image is imbued with feeling.

Among geographers, the spatial component of behavioural research has attracted most interest, with much inspiration derived from the pioneering research of Lynch (1960). Lynch asked respondents in North American cities to sketch maps of their individual cities, and, by simplifying the sketches, derived images of the city. Lynch developed a specific technique to measure people's urban images in which respondents drew a map of the centre of the city from memory, marking on it the streets, parks, buildings, districts and features they considered important. Lynch (1960) found five elements in the resulting maps that suggested fundamental ways that people collect spatial information about a city. These were:

- *paths*, which are the channels along which individuals move;
- *edges*, which are barriers (e.g. rivers) or lines separating one region from another;
- *districts*, which are medium to large sections of the city with an identifiable character;
- *nodes*, which are the strategic points in a city which the individual can enter and which serve as foci for travel;
- *landmarks*, which are points of reference used in navigation and way finding, into which an individual cannot enter.

The significance of such research for the tourist and visitor to the urban environment is that the information they collect during a visit will shape their image of the place, influencing their feelings and impressions of that place. Furthermore, this imageability of a place is closely related to its legibility, by which is meant the extent to which parts of the city may be recognised and interpreted by an individual as belonging to a coherent pattern. Thus a legible city would be one where the paths, edges, districts, nodes and landmarks are both clearly identifiable and clearly positioned relative to each other (Walmsley and Lewis 1993: 98). Indeed, Lynch argued that a successful urban landscape would possess two desirable urban qualities of *imageability* (the value of objects in the landscape to provoke a strong emotional response in observers) and *legibility* (the extent to

which the elements of a city can be seen as a coherent whole).

Although there may sometimes be confusion among individuals regarding recognition of Lynchian urban landscape elements, it does help researchers to understand how individuals perceive the environment. Although researchers have criticised Lynch for the small sample sizes in his work based on the cities of Boston, Los Angeles and Jersey City, with 60 responses, the real value is the subsequent interest and research activity which his work stimulated. In fact Lynch (1984), in a review of his work, noted the problems of implementing his findings in a public policy context, since many cities are quite idiosyncratic in character and development.

Walmsley and Lewis (1993) review many of the issues associated with the methodology of imagery research and raise a range of concerns about deriving generalisations from such results. Such studies do have a role to play in understanding how people view, understand and synthesise the complexity of urban landscapes into images of the environment. Nevertheless, criticisms of spatial research of individual imagery of the environment are that it uses a 'borrowed methodology, a potpourri of concepts, and liberal doses of borrowed theory' (Downs and Stea 1977: 3, cited in Walmsley and Lewis 1993). In a tourism context, Walmsley and Jenkins (1992) observed that tourism cognitive mapping may offer a number of useful insights into how tourists learn about new environments, and, for this reason, it is pertinent to consider how visitor behaviour may be influenced by the ability to acquire spatial knowledge and synthesise it into meaningful images of the destination to assist them in finding their way around the area or region.

Tourism cognitive mapping

Walmsley and Lewis (1993: 214) review the factors that affect visitor behaviour in terms of five inter-related factors which may initially shape the decision to visit an urban environment. These are:

- antecedent conditions;
- user aspirations;

- intervening variables;
- user satisfaction;
- real benefits.

These factors will, with experience, raise or reduce the individual's desire for recreational (and tourism) activity. The opportunities and constraints on visitors' behaviour are affected by income, disposable time available and a host of other socio-economic factors. Research by Stabler (1990) introduces the concept of 'opportunity sets', where the individual or family's knowledge of tourism opportunities is conditioned by their experience and the constraints on available time to participate in leisure and tourism activities. Thus, once the decision is taken to visit an urban environment, the tourist faces the problem of the familiarity/unfamiliarity of the location. It is the latter which tends to characterise most urban tourist trips, though visitors are often less hesitant about visiting urban destinations if they live in a town or city environment.

P.L. Pearce (1977) produced one of the pioneering studies of cognitive maps of tourists. Using data from sketch maps from first-time visitors to Oxford, England, the role of landmarks, paths and districts was examined. The conclusion drawn indicated that visitors were quick to develop cognitive maps, often by the second day of their visit. The interesting feature of the study is that there is evidence of an environmental learning process at work. Walmsley and Jenkins (1992: 272) critiqued P.L. Pearce's (1977) findings, noting that:

- the number of landmarks, paths and districts increased over time;
- the number of landmarks identified increased over a period of two to six days, while recognition of the number of districts increased from two to three days;
- the resulting sketch maps were complex, with no one element dominating them.

A further study by P.L. Pearce (1981) examined how tourists came to know a route in Northern Queensland (a 340 km strip from Townsville to Cairns). The

study indicated that experiential variables are a major influence upon cognitive maps. For example, drivers had a better knowledge than passengers, while age and prior use of the route were important conditioning factors. But, as Walmsley and Jenkins (1992: 273) argue, very little concern has been shown for the cognitive maps of tourists except for the work by Aldskogius (1977) in Sweden and Mercer (1971a) in Australia. However, as Pacione (2004: 355) notes: 'Although cognitive mapping can identify sub-areas in a city, it does not capture the sense of place . . . To achieve this goal we need to move from cognitive mapping to the "mapping of meaning" based on a humanistic approach, where the world of experience is used to understand what the places mean to those people.'

This is more phenomenological in approach and has a strong synergy with ethnography (see Jackson 1985; Hall 2011c) and the early work of the Chicago School of urban research (Park *et al.* 1925; Wirth 1938). What is clear for tourists in an urban setting is that human needs should be met, particularly in terms of urban design, including the innate need for security, clarity (such as the need to be able to move easily and freely in what Lynch 1960 called a *legible* city), environments where social interaction can occur (e.g. public spaces and places), conveniently located facilities and districts for visiting the urban leisure product, and an opportunity to gain a sense of place

during the visit from a memorable and easily assimilated urban form and structure. In the latter context, not only have urban regeneration strategies for cities (see Page and Hall 2003) pursued physical regeneration but also massive investment has gone into the re-imaging of places that hitherto have not been high in tourists' consciousness as places to visit with a strong imagery and sense of place even when one visits (Hall 2013b). This has become part of what Pacione (2004) describes as the pursuit of the liveable city, so that planning and redesign of the city environment seek to accommodate a better living environment for residents and short-term visitors in pursuit of gaining a better sense of place, rather than becoming part of what have been described in the UK as 'Crap Towns' (Jordison and Kieran 2003), which also have quite limited tourism potential. Many of the government strategies within western countries seek to improve the living environment as a basis for also attracting tourism, a feature noted in post-event reports on hosting the Commonwealth Games in Manchester, which improved the city's image and visitor numbers post-event (Hall and Page 2012). However, in the context of developing countries such as Africa, Hoyle (2001) observed the potential for urban redevelopment of waterfront sites such as Lamu, which may have beneficial effects for tourism and urban conservation, but the juxtaposition of rich visitors with poor local residents could have potential for conflict and crime.

BOX 5.7 THE VALUE OF URBAN HERITAGE RESOURCES IN THE CULTURAL ECONOMY

Heritage does not just refer to old buildings. At its most basic, heritage represents the things we want to keep. Nevertheless, as Glasson *et al.* (1995: 20) described the situation, 'Public definitions of heritage are still largely dominated by highly educated professionals . . . This often places the professional at considerable remove from the visitor's need.' Tunbridge and Ashworth (1996) identified five different aspects of the meaning of heritage:

- a synonym for any relict physical survival of the past;
- the idea of individual and collective memories in terms of non-physical aspects of the past when viewed from the present;

- all accumulated cultural and artistic productivity;
- the natural environment;
- a major commercial activity, e.g. the 'heritage industry'.

Undoubtedly, there is significant overlap between these various conceptions of heritage. However, according to Tunbridge and Ashworth (1996: 3), there are intrinsic dangers in the stretching of the concept to cover so much: 'Inevitably precision is lost, but more important is that this, in turn, conceals issues and magnifies problems intrinsic to the creation and management of heritage.' Ironically, the uncertainty about what constitutes heritage is occurring at a time when heritage has assumed greater importance because of its relationship to identity in a constantly changing world as well as its commercial value with respect to image and promotion, including with respect to cultural quarters (Hall 2013b) and the generation of attractive servicescapes (Hall 2008b). Such recognition highlights the implications of the extension of urban entrepreneurialism to the cultural economy in that it has provided a stronger dialectical articulation of the material (urban form, design, and architecture) and the immaterial (place branding, marketing, identity, image) as co-created and produced urban economic practice (Jessop and Sum 2001).

The formulation of what constitutes heritage is therefore intimately related to wider political, social, economic and technological changes which appear to reflect postmodern concerns over the end of certainty and the convergence between cultural forms which were once seen as separate aspects of everyday life, e.g. education and tourism or, in even more of a heritage context, marketing and conservation. Much discussion in heritage studies has focused on the recognition of multiple meanings of heritage, particularly with respect to the recognition of other voices in heritage. In many urban areas, particularly those which have a substantial migrant and/or labour heritage, other histories are also finding their voice and recognition through the work of heritage managers. For example, the comments of Norkunas with reference to the heritage of Monterey, California, apply to many other communities:

Ethnic and class groups have not forgotten the totality of their own pasts. They have certainly preserved a sense of themselves through orally transmitted family stories, and through celebrations and rituals performed inside the group. But their systematic exclusion from official history fragments the community so that feelings of alienation and 'loss of soul' are experienced most deeply by minorities.

(Norkunas 1993: 99)

Nevertheless, commercial use of the symbolic capital of heritage dominates in the cultural economy and highlights three things about the use of heritage and tourism in regeneration projects in the contemporary city (Evans 2005; Hall 2013b): first, the urban morphology of economic restructuring in which regeneration is tied to the cultural-material production of urban space (Evans 2003); second, the development of the 'new' and 'symbolic' economy, in which regeneration projects, including heritage, in conjunction with the leisure and tourism sectors, are integral to postmodern economic and political urban competitiveness strategies (Malecki 2004; Hall 2007b); third, entrepreneurialism and ethnicity, in which cultural discourses of race and ethnic difference become part of entrepreneurial place strategies (Hall and Rath 2007).

Place promotion and the accompanying transformation of urban space require distinct boundaries in order to be effectively commodified, and this may be done via the (re)development and (re)branding of urban heritage spaces and/or distinctive cultural precincts or quarters. However, the cultural economic value of heritage is creating a new challenge for urban planners. Historically, the attention of public sector

heritage managers and planners has been focused on environmental and cultural values, and they have only a poorly developed understanding of the significance of economic values. This situation reflects a substantial set of new pressures which has begun to affect the manner in which heritage management and conservation operates:

- demands for smaller government concentrating on 'core' activities;
- the development of a user-pays philosophy;
- recognition of the significance of the visitor economy for business and regional development;
- use of heritage to anchor real estate development and urban regeneration projects;
- the emergence of public-private partnership;
- greater limitations on government expenditure.

From the new context within which heritage conservation occurs several significant principles can be identified, which McMillan (1997) has labelled, somewhat provocatively, as the 'undeniable truths' regarding heritage conservation:

- *That the choice for heritage conservation has both a value and a cost.* While much heritage literature and the activities of heritage groups have focused on the values of heritage, relatively little attention has been given to the costs. As McMillan (1997: 4) recognised, 'there is a financial cost in pursuing heritage conservation. Someone has to pay that cost.'
- *In the longer term viability means commercial rates of return.* If capital cannot be applied to achieve a return on equivalent applications – the opportunity cost of heritage conservation – in the long term, support for conservation of a particular site by the public and/or private sectors will dwindle.
- *Facilitation is productive, while confrontation leads to little real progress in conservation.* Creative outcomes can now be achieved through co-operation and understanding of the mutual needs of stakeholders. Indeed, one of the challenges for many heritage management agencies is to recognise the range of stakeholders that may exist for a particular site, including commercial stakeholders.
- *Reducing uncertainty, reduces time and costs and increases viability.*

This fourth principle is extremely important for heritage conservation from the perspective of the private sector.

Service quality issues in urban tourism

The competitive nature of urban tourism is increasingly being reflected in the growth in marketing and promotion efforts by towns and cities as they compete for a share of international and domestic tourism markets. Such competition has led to tourists demanding higher standards of service provision and improved quality in the tourist experience. As Clewer *et al.* (1992) note, certain urban tourists (e.g. the German market) have higher expectations of service quality

than do others. But developing an appropriate definition or concept of urban tourism quality is difficult due to the intangible nature of services as products which are purchased and consumed.

In the context of urban tourism, three key issues need to be addressed. First, place-marketing generates an image of a destination that may not be met in reality due to the problems of promoting places as tourist products. The image promoted through place-marketing may not necessarily be matched in reality through the services and goods which the

tourism industry delivers. As a result, the gap between customers' perception of a destination and the bundle of products they consume is reflected in their actual tourist experience, which has important implications for their assessment of quality in their experience. Second, the urban tourism product is largely produced by the private sector either as a package or as a series of elements which are not easily controlled or influenced by the place-marketeer. Third, there is a wide range of associated factors which affect a tourist's image of a destination, including less tangible elements like the environment and the ambience

of the city, which may shape the outcome of a tourist's experience. As a result, the customer's evaluation of the quality of the services and products provided is a function of the difference (gap) between expected and perceived service. It is in this context that the concept of service quality is important for urban tourism.

New concepts such as service dominant logic (Figure 5.12) have transformed thinking on service quality. In the case of urban tourism, it was traditionally the practical management of the 'gap' between the expected and the perceived service that required

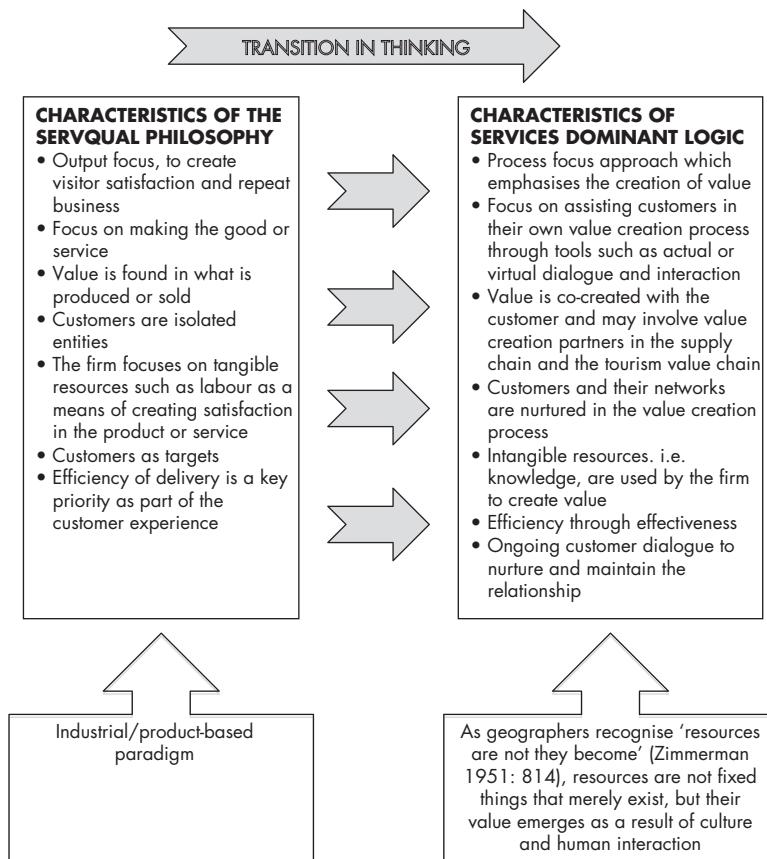


Figure 5.12 Paradigm shift from SERVQUAL to service dominant logic

Source: Page 2011, developed from Vargo and Lusch 2004, 2008.

attention by urban managers and the tourism industry. In reviewing Parasuraman *et al.*'s (1985) service quality model, Gilbert and Joshi (1992: 155) identify five gaps which exist:

- between the expected service and the management's perceptions of the consumer experience (i.e. what they think the tourist wants) (Gap 1);
- between the management's perception of the tourist needs and the translation of those needs into service quality specifications (Gap 2);
- between the quality specifications and the actual delivery of the service (Gap 3);
- between the service delivery stage and the organisation/provider's communication with the consumer (Gap 4);
- between the consumers' perception of the service they received and experienced, and their initial expectations of the service (Gap 5).

Gilbert and Joshi (1992) argue that the effective utilisation of market research techniques could help to bridge some of the gaps:

- Gap 1: by encouraging providers to elicit detailed information from consumers on what they require;
- Gap 2: by the management providing realistic specifications for the services to be provided which are guided by clear quality standards;
- Gap 3: by the employees being able to deliver the service according to the specifications; these need to be closely monitored, and staff training and development is essential – a service is only as good as the staff it employs;
- Gap 4: by the promises made by service providers in their marketing and promotional messages being reflected in the actual quality offered; therefore, if a city's promotional literature promises a warm welcome, human resource managers responsible for employees in frontline establishments need to ensure that this message is conveyed to their customers;
- Gap 5: by the major gap between the perceived service and delivered service being reduced

through progressive improvements in the appropriate image which is marketed to visitors and in the private sector's ability to deliver the expected service in an efficient and professional manner.

Such an approach to service quality can be applied to urban tourism, as it emphasises the importance of the marketing process in communicating and dealing with tourists. To obtain a better understanding of the service quality issues associated with the urban tourist's experience of urban tourism, Haywood and Muller (1988) identify a methodology for evaluating the quality of the urban tourism experience. This involves collecting data on visitors' expectations prior to and after their city visit by examining a range of variables (see Page 1995a for a fuller discussion). Such an approach may be costly to operate, but it does provide a better appreciation of the visiting process, and they argue that cameras may also provide the day-to-day monitoring of city experiences. At a city-wide level, many North American and European cities have responded to the problem of large visitor numbers and the consequences of mass tourism for the tourist experience by introducing Town Centre and Visitor Management Schemes (Page 1994a; Page and Hardyman 1996; Sadd 2009).

While there is insufficient space here to review these new management tools to combat the unwieldy and damaging effect of mass tourism on key tourist centres in developed and developing countries, it is notable that many small historic cities in Europe are taking steps to manage, modify and in some cases deter tourist activities as part of the strategic management and planning of urban destinations and visitor satisfaction. A range of potential visitor management strategies that seek to influence visitor behaviours in urban destinations are outlined in Table 5.9. However, the application of strategies will depend on perceptions of problems arising from visitation as well as management philosophies with respect to service (see Figure 5.12), with the most critical factor being pressure applied by different public and private stakeholders which are seeking to fulfil their own goals with respect to tourism (Hall 2014).

Table 5.9 Applications of visitor management techniques

<i>Visitor management technique</i>	<i>Application</i>
<i>Regulating access</i> – by area	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> All visitors are prohibited from visiting highly sensitive sites Different types and levels of use are regulated through zoning Access is regulated to pedestrians only
– by transport	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Access is regulated to pedestrians or by bicycle Public transport is the only allowable form of transport A location may have a 'car-free day' in which alternative ways to enter and move about the park must be found
<i>Regulating visitation</i> – visitor numbers – group size – type of visitor	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Regulations on total visitation per year, day or at any moment may be generated for a specific site Group size restrictions have been implemented in some European cathedrals Some sites and attractions have a limit on visitation and the type of visitor Some urban attractions target older high and middle income groups and actively discourage other segments using strict controls on all accommodation and services, keeping prices high and scrutinising all marketing to maintain consistency
<i>Regulating behaviour</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Zoning in some cities and towns allocates different types of use to specified areas Restrictions on length of stay may be imposed Tour operators may be required to operate under a detailed set of guidelines of conduct for visitors Visitors must visit with a guide Vehicular access may be restricted Loudspeakers may be restricted because of noise disturbance
<i>Regulating equipment</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Highly visited sites now often charge fees to access the site or use facilities at the site in order to pay maintenance costs, influencing some visitors to choose whether to visit or find an alternative destination Some heritage sites have days during low season when residents are offered free entry Cities may require tourism operators to pay for a permit or licence to access the heritage site, and operators must also collect entrance fees from each of their clients A portion of user fees collected is returned to local stakeholders as a means of demonstrating the value of tourism
<i>Implementing entry or user fees</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Some urban heritage sites may have specially designed walkways so as to reduce visitor impact Streetscapes may be designed in certain ways so as to encourage particular visitor flows and behaviours
<i>Modifying the site</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> A study of the domestic and international visitor market may be conducted in order to identify the market segments most likely to visit urban tourism attractions Visitors may be asked to complete special 'day diary' forms to identify their motivations for visiting and the activities they undertook Visitors may be asked for their attitudes towards their experience and the performance of the respective heritage manager as a means of improving visitor management strategies Visitor impact monitoring and research are widely undertaken in sensitive urban heritage attractions
<i>Undertaking market research</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Visitation pressure may be relieved through the development, marketing and promotion of value-added alternative attractions Different urban tourism organisations may undertake common promotional activities in order to reinforce the profile of the destination
<i>Undertaking visitor monitoring and research</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Tour guides can avoid sensitive areas by using a map and pictorial guide that identifies the best vantage points for attractions
<i>Undertaking marketing</i> – promotional	
– strategic information	

Table 5.9 (Continued)

<i>Visitor management technique</i>	<i>Application</i>
<i>Implementing interpretation programmes and facilities</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A walking ‘trail selector’ (website, brochure and map) may be developed to provide information on lightly used walking trails in order to redistribute use away from heavily used areas • Some urban tourism destinations may generate greater levels of visitor respect for the local culture through the provision of opportunities such as learning to cook with a local family or spending a night with a local family in a homestay • Visitors may be taken on guided tours by local people who then convey their personal experiences and knowledge of the area to the visitor, and this level of authenticity can greatly enhance the quality of the visitor experience
<i>Implementing education programmes and facilities</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Theme trails may be created to educate visitors about specific aspects of local history and culture • Many urban locations and attractions have interpretation and signage encouraging appropriate behaviour
<i>Modifying the presence of management</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Most museums and heritage attractions strategically position security staff in corners and corridors to create a high profile when visitors are moving between exhibits and a low profile when they are studying an individual exhibit
<i>Encouraging and assisting alternative industry</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Some urban destination management organisations encourage the development of small-scale homestay accommodation and tours by local guides who are highly trained in heritage providers, tourism and interpretation, with profits therefore being reinvested in the local community
<i>Encouraging and assisting alternative providers</i> – volunteers	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Many urban heritage attractions, such as museums and historic sites, have volunteer and friends’ associations which assist in various aspects of management as well as providing a source of financial support
<i>Concentrating on accredited organisations bringing visitors to a site</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • National and regional accreditation programmes may be used to check on the appropriateness of tourism operator practices and the quality of facilities

Source: after Hall and McArthur 1998, Hall 2014.

Conclusion

Tourism's development in urban areas is not a new phenomenon, but its recognition as a significant activity to study in its own right is only belatedly gaining the recognition it deserves within tourism studies (UNWTO 2012b). The reasons why tourists visit urban environments, to consume a bundle of tourism products, continues to be overlooked by the private sector, which often neglects the fundamental issue – cities are multifunctional places. Despite the growing interest in urban tourism research, the failure of many large and small cities which promote tourism to understand the reasons why people visit, the links between the various motivations, and the deeper reasons why people are attracted to cities, remains a fertile area for theoretically informed and methodologically sound research. Many cities are beginning to recognise the

importance of monitoring visitor perceptions and satisfaction and the activity patterns and behaviour of tourists. While such studies may have provided rich pickings for market research companies, all too often the surveys have been superficial, naive and devoid of any real understanding of urban tourism.

For the public and private sector planners and managers with an interest, involvement or stake in urban tourism, the main concern continues to be the potential for harnessing the all-year-round appeal of urban tourism activity, despite the often short-stay nature of such visitors. Ensuring that such stays are part of a high quality experience, where visitor expectations are realistically met through well-researched, targeted and innovative products, continues to stimulate interest among tour operators and other stakeholders in urban tourism provision. Yet the urban tourism industry, which is so often fragmented and

poorly co-ordinated, rarely understands many of the complex issues of visitor behaviour, the spatial learning process which tourists experience and the implications for making their visit as stress free as possible.

These concerns should force cities seeking to develop an urban tourism economy to reconsider the feasibility of pursuing a strategy to revitalise the city-region through tourism-led regeneration. All too often both the private and public sectors have moved headlong into economic regeneration strategies for urban areas, seeking a tourism component as a likely back-up for property and commercial redevelopment (Evans 2005). The implications here are that tourism issues are not given the serious treatment they deserve. Where the visitors' needs and spatial behaviour are poorly understood and neglected in the decision-making process, this affects the planning, development and eventual outcome of the urban tourism environment. Therefore, tourist behaviour, the tourism system and its constituent components need to be evaluated in the context of future growth in urban tourism to understand the visitor as a central component in the visitor experience as well as the goals that are sought from tourism development.

One way many cities have sought to embellish the tourist experience is through the use of events and festivals. This critical transformation of the everyday into places and spaces of spectacle and consumption can re-energise and reconfigure places as part of a new international economic geography of competitiveness (Hall and Page 2012). In some cities, the competition for conferences and trade fairs (Bathelt and Spigel 2012) due to the impact on the economy has also led to some cities pursuing events as a route to urban development (Gladstone 2012). Bluetooth technology has also recently been employed to track the spatio-temporal dynamics of visitors at a mass event (Verschaele *et al.* 2012), examining 80,000 visitors over 10 days to assess crowding and visitor behaviour at an event in Ghent, Belgium. The study found a dwell time of 3.5 hours, typically with a wide variation in visitation, with up to 11 per cent staying 7 hours. Such evidence helps in planning and crowd control and safety, including the intricacies of visitor flows in festival zones.

Research has a vital role to play in understanding the increasingly complex reasons why tourists continue to visit urban environments and the factors which influence their behaviour and spatial activity patterns, along with the role of place-marketing. This chapter has reviewed the role of recreation and tourism within the context of an urban environment, where recreationalists and tourists inevitably use some of the same resources, a feature recognised in Toronto's launch of a Green Tourism Map which also includes many recreational sites. This feature of multiple use is best summarised by Burtenshaw *et al.*'s (1991) conceptualisation of different users and functional areas of the city, where no one group has a monopoly over its use, a feature now being recognised in more integrated recreational planning that begins to recognise that residents and visitors use similar resources. The urban environment is still a growing field of academic endeavour in relation to the geographer's analysis of tourism and recreation, as Ashworth and Page (2011) observe. It is ironic, therefore, that many of the methodologies, techniques and skills which the geographer can harness and utilise with new technology, such as the use of GIS, can help both the public and private sector to understand how a range of research issues affect the functioning of the recreational and tourism system. For the more applied geographical researcher, this is a straightforward process in many instances of utilising a synthesising role to adopt the holistic view of the city, to provide what Lynch (1960) described as *legibility*. It is this absence of legibility that seems to affect the management of urban tourism and recreation even in the new millennium. For example, in recreational planning, issues of access, equality, need and social justice can easily be integrated into spatial analysis using secondary data, but the spatially informed planning framework is often only portrayed as a static one point in time analysis produced for structure plans and development plans, as this chapter has shown. Few attempts have been made to build and maintain urban models of recreation and tourism that accommodate the dynamic and changing needs of the users of such services. Where data do not exist, spatially oriented social surveys have proved to be extremely valuable

in understanding the processes shaping and underpinning existing patterns of use and activity, provision and future development. However, applied geographical research (Sant 1982) can be used to pose questions and address problem-solving tasks for managerial solutions as well as providing a basis for raising more fundamental questions about the nature of tourism and recreation in contemporary capitalist society.

Further reading

Useful texts on urban tourism include:

Judd, D. and Fainstein, S. (1999) *The Tourist City*, New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

Page, S.J. and Hall, C.M. (2003) *Managing Urban Tourism*, Harlow: Pearson Education.

Helpful reviews of the state of urban tourism research since the 1980s can be found in:

Ashworth, G. (2003) 'Urban tourism: still an imbalance in attention', in C. Cooper (ed.) *Classic Reviews in Tourism*, Clevedon: Channel View.

Ashworth, G.J. and Page, S.J. (2011) 'Progress in tourism management: urban tourism research: recent progress and current paradoxes', *Tourism Management*, 32: 1–15.

A useful case study to complement the London Borough of Newham example on equality of access is:

Nicholls, S. (2001) 'Measuring the accessibility and equity of public parks: a case study using GIS', *Managing Leisure*, 6(4): 201–19.

For a useful study of urban tourism in a developing country context, see:

Rogerson, C.M. (2013) 'Urban tourism, economic regeneration and inclusion: evidence from South Africa', *Local Economy*, 28: 188–202.

An interesting in-depth case study of the impact of urban events and relationships on processes of gentrification and restructuring is:

Olds, K. (1998) 'Urban mega-events, evictions and housing rights: the Canadian case', *Current Issues in Tourism*, 1(1): 2–46.

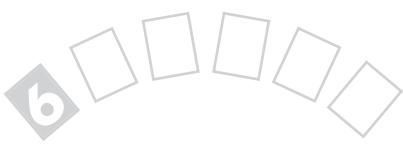
The above study can be usefully compared with more recent analyses of Vancouver and of the hosting of large urban events:

Hall, C.M. (2006) 'Urban entrepreneurship, corporate interests and sports mega-events: the thin policies of competitiveness within the hard outcomes of neoliberalism', *Sociological Review Monograph, Sports Mega-events: Social Scientific Analyses of a Global Phenomenon*, 54(s2): 59–70.

Porter, L., Jaconelli, M., Cheyne, J., Eby, D. and Wagenaar, H. (2009) 'Planning displacement: the real legacy of major sporting events; "just a person in a wee flat": being displaced by the Commonwealth Games in Glasgow's East End; Olympian masterplanning in London; Closing ceremonies: how law, policy and the Winter Olympics are displacing an inconveniently located low-income community in Vancouver; Commentary: recovering public ethos: critical analysis for policy and planning', *Planning Theory & Practice*, 10(3): 395–418.

Questions to discuss

- 1 **What are the key geographical approaches to the geography of urban recreation?**
- 2 **What difficulties might exist in measuring the significance of urban tourism?**
- 3 **Is it possible to reconcile social and economic values in conserving urban heritage?**
- 4 **To what extent might urban recreation resources also act as resources for tourism?**



Rural recreation and tourism

Geographical research on the recreational and tourism potential of rural areas has a long tradition (Clout 1972; Owens 1984; Page and Getz 1997; Sharpley and Sharpley 1997; Butler *et al.* 1998; Hall and O'Hanlon 1998). However, much early research failed to adopt a holistic view of the rural resource base as a multifaceted environment capable of accommodating a wide range of uses (e.g. agriculture, industrialisation, recreation and tourism) and values. As Patmore (1983: 124) recognised, 'recreation use must compete with agriculture, forestry, water abstraction, mineral extraction and military training' within the rural environment, which has spatial implications both for competing and complementary land uses as well as for the identification of the ways in which recreation and tourism may be accommodated in an ever-changing rural environment. According to Coppock,

the contribution to research that geographers have made has been focused primarily on outdoor recreation in the countryside. No clear distinction has been made between tourism and recreation which is not surprising in a small, densely settled country [Britain] where there is considerable overlap between the two; in any case, geographical studies in tourism have been much less numerous than those in outdoor recreation.

(Coppock 1982: 8)

This is an assertion that, to a certain extent, still holds true for present-day rural areas in developed countries. Butler *et al.* argued:

In many cases, however, the specific activities which are engaged in during leisure, recreation

and tourism are identical, the key differences being the setting or location of the activities, the duration of time involved, and, in some cases, the attitudes, motivations and perceptions of the participants. In recent years the differences between recreation and tourism in particular, except at a philosophical level, have become of decreasing significance and distinctions increasingly blurred.

(Butler *et al.* 1998: 2)

In fact, as Pigram (1983: 15) observed, where such 'space consumption and spatial competition and conflict are most likely to occur', 'spatial organisation and spatial concerns become paramount', along with the 'imbalance or discordance between population related demand and environmentally related supply of recreation [and tourism] opportunities and facilities'. This point is reiterated by Hall and Lew (2009) in the examination of visitor impacts. In contrast, Patmore (1983: 123) argues that 'outdoor recreation in rural areas rapidly achieves a distinctive character of its own and needs separate consideration for more than convention'. Either way, recreation and tourism are increasingly important activities in rural areas. For example, in the UK different surveys by the Department of Environment, Food and Rural Affairs (DEFRA) have highlighted how people value the natural rural environment. DEFRA undertook surveys in 2007 and 2009 in which, respectively, 79 per cent and 80 per cent of respondents agreed that they worry about the changes to the countryside in the UK and the loss of native plants and animals. Significantly, with respect to recreation in 2007, the importance of accessible green space was also highlighted, with

Table 6.1 Visitors and spend in English National Parks (2011 or most recent available)

National park	Year designated	Estimated permanent population (000s)	Estimated number of visitors per year (millions)	Estimated number of visitor days per year (millions)	Estimated visitor spend per year (£ millions)
Broads*	1989	6	7.2	11.3	419
Dartmoor	1951	34	2.4	3.1	111
Exmoor	1954	11	1.4	2.0	85
Lake District	1951	42	15.8	23.1	952
New Forest^	2005	34	12.3	13.5	123
Northumberland	1956	2	1.5	1.7	190
North York Moors	1952	25	7.0	10.7	411
Peak District	1951	38	8.3	10.6	410
South Downs^	2010	110	44.7	46.3	464
Yorkshire Dales	1954	20	9.5	12.6	400

Note: *The Broads have equivalent status to a national park

^ 2005 figures

Source: Association of National Park Authorities 2010 in Commission for Rural Communities 2010; New Forest National Park Authority 2007; Peak District National Park Authority 2013; TSE Research 2013.

two-thirds stating that it was 'very important' to have green spaces (including public gardens, parks and commons) nearby. Respondents also clearly placed a high value on the natural environment where it related to their day-to-day activities and contributed to their quality of life (Commission for Rural Communities 2010).

The significance of such demand for access to the rural environment can also be seen in the economic importance of visitation to the countryside. For example, tourism and recreation are extremely significant for the English national parks, which, unlike 'New World' national park systems, often have substantial permanent populations living within them. The Commission for Rural Communities (2010) estimates that more than 45 million visits are made per year to eight of the ten English national parks and more than £2.2 billion is spent each year (Table 6.1) (also see Box 6.1).

This chapter examines the growing interest from geographers in the way in which the rural environment is examined as a recreational and tourism resource, together with some of the ways in which it has been conceptualised and researched. The chapter commences with a review of the concept of 'rural' and the ways in which geographers have debated its meaning and definition. This is followed by a

discussion of the geographer's contribution to theoretical debate in relation to rural recreation and tourism. The contribution made by historical geography to the analysis of continuity and change in the rural environment and its consumption for leisure and tourism are also briefly examined. The other contributions made by geographers to the analysis of recreation and tourism in rural environments are examined, and new developments such as the focus on food and wine tourism are highlighted with respect to the policy interest that they have created in light of the ongoing economic and social restructuring of rural areas.

In pursuit of the 'rural'

G.M. Robinson's (1990) synthesis of rural change illustrates that the term 'rural' has remained an elusive one to define in academic research, even though popular conceptions of rural areas are often based on images of rusticity and the idyllic village life that are reinforced by the media (Walmsley 2003; Cadieux 2005). However, Robinson argued that:

defining rural . . . in the past has tended to ignore common economic, social and political structures

in both urban and rural areas . . . In simple terms . . . ‘rural’ areas define themselves with respect to the presence of particular types of problems. A selective list of examples could include depopulation and deprivation in areas remote from major metropolitan centres; a reliance upon primary activity; conflicts between presentation of certain landscapes and development of a variety of economic activities; and conflicts between local needs and legislation emanating from urban-based legislators. Key characteristics of ‘rural’ are taken to be extensive land uses, including large open spaces of underdeveloped land, and small settlements at the base of the settlement hierarchy, but including settlements thought of as rural.

(Robinson 1990: xxi–xxii)

Therefore, research on rural recreation and tourism needs to recognise the essential qualities of what is ‘rural’. While national governments use specific criteria to define ‘rural’, often based on the population density of settlements, there is no universal agreement on the critical population threshold which distinguishes between urban and rural populations. For the developed world, Robinson (1990) summarises the principal approaches used by sociologists, economists and other groups in establishing the basis of what is rural and this need not be reiterated here. What is important is the diversity of approaches used by many researchers who emphasise the concept of an urban–rural continuum as a means of establishing differing degrees of rurality and the essential characteristics of ruralness. Shaw and Williams (1994: 224) advocate the use of the concept of a rural opportunity spectrum, where the countryside is viewed as the location of a ‘wide range of outdoor leisure and tourist activities, although over time the composition of these has changed’. In contrast, Hoggart’s provocative article ‘Let’s do away with rural’ argues that ‘there is too much laxity in the treatment of areas in empirical analysis . . . [and] that the undifferentiated use of “rural” in a research context is detrimental to the advancement of social theory’ (Hoggart 1990: 245), since the term ‘rural’ is unsatisfactory due to inter-rural differences and urban–rural similarities.

Hoggart (1990) argued that general classifications of urban and rural areas are of limited value, although the fact that many governments throughout the developed world identify rural areas and rural problems as significant policy issues (e.g. Commission for Rural Communities 2010) means that use of the term cannot be easily defined away given the significance of its social construction (McCarthy 2007). For this reason, development in social theory may offer a number of important insights into conceptualising the rural environment and tourism-related activities.

According to Cloke (1992), rural places have been traditionally associated with specific rural functions – agriculture, sparsely populated areas, geographically dispersed settlement patterns – and rurality has been conceptualised in terms of peripherality and remoteness (Page 1994c; Hall and Boyd 2005; Müller and Jansson 2006), even though such places remain linked to the national and international political economy. Changes in the way society and non-urban places are organised and function have rendered traditional definitions of rurality less meaningful for the following reasons (Mormont 1987; McCarthy 2007; López-i-Gelats *et al.* 2009):

- increased mobility of people, goods and information and communication technology have eroded the autonomy of local communities;
- delocalisation of economic activity makes it difficult to define homogeneous economic regions;
- new specialised uses of rural spaces (as tourist sites, parks and development zones) have created new specialised networks of relationships in the areas concerned, many of which are no longer localised;
- people who ‘inhabit’ a given rural area include a diversity of temporary visitors as well as residents;
- rural spaces perform functions for non-rural users that may exist independently of the action of permanent rural populations.

Mormont (1987) therefore conceptualises rural areas as a set of overlapping social spaces, each with their

own logic, institutions and network of actors (e.g. users and administrators). This reiterates many of the early ideas from behavioural scientists – that a rural space needs to be defined as a social construct where the occupiers of rural spaces interact and participate in activities such as recreation and tourism. This implies that the nature and use of rural areas for activities such as recreation and tourism are best explained by examining the processes by which their meaning of ‘rural’ is ‘constructed, negotiated and experienced’ (Cloke 1992: 55). Cloke focuses on the commodification of the countryside which has occurred, leading to the rise of (new) markets for (new) rural products where:

the countryside . . . [is] an exclusive place to be lived in; rural communities [are considered] as a context to be bought and sold; rural lifestyle [is something] which can be colonized; icons of rural culture [are commodities which] can be crafted, packed and marketed; rural landscapes [are imbued] with a new range of potential from ‘pay-as-you-enter’ national parks, to sites for the theme park explosion; rural production [ranges] from newly commodified food to the output of industrial plants whose potential or actual pollutive externalities have driven them from more urban localities.

(Cloke 1992: 55)

In this respect, rural areas are places to be consumed and where production is based on establishing new commodities or in re-imaging and rediscovering places for recreation and tourism. The new political economy influencing agriculture, tourism and governance in the EU has also facilitated farm diversification into new forms of tourism accommodation (e.g. farm-stays) and attractions (Williams and Balaz 2000; Wilson and Anton Clavé 2013). Yet the critical processes stimulating the demand for the mass consumption of rural products have been essential in effecting such changes. Urry (1988) points to changes in taste following the emergence of a new service class which have led to greater emphasis on consumption in rural environments. These tastes have also influenced other

social groups, who have adopted similar values in the consumption of rural areas, including:

- the pursuit of a pastoral idyll;
- acceptance of cultural symbols related to the rural idyll;
- a greater emphasis on outdoor pursuits in such environments.

Influentially, Poon (1989) interpreted these changes in terms of a ‘shift from an “old tourism” (e.g. the regimented and standardized holiday package) to a “new tourism” which is segmented, customized and flexible in both time and space’ (see also Hummelbrunner and Miglbauer (1994) on ‘new rural tourism’). This reflects changes in society from a ‘Fordist’ to ‘post-Fordist’ stage, which have involved a shift in the form of demand for tourist services from a former pattern of mass consumption ‘to more individual patterns, with greater differentiation and volatility of consumer preferences and a heightened need for producers to be consumer-driven and to segment markets more systematically’ (Urry 1991: 52), although this has not meant the end of mass tourism (Deprest 1997). Butler *et al.* (1998) also point to the increasing use of rural areas for purposes, e.g. mountain biking, which are juxtaposed with more traditional recreational and tourist uses, e.g. hunting. From a supply perspective, this has manifested itself in terms of ‘an increasing interest in rural tourism among a better-off clientele, and also among some holidaymakers as a growing environmental awareness and a desire to be integrated with the residents in the areas they visit’ (Bramwell 1994: 3). This not only questions the need to move beyond existing concepts such as core and periphery, with rural tourism as a simplistic consumption of the countryside, but also raises the question of how rural areas are being used to provide tourism and recreational experiences and how businesses are pursuing market-oriented approaches to commodification in rural environments. If the 1990s was the start of a ‘new era of commodifying rural space, characterised by a speed and scale of development which far outstrip farm-based tourism and recreation of previous eras’ (Cloke 1992: 59), then a critical review of this process remains significant.

Yet in reflecting on the above it is important to emphasise that change in rural areas is nothing new. Arguably the countryside in developed countries has been undergoing ongoing and, at times, rapid change since the European discovery of the Americas (Hall and Mitchell 2000). It is therefore somewhat ironic that the image of the rural as somehow more simple and unchanging is so at odds with the fundamental realities of rural change. For example, Towner (1996) documents many of the historical changes and factors which have shaped tourism and leisure in the rural environment in Europe since 1540, observing how the rural landscape has become fashionable and been developed for the use of social elites at certain times in history (e.g. the landed estates of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries). The growth of towns and cities during the industrialisation of Europe led to an urbanised countryside around those nascent industrial centres (i.e. the construction of an urban fringe). Such patterns of recreational and tourism activity all combine to produce a wide variety of leisure and, more belatedly, tourism environments which exhibit elements of continuity in use as well as influencing our present frames of reference, but also have been in a constant state of change. For example, Towner characterises the pre-industrial period:

where popular recreation in the countryside throughout much of Europe was rooted in the daily and seasonal rhythms of agricultural life . . . and took place in the setting of home, street, village green or surrounding fields and woods and throughout the year, a distinction can be made between ordinary everyday leisure and the major annual holiday events, and between activities that were centred around home and immediate locality and those which caused people to move.

(Towner 1996: 45–6)

Changes in taste were also important. In the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century the 'Grand Tour' in Europe allowed for the circulation of new ideas of Romanticism and scenery that favoured rural environments in contrast to the industrialising cities (Towner 1985; see also Chapter 6), while innovations

in transport technology facilitated a move away from a focus on urban centres to rural environments (Walton 1983). The gradual transition towards more 'private rural landscapes for the more affluent and higher social classes' began a process of restricting access to the countryside which has remained a source of contention ever since. At the same time, the rise of rural retreats and landed estates, a feature of earlier leisure history, is complemented by the 'movement of the upper and middle classes into the countryside . . . During the nineteenth century, however, the scale of movement in Britain, Europe and North America increased considerably' (Towner 1996: 232–3).

In England, not only did the urban middle classes begin to visit the countryside in growing numbers in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries as recreationists and tourists, visiting scenic areas (e.g. the Lake District) and more remote areas (e.g. the Highlands of Scotland: see Butler and Wall 1985), but also such visits raised spatial issues of access for increasing numbers of urbanites that were celebrated by the mass trespass of Kinder Scout in the Derbyshire Peak District in 1932, which anticipated the controversy over access to the countryside that continues in Britain to the present day. Such pressures certainly contributed to the establishment of the principle of access in the National Parks and Access to the Countryside Act 1949 in the UK. As of 2010 England had about 190,000 km (118,000 miles) of public rights of way, legal rights that were modernised in the Countryside and Rights of Way (CROW) Act of 2000; 78 per cent of those trails are footpaths but others are bridleways or byways open to cyclists or even to motor vehicles. According to the Commission for Rural Communities (CRC) (2010), if England is divided into 133,676 1 km squares, 81.5 per cent of those have public rights of way, and 55.4 per cent have public rights of way with a length of 1 km or more. Following the UK precedent, similar legislative changes in other countries led to further measures to improve access to such resources (Jenkins and Prin 1998; McIntyre *et al.* 2001; Doody and Booth 2006). What is significant here is to emphasise that, despite imaging to the contrary, change is the norm in rural areas, and that historical factors weigh heavily not

BOX 6.1 USE OF THE NEW FOREST NATIONAL PARK

The New Forest National Park in southern England is one of the most used national parks in the country and highlights the difficulties not only in managing such spaces but also in differentiating between recreationalists and tourists. The New Forest has more visitors per square kilometre than any other national park ($7.5 \text{ visits}/\text{km}^2$), with 15 million people living within a 90 minute drive of the Forest (New Forest National Park Authority (NFNPA) 2007). The results of a 2005 survey indicated that local day visitors from home had made an average of 257 recreational visits to the New Forest during the previous 12 months. Other day visitors from home had made an average of 45 recreational visits to the New Forest in the previous year, with overnight visitors making an average of three visits (NFNPA 2007). Forty-six per cent of visitors are over the age of 55. Walking the dog (24 per cent), relaxing, enjoying views and picnicking (13 per cent) and short walks of less than one hour were the most frequently mentioned main purposes to visit.

Although walking is a major reason for using the park, 96 per cent of visitors staying within the park used a car or private vehicle as the main mode of transport to travel to their accommodation base. Furthermore, the 2005 survey found that 88 per cent of local residents and 94 per cent of non-local day visitors used a car or private vehicle to travel to the site where they were interviewed, compared to 67 per cent of staying visitors.

The results of such research are important as they highlight the central role of the private motor car as a means of recreational access, with subsequent implications for those without car access. Furthermore, the importance of dog-walking may also seem at odds with many people's understanding of a national park, but it is important on several counts. First, it illustrates that the way that recreational space is actually used may differ from how it is often portrayed in the media. Second, it identifies an important recreational activity with respect to its size that is relatively ignored in the academic literature. Third, it highlights the importance of empirical research in identifying what actually does happen in recreation and tourism spaces.

only on how rurality is constructed but also on the institutions and structures that influence rural locales and the recreation and tourism-related issues and conflicts that occur in them.

Conceptualising the rural recreation-tourism dichotomy

One of the problems within the literature on recreation and tourism is that the absence of a holistic perspective has continued to encourage researchers to draw a distinction between recreation and tourism as complementary and yet semantically different activities, without providing a conceptual framework within which to view such issues. Cloke (1992)

suggested that the relationship between rural areas and tourism and leisure activities has changed, with the activities being the dominant elements in many rural landscapes which control and affect local communities to a much greater degree than in the past. Therefore, while a critical debate has occurred in the tourism and recreational literature in terms of the similarities and differences between tourists and recreationists, it is the social, economic and spatial outcomes that are arguably the most significant features to focus on in the rural environment. However, there is still a need to recognise the magnitude and effect of recreational and tourist use because of their timing, scale, resource impact and implications. But ultimately each use is a consumption of resources and

space in relation to the user's discretionary leisure time and income. There are a range of issues to consider in relation to this debate. For example, in many countries in which rates of urbanisation are increasing, use of the countryside is a popular and growing pastime (Reeder and Brown 2005), and there is a need to avoid simplistic classifications of what constitutes tourist and recreationalist use.

Shaw and Williams (1994) prefer to use a more culturally determined definition to show that the use of rural landscapes for tourist and recreational purposes is conditioned by a wide range of social, economic and cultural meanings which affect the host area. Cultural definitions of urban and rural areas highlight not only the intrinsic qualities of the countryside which are significantly different from urban areas, but also the interpretation that 'there is nothing that is inherent in any part of the countryside that makes it a recreational resource' (Shaw and Williams 1994: 223). As Patmore (1983: 122) argued, 'there is no sharp discontinuity between urban and rural resources for recreation but rather a complete continuum from local park to remote mountain park'. If one maintains such an argument, to a certain extent it makes the geographer's role in classifying tourism and recreational environments and their uses for specific reasons and purposes rather meaningless if they are part of no more than a simple continuum of recreational and tourism resources, thereby denying new attempts to understand what motivates users to seek and consume such resources in a cultural context. Therefore, Shaw and Williams (1994: 224) prefer to view 'rural areas as highly esteemed as locales for leisure and tourism', and their use is heavily contingent upon particular factors, especially social access, and the politics of countryside ownership (see also Adey (2006) on the politics of mobility and immobility). Yet these contingencies may only really be fully understood in the context of the developed world, according to Shaw and Williams (1994), by considering three critical concepts used by geographers: the rural opportunity spectrum, accessibility and time-space budgets. However, prior to any discussion of such key concepts, it is pertinent to consider the historical dimension to tourism and recreational pursuits in rural environments, since historical

geographers emphasise continuity, change and the role of spatial separation of social classes in past periods as factors which affected the past use of rural locales.

The geographer's contribution to theoretical debate in rural contexts

'During the mid-1970s there was a hiatus in leisure and recreation research which marked a profound change from the enthusiastic promotion of agency dependent ad hoc applied research to an evaluative phase characterised by introspection and self-criticism' (Owens 1984: 174), since, prior to 1975, empirical case studies dominated the literature. After 1975 there were numerous calls for a greater consideration of leisure behaviour, and its contribution to theory was advocated (e.g. Patmore 1977, 1978, 1979, 1980; Coppock 1980; Mercer 1979a; Patmore and Collins 1981). A series of new texts in the 1980s (e.g. Kelly 1982; Smith 1983a; Torkildsen 1983) and the appearance of two journals, *Leisure Studies* and *Leisure Sciences*, raised the need for more theoretically determined research, but only a limited range of studies by geographers focused on theoretical and conceptual issues (e.g. Owens 1984), while other disciplines contributed to the debate in a more vigorous and central manner (e.g. Graefe *et al.* 1984a). Despite large-scale research funding by government research agencies (e.g. the Social Science Research Council in the UK) in the 1970s and 1980s, a lack of concern for theory has meant that geographers have made little impact on the problem that

the large body of rural outdoor recreation research has not been consolidated in more theoretical work but one wonders whether researchers have set themselves an intellectual challenge which they are unable to meet. Certainly, there is now a steady flow of publication, albeit mainly directed to traditional ends, and because of this the argument that lack of progress towards a theory of leisure and recreation simply reflects poor funding is now much less plausible.

(Owens 1984: 176)

As a consequence, Perkins (1993: 116–17) suggested four reasons for the neglect of theoretical geographical leisure research. First, within the discipline, leisure research is considered to be unimportant when compared to the central concerns of economic, social and urban geography. The second reason is that very little research funding has been made available to geographers to pursue theoretical leisure research. Third, much research has been British or North American in origin, ‘where pressures between recreational uses of particular sites are very great . . . geographers have worked closely with recreational site managers to develop short to medium term management strategies for these areas’. Finally, recreation geographers ‘have hardly participated in the theoretical debates which have thrived in their discipline since the 1970s’ (Perkins 1993: 117).

In fact, Perkins (1993) offered one of the few attempts by geographers to rise to this challenge, using social theory, particularly structuration theory (Giddens 1984), and his research is valuable in relation to the understanding of locales for the analysis of human and spatial interaction. Locales comprise a range of settings which are different and yet connected through interactions. The interactions result from

the life path of individuals . . . in ways that reflect patterns of production and consumption. These interactions result in a particular pattern of locales which have social and physical forms. Each life path is essentially an allocation of time between these different locales. A particular mode of production will emphasise dominant locales to which time must be allocated.

(Perkins 1993: 126)

Within the literature on structuration, in a capitalist society, structure and human interaction are brought together through the concept of the locale. The dominant locales are home, work and school, and they are settings in which consumption occurs. Thus a leisure locale is a setting for interaction whereby ‘people pursue leisure within the context of their life commitments and access to resources. Leisure interactions, of course, occur in and are influenced by places, and to

this extent the leisure locale includes a spatial component’ (Perkins 1993: 126). Perkins (1993) argues for consideration of the position and internal organisation of the leisure locale in a rural setting, in relation to the dominant locales (i.e. home, work and school) and other institutional locales such as religion and the arts.

Structuration theory and the new regional geography emphasised producers of the interpenetration of structure and agency. Structure ‘both constrains and enables people to take particular life paths, the collective effect of which is to produce and enable new members of society in their life paths . . . [where] geographical behaviour’ (Perkins 1993: 117) affects people’s specific situations (see also Hall (2005a), Adey (2010) for related discussions of mobilities in time and space). Therefore, the geographer in a rural setting needs to consider both structure and human interaction and how they are brought together in the context of the locale. In the context of rural tourism, the theoretical analysis advocated by Perkins (1993) for rural recreation connects closely to the debate engendered by Bramwell (1994: 2): ‘does the physical existence of tourism in rural areas create a rural tourism that has a significance beyond the self-evident combination of particular activities in a specific place? In other words, do the special characteristics of rural areas help shape the pattern of tourism so that there is a particular rural tourism?’ – issues that remain relevant to the present day.

Towards a concept of rural tourism

Keane *et al.*’s (1992) innovative but little known study on rural tourism offers a number of insights into the definition of rural tourism acknowledging that there are a variety of terms used to describe tourism activity in rural areas: agritourism, farm tourism, rural tourism, soft tourism, alternative tourism and many others which have different meanings from one country to another. Keane also points out that it is difficult to avoid some of this confusion in relation to labels and definitions because the term ‘rural tourism’ has been adopted by the European Union to refer to

the entire tourism activity in a rural area (Keane *et al.* 1992) (a situation that arguably remains to the present day). One way of addressing this seemingly tautological proposition, that tourism in rural areas is not necessarily rural tourism when so many typologies exist for types of tourism that may or may not be deemed rural tourism, is to examine what makes rural tourism distinctive.

What makes rural tourism distinctive?

Lane (1994) discusses the historical continuity in the development of rural tourism and examines some of the key issues which combine to make rural tourism distinctive. Bramwell (1994: 3) suggests that, despite the problems of defining the concept of 'rural', 'it may be a mistake to deny our commonsense thoughts that rural areas can have distinctive characteristics or that these can have consequences for social and economic interactions in the countryside'. The views and perceptions that people hold of the countryside are different from those of urban areas, which is an important starting point for establishing the distinctiveness of rural tourism. Lane (1994) lists the subtle differences between urban and rural tourism, in which individual social representations of the countryside are a critical component of how people interact with rural areas. In fact, Squire (1994) acknowledges that both the social representations and personal images of the countryside condition whether people wish to visit rural areas for tourism, and what they see and do during their visit.

Lane (1994) also highlights the impact of changes in rural tourism since the 1970s, with far greater numbers of recreationalists and tourists now visiting rural areas. As Patmore's (1983) seminal study on recreation and leisure acknowledges, the impact of car ownership has led to a geographical dispersion of recreationalists and tourists beyond existing fixed modes of transport (e.g. railways). Consequently, tourism has moved away from a traditional emphasis on resorts, small towns and villages to become truly rural, with all but the most inaccessible wilderness areas awaiting the impact of the more mobile tourist. Despite this strong growth in the demand for rural tourism,

Lane (1994) acknowledges the absence of any systematic sources of data on rural tourism, since neither the UNWTO nor OECD has appropriate measures. In addition, there is no agreement on how to measure this phenomenon. One way of establishing the distinctive characteristics of rural tourism is to derive a working definition of rural tourism. Here the work by Lane (1994) is invaluable since it dismisses simplistic notions of rural tourism as tourism which occurs in the countryside. Lane (1994) cites seven reasons why it is difficult to produce a complex definition of rural tourism to apply in all contexts:

- Urban or resort-based tourism is not confined to urban areas, but spills out into rural areas.
- Rural areas are difficult to define, and the criteria used by different nations vary considerably.
- Not all tourism which takes place in rural areas is strictly 'rural' – it can be 'urban' in form, and merely be located in a rural area, e.g. 'theme parks', time shares or leisure hotel developments. Their degree of rurality can be both an emotive and a technical question.
- Historically, tourism has been an urban concept; the great majority of tourists live in urban areas. Tourism can be an urbanising influence on rural areas, encouraging cultural and economic change, and new construction.
- Different forms of rural tourism have developed in different regions.
- Rural areas are in a complex process of change. The impact of global markets, communications and telecommunication has changed market conditions and orientations for traditional products. The rise of environmentalism has led to increasing control by 'outsiders' over land use and resource development. Although some rural areas still experience depopulation, others are experiencing an inflow of people to retire or to develop new 'non-traditional' businesses. The once clear distinction between urban and rural is now blurred by exurbanisation, long-distance commuting and second home development.
- Rural tourism is a complex multifaceted activity: it is not just farm-based tourism. There is also a

large general-interest market for less specialised forms of rural tourism, where a major requirement of the main holiday is simply the ability to provide peace, quiet and relaxation in rural surroundings.

Consequently, rural tourism in its purest form should be:

- located in rural areas;
- functionally rural – built upon the rural world's special features of small-scale enterprise, open space, contact with nature and the natural world, heritage, 'traditional' societies and 'traditional' practices;
- rural in scale – both in terms of buildings and settlements – and, therefore, usually small scale;
- traditional in character, growing slowly and organically, and connected with local families. It will often be very largely controlled locally and developed for the long-term good of the area; and of many different kinds, representing the complex pattern of rural environment, economy, history and location (after Lane 1994).

Lane (1994: 16) argues that the following factors also have to be considered in defining rural tourism:

- holiday type;
- intensity of use;
- location;
- style of management;
- degree of integration with the community.

Using the continuum concept allows for the distinction to be made between those tourist visits which are specifically rural, those which are urban and those which fall into an intermediate category. Figure 6.1 illustrates one interpretation of this in light of the continuum notion of wilderness (see Chapter 7 for a further discussion) and the discussion above (Hall and Lew 2009). Thus, any workable definition of rural tourism needs to establish the parameters of the demand for, and supply of, the tourism experience and the extent to which it is undertaken in the continuum of rural to urban environments.

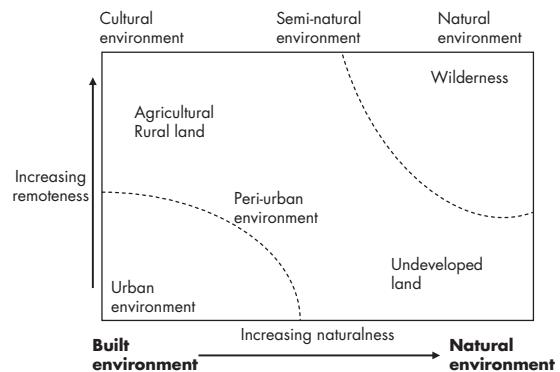


Figure 6.1 The urban, rural, wilderness continuum

Source: after Hall and Lew 2009.

The geographer's approach to rural recreation and tourism

Coppock (1982: 2) argues that 'much of the literature in the leisure field has been produced by multidisciplinary teams', of which geographers have been a part. According to Owens (1984),

until very recently at least, leisure and recreation have been overwhelmingly viewed as synonymous with the rural outdoors. Participation in rural leisure and recreation grew rapidly during the 1950s and 1960s and was accompanied by a surge of interest in applied research . . . In the 1950s and 1960s two types of study became particularly important, national and regional demand surveys, and site studies which tackled a wide range of applied problems.

(Owens 1984: 157)

There was a tendency towards such studies being published quite rapidly in Europe and North America, though, as Coppock (1982: 9) observed, 'little attention has been paid to geographical aspects of leisure in developing countries', an area which still remains poorly researched in the English language literature (Pronovost 1991; Tsai 2010).

In documenting the development of geographical research on rural recreation, Coppock (1980) points to the legacy of books on leisure and recreation which appeared in five years from 1970, which were those by Patmore (1970, later updated in 1983), Lavery (1971c), Cosgrove and Jackson (1972), I.G. Simmons (1974), Coppock and Duffield (1975), H. Robinson (1976) and Appleton (1974). These books highlight the early breadth of focus in recreation and policy management, with the spatial dimension being discussed within each text. Yet, according to Owens (1984), in the period 1975 to 1984 few major contributions were published by geographers in the UK due to the reduction in government research funds for this area. At the same time overlapping areas of research emerged in terms of a behavioural focus and perception studies, e.g. R. Lucas (1964) on wilderness perception. Yet, such research was perhaps dominated by the focus on management-oriented and site-based empirical studies often funded as consultancy reports, at the expense of conceptual and theoretical studies.

Studies of demand

Demand for rural recreation grew at 10 per cent per annum in the period 1945 to 1958 in the USA (Clawson 1958) and in the UK at a compound rate of 10–15 per cent per annum up to 1973 (Coppock 1980), and for researchers this heralded an era of rapid growth. As G.M. Robinson (1990) observes, the demand for rural recreation is strongly affected by social class, and participation rates consistently show that the more affluent, better educated and more mobile people visit the countryside, while women have much lower visiting rates. As long ago as the mid-1960s, Dower (1965) recognised leisure as the ‘fourth wave’ and compared the leisure phenomenon with three previous events in history that changed human activity and behaviour, the advent of industrialisation, the railway age and urban sprawl, with leisure being the fourth wave, with a ‘consequent pressure on fragile environments . . . By any measure, the phenomenon is of immense significance’ (Patmore 1983: 124).

Patmore (1983) outlined the geographer’s principal concerns with the demand for rural recreation in

terms of research on the increasing participation among different socio-economic groups using rural areas for recreational activities coupled with the impact of car ownership, and the resulting development of, and impact on, destinations. As a means of assessing the patterns and processes shaping recreational use in rural areas, Patmore examined the routes and range and impact of trips by users within the countryside and, at the micro level, the assessment of site patterns and activities yielded detailed insights into rural recreational behaviour. The interest in second homes was also developed, though arguably this is one clear area of overlap between rural tourism and recreation as it attracted extensive research in the 1970s (e.g. Coppock 1977a, 1982). In fact G.M. Robinson summarises the main concerns for rural areas and how the geographer’s interest in spatial concerns have largely remained unchanged since the 1960s and 1970s:

various studies have shown that, increasingly, people’s leisure time is being used in a space-extensive way: a move from passive recreation to participation. Growth has been fastest in informal pursuits taking the form of day or half-day trips to the countryside with the rise in the ownership of private cars, the urban population has discovered the recreational potential of both the countryside on its doorstep and also more remote and less occupied areas.

(Robinson 1990: 260)

For managers, the challenge is in equating demand with supply. As Owens (1984: 159) rightly observed, ‘research in terms of people’s leisure behaviour [saw] . . . a need to emphasise social science perspectives as a means to providing a more explicit task of managing use with supply’. The development of participation studies (e.g. the US Outdoor Recreation Resources Review Commission and the General Household Survey in Britain) provided a new direction. Here the argument developed was that specific factors such as socio-demographic variables like age, sex, income and education shaped the spatial patterns of participation. Yet many early surveys proved to be

only snapshots of recreational use and were not replicated on a regular basis, making comparisons difficult, while demand changed at such a rapid rate that forecasting exercises from such results was difficult to sustain. This situation has only been complicated by changes in the institutional arrangements that surround rural tourism and recreation research. For example, Table 6.2 shows the transformation of the main agency responsible for rural recreation and tourism research, the National Parks Commission, to the Commission for Rural Communities, itself abolished in 2013, with each successor agency having different foci and funding.

Site studies

Studies of demand for rural recreation appear to have been the most numerous among geographers, with the site a spatial entity and the source of supply and ultimate object of demand. Such micro-scale studies of demand and supply proliferated due to the tendency for research agencies to fund individual site studies, and the subsequent publication of results in research articles. Such studies may be classified in terms of studies of demand, in relation to economic evaluation, carrying capacity and user perception. In terms of demand such studies used a range of innovative techniques, including participant observation (e.g. Glyptis and Chambers 1982), while the geographer's preoccupation with patterns of usage together with a concern for methodological issues such as sampling and respondent bias (e.g. Mercer 1979a) also dominated the literature. The studies of economic evaluation have seen some geographers move into the

cost–benefit analysis (e.g. Mansfield 1969), where demand is often conceptualised in terms of sensitivity to distance travelled, cost of travel and entrance fees to derive a simulated demand curve. Yet research has questioned the rationality of recreational users in spatial patterns of behaviour and activity in models which assume distance minimisation is the sole pursuit for satisfaction (see Smith 1983a, 1995).

Two of the most significant themes in site studies in the 1970s and 1980s were carrying capacity and user perception studies (Owens 1984). In trying to put the concept into practice, a range of studies were developed to measure capacity (e.g. Dower and McCarthy 1967; Stankey 1973), with the attempt to differentiate between ecological, physical, social and psychological (or perceptual) capacity (see Chapter 4). The other area of study noted by Owens (1984) was user perception studies, especially in relation to the use of public lands in the United States (Stankey and McCool, 1984; Kil *et al.* 2012) and elsewhere (Williamson *et al.* 2012). The key perception studies undertaken have focused on the following range of themes, although in practice a number of the studies have often been dealt with under more than one theme:

- perception of scenery and evaluation of landscape quality;
- perception of wilderness, wilderness management, and the psychology of wilderness experience;
- social and psychological carrying capacity;
- comparison of managers' and users' perceptions;
- social benefits of recreation, socialisation into leisure, quality of life elements in leisure experience;

Table 6.2 Changing institutional arrangements surrounding rural tourism and recreation research in England

<i>Organisation</i>	<i>Date successor organisation established</i>
National Parks Commission	1949
Countryside Commission for England and Wales	1968
Countryside Commission for England	1991
Countryside Agency	1999
Commission for Rural Communities	2006

- behaviour at sites and social meaning of recreation in relation to particular activities;
- perceived similarities between recreation activities and substitutability;
- psychological structure of leisure, leisure activity types, typology of recreation activity preferences.

It is also important to note that the majority of such studies were conducted from the 1960s to the 1990s, with recreation perception studies not as popular a research focus at present compared to tourism perceptions or shifts into related areas such as environmental justice (Floyd and Johnson 2002), and the role of culture in influencing outdoor recreation (Johnson *et al.* 2004; Buijs *et al.* 2009).

Supply of rural recreation

The types of studies developed and published reflect the geographer's interest in rural land use and the geographer's concern with the spatial distribution of resources, which led to a range of studies of resource inventories and rural recreation. According to Pigram (1983), for many people the concept of resources is commonly taken to refer only to tangible objects in nature. An alternative way is to see resources not so much as material substances but as functions. In this sense resource functions are created by humans through the selection and manipulation of certain attributes of the environment. Resources are therefore constituted by society's subjective evaluation of their value and potential so that they satisfy recreational needs and wants.

Clawson *et al.* (1960) identified one of the standard approaches to recreational resources, which has been developed and modified by geographers since the early 1960s: what constitutes a recreational resource and how can you classify them so that effective planning and management can be developed? Clawson *et al.* (1960) distinguished between recreation areas and opportunity using a range of factors: location, size, characteristics, degree of use and extent of artificial development of the recreation resource. The result was the development of a continuum of recreational

opportunities from user-oriented to resource-based, with rural areas falling into resource-based and intermediate areas (i.e. the urban fringe). While geographers have reworked and refined such ideas, resource use remains one of the underlying tenets of the analysis of recreational resources (Williamson *et al.* 2012). For example, Hockin *et al.* (1978), perhaps rather unusually from a present-day perspective, classified land-based recreational activities into:

- overnight activities (e.g. camping and caravanning);
- activities involving shooting;
- activities involving a significant element of organised competition (e.g. golf);
- activities involving little or no organised competition (e.g. angling, cycling, rambling, picnicking and wildlife observation).

Coppock and Duffield (1975) outlined their principal contribution in terms of understanding what resources were used and consumed by recreationalists, the levels and volume of use, the capacity of resources to absorb recreationalists, the range of potential resources available, the role of resource evaluation and the techniques of resource evaluation developed by geographers, though their own experience was largely confined to major studies undertaken in Lanarkshire and Greater Edinburgh. By comparing Coppock and Duffield's (1975) synthesis with Patmore (1983), assessment of the geographer's principal concern with recreational resources may be seen to concentrate around three themes. First, there is the visual character of the resource itself, the very quality that gives stimulus and satisfaction (Penning-Rowsell 1973; Appleton 1974; Dakin 2003). The second theme is recreational opportunity, the direct use of the rural environment for recreational pursuits, both on sites with a uniquely recreational purpose and on those where recreation must compete directly and indirectly with other uses (Ribe 1994). The third theme is recreational variety, the variety of rural landscapes and the variety of recreational opportunity that each affords (Nassauer *et al.* 2007).

It is evident that the range of issues which have guided research exhibit a large degree of

commonality. Patmore (1983) outlined the main themes associated with the spatial analysis of rural recreational resources in terms of lost resources (to development and progress), preservation of resources, the active use and enjoyment of resources, the role of balancing conservation and use, and preservation and profit-recreation attractions. In addition, Patmore (1983) outlined the range of resources designed for rural recreation (e.g. forests, parks and the urban fringe), the use of linear resources (e.g. roads and

footpaths), water resources and the coastal fringe, each of which has a significant rural dimension. However, as noted in Chapter 3, an important element in the supply of resources is not only their identification but also their accessibility. The latter is an issue of growing significance in many countries given concern over loss of rights to access recreational resources, such as forests, at a time when the regulatory spaces of recreation are being changed in light of neoliberal ideology.

BOX 6.2 FOREST AND WOODLAND ACCESS

In the European historical context the capacity to access forests for recreational purposes, especially foraging, has often been integral to the rights of commoners to access forest. The freedom to roam, or 'everyman's right' (*allemansrätten* in Swedish; *jokamiehenoikeus* in Finnish) is the general public's right to access certain public or privately owned, usually uncultivated, land for recreational and foraging purposes. In the Nordic countries that has become extremely important for non-commercial access to berries, herbs and mushrooms, with the public rights upheld in law (Pouta et al. 2006). In England and Scotland the right to roam has been much contested, with farmers and landowners often seeking to restrict public access from certain lands and walkways even if there were ancient rights to use. Nevertheless, urban population growth and the desire for countryside access, the activities of ramblers clubs, as well as the growing interest in foraging (Hall 2013i), have seen changes to law in both Scotland (Land Reform (Scotland) Act 2003) and England and Wales (Countryside and Rights of Way Act 2000) that guarantee rights of access (see p. 242).

The historic significance of forests, here used in its original meaning of uncultivated woodlands but also areas of grassland, heath and wetland, any areas that held Royal game and were outside fenced land, with respect to rights of access is often not realised by many people in Anglo-American societies. For example, King John's *Magna Carta* of 1215 contained five clauses relating to royal forests, while the arguably even more important 1217 *Charter of the Forest* of King Henry III re-established rights of access to the Royal Forest for free men, including for food foraging, which had been lost under the Norman monarchy. Elements of the Charter remained in place in British law until superseded in 1971 (Linebaugh 2008). This historical dimension is significant as it is part of the cultural and legal context of the rights to access forests, including those on private land, for recreation in present-day Anglo-American societies, as well as colonial societies such as New Zealand, even if people are unaware of them.

According to a 2009 UK Forestry Commission survey, when asked about what was important to the public generally (not specifically linked to public money) at least 90 per cent of respondents agreed with the statements that woodlands 'are important places for wildlife', 'are places where people can relax and de-stress', 'are places where people can have fun and enjoy themselves', 'make areas nicer places to live' and 'are places where people can learn about the environment'. In the UK, according to the Woodland Trust and Forestry Commission (in CRC 2010), in 2003 46 per cent of all woodlands were accessible to the public. The most extensive areas of accessible woodland are in Thetford Forest, the Forest of Dean, and within the National Parks of the New Forest, the North York Moors, Northumberland National Park and the

Lake District. However, being accessible in terms of being open to the public is not the same as accessibility in the sense of people being able to reach woodland by walking or public transport. In 2010 only 14.5 per cent of the English population had access to a wood of at least 2 ha within 500 m, although 63 per cent have access to a wood of at least 20 ha within 4 km. According to the CRC (2010), even if all existing woods were available to the public, 62 per cent of the population would still need woodland creation within 500 m to reach the minimum of a 2 ha wood and 16 per cent of the population would still require woodland creation to reach the standard of a 20 ha wood accessible within 4 km. Such a situation reflects the challenge in ensuring that existing woodland resources are maintained at a time when green belts are under pressure and there are insufficient incentives to plant new ones.

Impact of rural recreation

G.M. Robinson (1990: 270) observed that 'awareness and concern has grown over the environmental impact of recreational activity (see also Chapter 4). In fact the growing severity of this impact reflects the concentrated form of rural recreation with distinctive foci upon a few "honey-pot" sites' where concentrated use may lead to adverse environmental impacts. However, there is substantial debate with respect to the control of environmental impacts as to whether it is better to have visitors concentrated in a specific location rather than dispersed throughout the countryside. It may well be the case that dispersal is better in terms of economic objectives while concentration is best for environmental goals (Hall and Lew 2009). In addition to direct impacts, the issue of conflict remains a consistent problem associated with recreational resources in the countryside (Wray *et al.* 2010; Shilling *et al.* 2012). Recreational conflict is the condition that exists when people experience an interference of goals or the likelihood of incompatible goals as the result of another person's or group's actions, threat of action or personal/group attributes (Ångman *et al.* 2011).

Many conflicts occur between recreation and agriculture (Di Minin *et al.* 2013), which Shoard (1976) attributed to the ad-hoc manner in which recreational use of agricultural land has developed. For example, farmers are frequently dissatisfied with recreationalists' use of rights of way across their land due to the damage and problems caused by a minority of recreationalists (e.g. litter, harassment of stock and

pollution). One problem which has emerged in New Zealand as well as many other countries is a rise in the prevalence of giardia, a water-borne disease spread by recreationalists and tourists defecating and urinating in streams and water sources (Boehm and Soller 2013). However, as Owens summarised:

In general, research has been problem-orientated to meet specific managerial requirements, with the consequence that ad hoc site studies proliferated without there being any particular intention of making a contribution to the development of testable theory. Interest has tended to focus on concepts (e.g. social carrying capacity) and the intricacies of methodology (e.g. attitude scales and factor analysis). Of course conceptual and methodological development is a vital part of research, but the main criticism here relates to the degree to which there has been introspection.

(Owens 1984: 173)

In view of these comments, attention is now turned to the geographer's contribution to the analysis of rural tourism.

Rural tourism: spatial analytical approaches

In the literature on rural tourism (e.g. Sharpley 1993; Page and Getz 1997; Sharpley and Sharpley 1997;

Butler *et al.* 1998), there are few comparatively explicit spatial analytical approaches which make the geographer's perspective stand out above other social science contributions. The following section discusses the impact of rural tourism followed by a consideration of understanding some aspects of rural tourism, such as second home tourism, from a mobilities and multiple dwelling perspective.

Impact of rural tourism

The literature on tourism impacts has long since assumed a central position within the emergence of tourism research, as early reviews by geographers confirm (e.g. Mathieson and Wall 1982). However, in a rural context, impact research has not been at the forefront of methodological and theoretical developments. Within the social and cultural dimensions of rural tourism influential early works include Bracey's (1970) work on the countryside and Bouquet and Winter's (1987a, 1987b) diverse anthology of studies that consider the relationship between tourism, politics and the issue of policies to control and direct tourism (and recreation) in the countryside in the post-war period. Up until the mid-1990s geographers had largely remained absent from this area of study as Hall and Jenkins (1998) and Jenkins *et al.* (1998) indicate, although since then the policy dimensions of access, the role of the state in peripheral regions, as well as second home ownership have all become very significant research areas (Curry 2000; Hall and Müller 2004; Doody and Booth 2006; Müller and Jansson 2006).

A number of researchers have sought to diversify the focus of social and cultural impact research to include concerns about the way in which tourism development may change rural cultures (e.g. Byrne *et al.* 1993) and the consumption of rural environments and cultures in relation to late modernity or the post-modern society, which has a specific relevance for studies in geography. The role of women in rural tourism has also belatedly attracted interest as a highly seasonal and unstable economic activity, although the gendered nature of such service work may contribute to the marginal status of women in

the rural workforce or, at the very least, reinforcement of traditional gender roles (Bensemann and Hall 2010). Other studies also indicate the importance of community participation in tourism planning so that the local population, and women in particular, is not excluded from the benefits of rural tourism development (Edwards 1991; Keane *et al.* 1992; Timothy 2002; Ngubane and Diab 2005), as well as indigenous people and traditional cultures, including with respect to land and resource rights (Butler and Hinch 1996, 2007; Hall 1996a).

Considerable attention has been paid in the literature to residents' perceptions and attitudes towards tourism (in common with recreation research), including studies of small towns and rural areas (e.g. Long *et al.* 1990; Johnson *et al.* 1994; Lipkina and Hall 2014), but few geographers have undertaken longitudinal studies of rural tourism's impact on the way communities view, interact, accept or deny tourism (Page 1997a). However, as Butler and Clark (1992: 180) conclude, 'More research is needed on the relationship between the uneven social composition of the countryside, the spatially variable development of tourism, and the problematic relationship between the two'. This is especially important because of the role of tourism consumption and production in exurbanisation processes.

Within the developed world, exurbanisation, the migration of urban residents to rural environments, has increased greatly since the 1970s. Often characterised as an 'escape to the country' or 'rural dilution' (Smailes 2002), exurban processes are usually associated with a post-productivist countryside in which 'landscapes of production' are transformed into 'landscapes of leisure and consumption' (Butler *et al.* 1998; Williams and Hall 2000, 2002; Hall and Müller 2004). Primary residences there mingle with second homes and country acreages. These are situated in natural or countryside settings that have usually until recently been worked for agriculture, but which, through their exurbanisation, are increasingly entering the land logic of the metropolis (Cadieux 2005). Such moves are often motivated by perceptions of an improved quality of life in rural or peri-urban locations, with such ideas seemingly reinforced by

lifestyle shows on commercial television, films and novels. In Australia and New Zealand, this has often been witnessed in the processes of 'sea change' or 'tree change', in reference to permanent and temporary (second home) lifestyle migration to high amenity rural areas (Walmsley 2003; Burnley and Murphy 2004).

Tourism is deeply embedded in exurban processes for at least three main reasons (Hall 2009d). First, tourism and hospitality have assisted in the promotion of particular images of rurality and rural idylls. Second, for many families and individuals that make the move to rural areas and the peri-urban fringe, hospitality and tourism become an important source of income. Tourism and hospitality are therefore simultaneously involved in the consumption and (re)production of idealised exurban spaces by both temporary and more permanent migrants, with the development of so-called 'lifestyle' businesses by exurbanites being widely recognised (Ateljevic and Doorne 2000; Hall and Rusher 2004; Hall 2009d). Third, the majority of tourism businesses in peri-urban areas are geared towards day-trippers and short-stay visitors who are seeking easy access to the countryside, with their desire to visit itself being geared towards certain idealised notions of rurality which are also shared by many of the owners of such businesses (Hall 2005a). Here, visitor and producer motivations for mobility are almost identical, with tourism arguably serving to produce and reinforce certain idealised images of nature and rurality, thereby only further enhancing the amenity values of such locations within exurban processes (Cadieux 2005) – an observation borne out in Halfacree's (1994) research into exurban migrant decision-making in Lancaster and mid-Devon, United Kingdom, and Crump's (2003) exploration of exurban migrants' identification of key 'pull' factors in their move to Sonoma County, California, USA. In both cases it was the perceived 'quality' of the rural environment that was the largest explanatory factor in explaining the decision to migrate. However, there is surprisingly little research on the home spaces of exurban migrants and the ways in which the commercial utilisation of private space may affect perceptions and understandings of the exurban experience and the

manner in which notions of home are managed (Hall 2009d). It is therefore somewhat ironic that, with rural geographers making such a major contribution to rural studies, only a limited number have examined the implications in terms of social theory as well as the empirical dimensions of tourism development.

Economic impact

The economic impact of rural tourism has been a fruitful area for social science research, often emphasising or challenging the role of tourism as a panacea for all the economic and social ills of the countryside, although the major contribution of geographers has largely been in relation to the study of farm tourism and alternative food networks (although see Getz (1981, 1986b, 1993c, 1994) for a longitudinal study of the Spey Valley, Scotland). As Butler and Clark rightly acknowledge, tourism in rural areas is not necessarily the magical solution to rural development, given its

income leakages, volatility, declining multipliers, low pay, imported labour and the conservatism of investors. The least favoured circumstance in which to promote tourism is when the rural economy is already weak, since tourism will create highly unbalanced income and employment distributions. It is a better supplement for a thriving and diverse economy than as a mainstay of rural development.

(Butler and Clark 1992: 175)

In this respect, Butler and Clark's (1992) research is useful in that it identifies the principal concerns in rural economic research and the role of tourism in development in relation to:

- income leakage;
- multipliers;
- labour issues (local versus imported and low pay);
- the limited number of entrepreneurs in rural areas;
- the proposition that tourism should be a supplement rather than the mainstay of rural economies.

Farm tourism

Farm tourism has long been portrayed as offering one way of facilitating agricultural diversification (Vogeler 1977; Wrathall 1980; Dernoi 1983; Frater 1983; Oppermann 1995, 1998b; Hall and Kearsley 2001). According to N.J. Evans (1992a: 140), research on farm tourism can be divided into two categories. The first is an expanding literature concerned with 'differing types of farm diversification as a major option adapted by farm families to aid business restructuring, necessitated by falling farm incomes'. The second is 'one devoted specifically to farm tourism' (Evans 1992a: 140). However, the second group of studies often lack definitional clarity, and fail to distinguish between the accommodation, recreational and agricultural components of farm tourism (Evans and Ilbery 1989). Furthermore, a major impediment to developing a more sophisticated understanding of farm tourism remains the absence of accurate national studies of the growth and development of farm tourism, although some national studies are available of specific areas of the tourism and agriculture relationship, such as those on wine tourism in New Zealand (Baird and Hall 2013, 2014; Hall and Baird 2014).

A survey of England and Wales undertaken in the early 1990s identified almost 6,000 farm businesses with accommodation (Evans 1992b). It also undertook a geographical analysis of the distribution of such accommodation, with the upland areas and South West England being the dominant locations, with a diversity of modes of operation (bed and breakfast, self-catering, camping and caravanning) and niche marketing used to satisfy particular forms of tourism demand (e.g. weekend breaks, week-long breaks and traditional two-week holidays). At the time Evans (1992b) acknowledged the absence of national studies of why farm businesses have pursued this activity and the range of factors influencing their decision to undertake it. In an Australian study Ollenburg and Buckley (2007) noted that farm tourism enterprises combine the commercial constraints of regional tourism, the non-financial features of family businesses and the inheritance issues of family farms.

In contrast to Europe and the United States, social motivations were found to be marginally more important overall than economic motivations in Ollenburg and Buckley's (2007) research. For most operators, however, both are important. Similar findings were also reported in Hall and Rusher's (2004) research in New Zealand, which found that such businesses often had multiple income streams as well as both economic and social motivations, the latter being especially important for more peripheral operations. As with earlier UK research (Ilbery 1991), Hall and Rusher (2004) found that larger farm businesses had also diversified into farm tourism and reflected the capital requirements of many farm tourism ventures. More recent New Zealand research (Bensemann and Hall 2010) raised the important issue that many rural tourism businesses that were often described as family businesses were in fact examples of co-preneurship in which there was no intention to pass such businesses on to other members of the family. They further highlighted that because many such households had multiple income streams rural tourism operations were often highly gendered.

A longstanding issue with farm tourism is the extent to which tourism can effectively offer farms alternative income streams. In the UK Maude and van Rest (1985) argued that due to the limited returns for small farmers and the constraints of existing planning legislation it is not a significant means of tackling the serious problem of low farm incomes in upland areas (see also Jenkins *et al.* 1998). However, such a perspective potentially provides only a limited understanding of the various financial and economic mechanisms that households may use to hold on to family farms. Therefore, the use of farm tourism as a supplementary form of income needs to be understood in the wider set of social relations that individuals and households may have with the land and the place that they live (Hall and Rusher 2004). Nevertheless, the continued debate and focus on farm tourism need to be understood in the context of a more critical debate on the wider socio-economic significance of rural tourism and the way it may be integrated into other contemporary theoretically informed analyses.

Food and tourism

One area of growing relationship between tourism and agriculture is the development of food tourism, including the associated areas of wine tourism. Food, wine (and many other alcoholic beverages such as whisky), and tourism are all products that are differentiated on the basis of regional identity (Hall *et al.* 2003a). For example, wine is often identified by its geographical origin (e.g. Burgundy, Champagne, Rioja), which, in many cases, has been formalised through a series of appellation controls in turn founded on certain geographical characteristics of a place (Moran 1993, 2001; Hall and Mitchell 2008; Overton 2010). Foods (e.g. cheese) are also identified by their place of origin. Similarly, tourism is promoted by the attraction of regional or local destinations. It should therefore be of little surprise that the relationship between food and tourism is extremely significant at a regional level through the contribution that regional identity provides for product branding, place promotion and, through these mechanisms, economic development (Ilbery and Kneafsey 2000a, 2000b; Bruwer and Johnson 2010; Blichfeldt and Halkier 2013). Ilbery and Kneafsey (2000b) appropriately described this process within the context of globalisation as 'cultural relocalization'.

The wine, food and tourism industries all rely on regional branding for market leverage and promotion (Hall and Mitchell 2008). Indeed, the geographic origins of food are increasingly being protected under intellectual property regulation (Hall *et al.* 2003a; Coombe and Aylwin 2011). Hall (1996b: 114) describes the importance of tourism place and wine appellation or region thus: 'there is a direct impact on tourism in the identification of wine regions because of the inter-relationships that may exist in the overlap of wine and destination region promotion and the accompanying set of economic and social linkages'. In addition, relationships between food and tourism are also created through the purchasing patterns of tourists, which may have a significant impact on local production and the maintenance or expansion of the local farming economy (Telfer and Wall 1996; Mitchell and Hall 2001, 2003; Smith and Hall 2003).

Tourism has long been regarded as having the potential to contribute to regional development. However, ongoing economic restructuring and change in rural areas have increased the focus on tourism and how agricultural production may be enhanced through tourism demand. Moreover, these changes have been accompanied by the perceived need to retain or attract people in rural areas, maintain aspects of 'traditional' rural lifestyles and agricultural production, and conserve aspects of the rural landscape. Many wine regions around the world have been affected by changed patterns of demand for wine and levels of tariff protection, which have led to the planting of new grape varieties or, in some cases, loss of vineyards to other forms of production. Yet demand has also meant that some areas, particularly in Australia, Canada, China, New Zealand and the United States, have now been planted which had previously not been seriously considered for commercial wine production (Hall and Mitchell 2008). Within this context food and wine tourism is therefore emerging as an increasingly important component of rural diversification and development (Hall *et al.* 2000a, 2000b; OECD 2012).

Strategies to integrate tourism and cuisine in order to promote economic development and the creation of sustainable food systems occur at national, regional and local levels (Hall and Mitchell 2002; Hall 2012c). Ideally, these levels should be integrated in order to maximise the likelihood of policy success (Thorsen and Hall 2001). However, often the reality is that different levels of government and industry will undertake their own initiatives without consulting or co-operating with other levels. As Figure 6.2 indicates, there are a number of mechanisms for promoting sustainable food systems utilising the relationship between wine and food, each of which operates most effectively at particular levels. Although intervention by the national and local state will occur at all levels it is very common for the policy activities at the higher level to be implemented at the lower level in order to achieve targeted regional and local development goals (Hall *et al.* 2000a; Telfer 2000a, 2000b; OECD 2012).

At the national and regional level promotion and branding are extremely common strategies to link

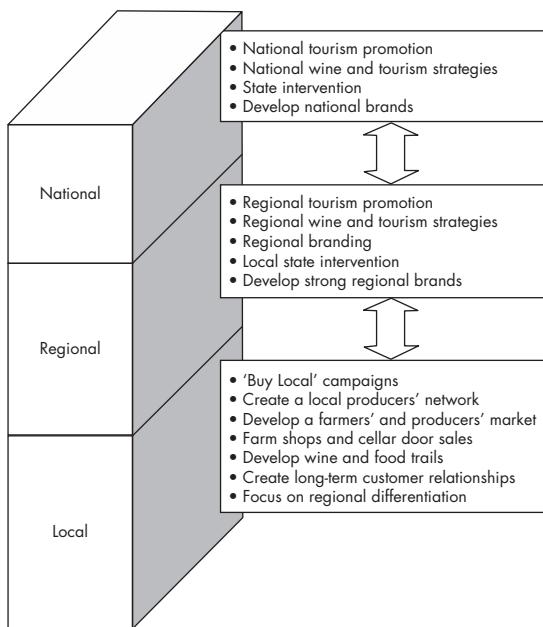


Figure 6.2 Relationship between national, regional and local strategies

food with tourism. For example, in an effort to capitalise on and maximise the tourism potential of the wine industry, several Australian states and regions created specific wine and food tourism bodies to facilitate and co-ordinate promotion and development (Hall and Macionis 1998). However, despite the ability of regions to brand themselves in terms of wine and food tourism, the establishment of other forms of network relationships between food and wine producers and the tourism industry may be more problematic (Smith and Hall 2003; Hall 2004a, 2004b, 2012c). Hall *et al.* (1997–8) noted several barriers to creating effective links between wine producers and the tourism industry that remain pertinent to the present:

- the often secondary or tertiary nature of tourism as an activity in the wine industry;
- a dominant product focus of wine-makers and wine marketers;

- a general lack of experience and understanding within the wine industry of tourism, and a subsequent lack of entrepreneurial skills and abilities with respect to marketing and product development;
- the absence of effective intersectoral linkages, which leads to a lack of inter- and intra-organisational cohesion within the wine industry, and between the wine industry and the tourism industry.

In the case of wine and food tourism in Australia, the federal government intervened to create relevant networks in the development of specific organisations and/or the provision of funding for research, education, co-operative strategies and mechanisms, and information provision. Information gaps are a major factor in the impairment of network formation (N. Scott *et al.* 2008). Indeed, there are often substantial negative attitudes towards tourism by wineries and some food producers, whereas tourism organisations tend to be far more positive towards the wine and food industry. This situation reflects Leiper's (1989, 1990) concept of tourism's partial industrialisation, which suggests that businesses need to perceive that they are part of the tourism industry before they will formally interact with tourism suppliers. Empirical research in New Zealand has also demonstrated that partial industrialisation and network relations appear to affect innovation practices in wine tourism as well (Hall and Baird 2014).

Several models of local network development are utilised in food systems (Figure 6.3). The classic industrial model of the food supply chain of producer–wholesaler–retailer–consumer all linked through transport networks has provided for a relatively efficient means of distributing food but it has substantially affected the returns producers get, as well as placing numerous intermediaries between consumers and producers. The industrial model has allowed for the development of larger farm properties, reduced labour costs and supported export industry, but it has done little to promote sustainable economic development and food systems, especially in relation to hospitality and tourism (Gössling and Hall 2013). In tourism terms this relationship has been utilised in

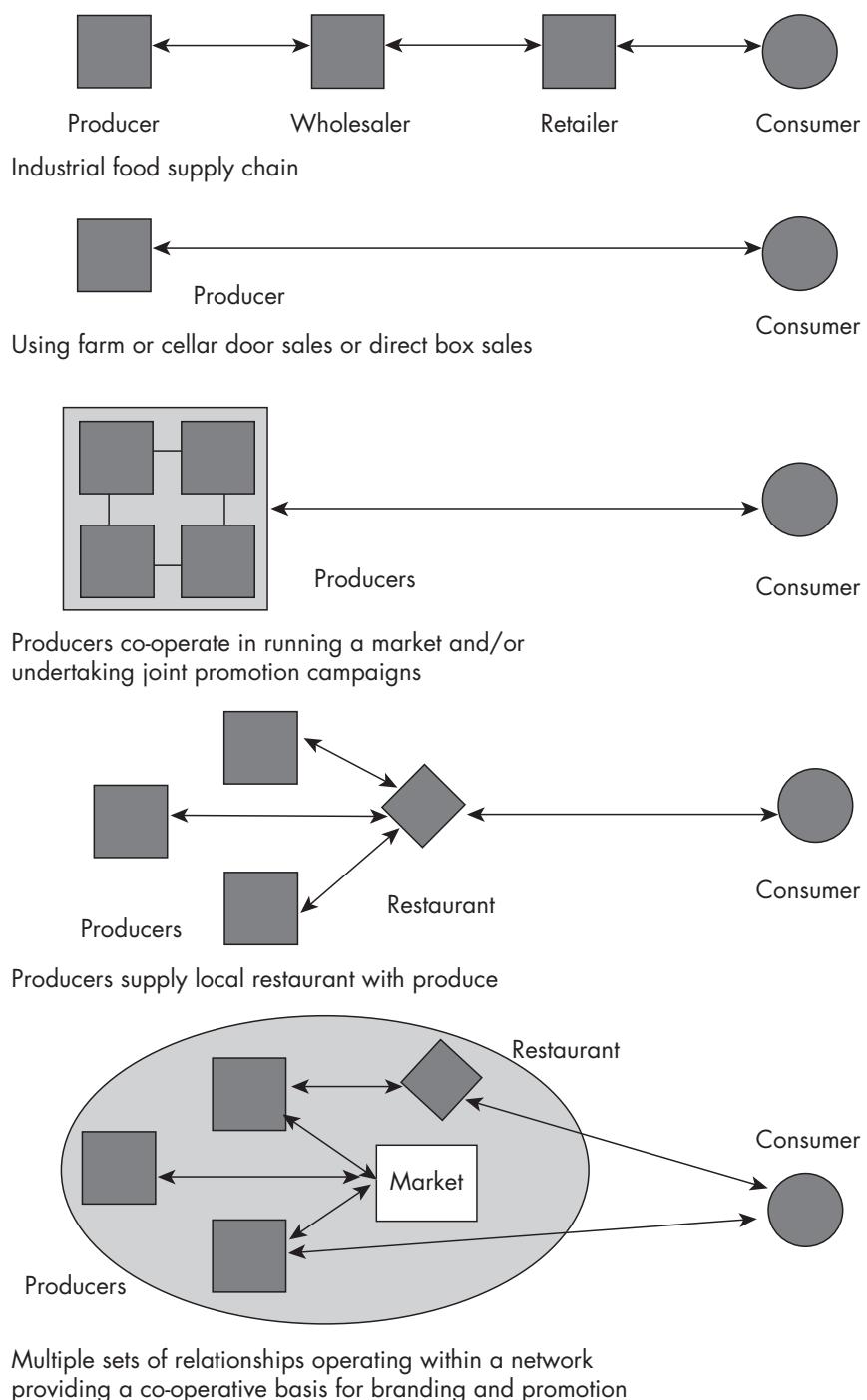


Figure 6.3 Creating different supply chains and local food systems

national branding and promotion when multiple supply chains are bundled together to attract the foreign customer. One alternative is to create a direct relationship between producers and consumers. This may be done by direct marketing and 'box deliveries' (e.g. the delivery of a box of seasonal produce direct to the consumer). In relation to tourism an important direct relationship is the opportunity for the consumer to purchase at the farm or cellar door, allowing the consumer to experience where the produce is from and the people who grow or make it, thereby creating the potential for the development of long-term relationship marketing. Such direct sales are extremely popular with small wineries and horticultural producers and are often utilised by peri-urban and rural producers who are located close to urban centres where they can take advantage of the day-trip market. Nevertheless, such individual developments, while useful at the business level and adding to the overall attractiveness and diversity of a location, do not necessarily promote a region more effectively.

Co-operative relationships between producers provide the basis for the creation of producer networks that can pool resources to engage in local promotion and branding and undertake research (Hall *et al.* 1997–8; N. Scott *et al.* 2008). The pooling of resources can also lead to the development of produce and farmers' markets, which have experienced massive growth since the 1990s (Hall and Sharples 2008; Hall 2013f). In the United States there were 1,755 farmers markets operating nationwide by 1994, 2,863 by 2000, just under 4,500 by 2006 and 7,175 in 2012 (Hall 2013f). In the UK the first of the modern farmers' markets was (re-)established in 1997 as a pilot project in Bath, which followed many of the elements of the most successful US markets (Holloway and Kneafsey 2000). In 2002 there were 240, and by 2006 the number had risen to more than 550 markets, with approximately half being certified, and there were estimates that up to 800 markets would be sustainable throughout the UK (Hall 2013f). The positive impacts of farmers' markets on the regional economy and in generating employment may be substantial, including the enlivening of public space (Hall and Sharples 2008; Hall 2013f).

Another model of generating local food production is the use of a restaurant to act as the conduit by which local produce is presented to tourists. The development of local purchasing relationships by restaurants can have a substantial impact on local produce as it can assist in developing quality produce, allow producers to gain a clearer understanding of how their produce is being used, as well as providing a guaranteed sales outlet for their produce (Smith and Hall 2003). In the case of the latter the knowledge of a guaranteed minimum income may allow producers the opportunity to expand production and find other markets for their produce. Finally, we arrive at the ideal model of multiple sets of producer and consumer relationships operating within a formal network structure which provides for branding and promotion as well as economic networking and resource sharing. A good example of this type of development is Tastes of Niagara in Ontario, which is a Quality Food Alliance of Niagara food producers, wine-makers, chefs, restaurateurs and retailers that was established in 1993 (Telfer 2000a, 2000b, 2001), or the more recently created Ontario Culinary Tourism Alliance (<http://ontarioculinary.com/>). However, as with farm tourism, it is important to recognise that tourism may not be a viable sales avenue for all producers and that diversification goals may be better achieved through other means. Table 6.3 therefore provides a summary of advantages and disadvantages of food tourism at the business level, while at the regional/destination level the advantages to developing food-related tourism include the following (Hall and Sharples 2008; Hall 2012c):

- The high profile of some foods and cuisines attract tourists and can provide other regional business opportunities.
- A positive image of the region is promoted through association with a quality product.
- Food tourism can help differentiate a region's position in the tourism marketplace if connected with local foods.
- Food tourism is an attraction in its own right that can help extend the range of reasons for visiting a destination. Food tourism may therefore help

Table 6.3 Summary of advantages and disadvantages of food tourism at the food business level

<i>Advantages</i>	<i>Disadvantages</i>
Consumer exposure	Increased costs and management time
Brand awareness and potential loyalty	Inability to significantly increase sales
Customer relationships	May not be the right market from the perspective of broader business products
Better margins	Capital required
Additional sales outlet	Issues associated with seasonality
Market intelligence on products and consumers	Potential risks from biosecurity breaches
Customer education	Additional health and safety requirements
New sales opportunities via direct sales and/or new B2B relationships, i.e. growers to restaurants and food vendors	Opportunity costs
Greater control of supply chain and value chain with potentially positive implications for income, branding and sustainability	

Sources: Hall 2004b, 2012c; Hall and Mitchell 2008; Hall and Baird 2014.

extend length of stay and increase visitor expenditure on local product. For example, in Walla Walla, the most prominent wine county in Washington, USA, slightly less than 17 per cent of all restaurant and approximately 40 per cent of all hotel revenue is tied to the wine industry (Storchmann 2010).

Recreation, tourism and sustainability

Ideas of sustainable development have been as influential in the area of rural policy as they have elsewhere (Murdoch 1993; Whatmore 1993). However, much of the discussion on applications of sustainability has been about individual components of rurality (e.g. attempts at developing sustainable agriculture), rather than a comprehensive approach to integrate the socio-cultural, economic and environmental components of both sustainability and rurality. For example, the Rural White Paper entitled *Rural England: A Nation Committed to a Living Countryside* (Department of the Environment and Ministry of Agriculture, Fisheries and Food (DoE/MAFF) 1995) was the first specifically rural policy from a British government for 50 years (Blake 1996).

According to Butler and Hall (1998), in many western regions and countries the structure of the

relatively homogeneous and distinct rural systems of the post-Second World War period has been either destroyed or weakened. They argue that such weakness is a result of at least three types of restructuring, namely: the collapse of peripheral areas unable to shift to a more capital-intensive economy; the selective and reductionist process of industrialisation of the remaining agricultural sector; and the pressures of urban and exurban development. Butler and Hall concluded that the result is a rural system

suffering absolute decline along its extensive margins and the rural–urban interface, with the intervening core area weakened by decoupling of farm and non-farm sectors and the shift of decision making to urban based corporations and governments. Restructuring has created a fragmented and reduced rural system which seems to lack most of the criteria for sustainability in either economic or community terms.

(Butler and Hall 1998: 252)

Despite images to the contrary, rurality is no longer dominated by concepts of food production, and new uses of the countryside, particularly related to recreational and tourism activities, are redefining the idea of what constitutes the rural landscape. In Britain, as in many other industrialised countries, these uses are

exerting extreme pressures and creating new conflicts not only in terms of rural policy-making and their relationship to agriculture but also between different user groups and perceptions of a desired countryside (Curry 1992; Mercer 2000; Ångman *et al.* 2011). For example, at the same time as there are large numbers of people visiting the English countryside, which inevitably leads to the transformation of villages, and the creation of tourist facilities and infrastructure, the majority of the population also believe that the countryside should be protected at all costs (Blake 1996; Countryside Agency 2000; Commission for Rural Communities 2010) (presumably as long as this cost would not result in the exclusion of those who wanted it saved). In the case of the United Kingdom the outbreak of foot and mouth disease in February 2001 probably focused more attention on what is really happening in the countryside than ever before. As the story unfolded in the media, it quickly became apparent that tourism was a far greater economic contributor to rural areas than was farming. Nevertheless, policy measures were still being primarily developed in relation to the agricultural sector rather than the needs of the tourism sector to recover from the impacts of the measures to control the disease on tourist and recreational mobility and access to the countryside (Coles 2003; Miller and Ritchie 2003). However, the management, policy and planning responses that have been put in place by the central and local governments in Britain in response to the economic and social crisis that the disease revealed to the wider public has only been one of less government involvement, and more stress on the market and the role of volunteers and non-government organisations. The vital role of appropriate regulatory structures has not been addressed. Indeed, issues of biosecurity remain integral to tourism development in agricultural areas because of the possibilities of diseases and pests being spread through human mobility (Hall 2003c, 2005a, 2005e), a point perhaps borne out by the massive decline of the ash tree population in the UK as a result of the introduction of a pathogen from the European continent (Hall and Baird 2013).

Indeed, one of the major errors which policy-makers and some academics have often made with respect to

tourism and recreation in rural areas is to treat them in isolation from other factors that contribute to the social, environmental and economic fabric of rural regions. Tourism needs to be appropriately embedded within the particular set of linkages and relationships which comprise the essence of rurality, with tourism being recognised as but one component of the policy mix which government and the private sector formulate with respect to rural development (Curry and Owen 2009; Curry 2010; Kizos *et al.* 2010). Butler and Hall (1998) argue that many regional authorities fail to recognise that it is the visual complexity of the rural landscape which generates amenity values for locals and visitors alike. In the attempt to generate economic development, a wider tax base and employment, inappropriate policies and strategies may be followed. As Hall and Butler (1998: 255) observed, 'Policy measures in one sector, such as the attraction of agribusinesses or large foreign investments to a region, may lead to a decline of the industrial value of the region to other industries, such as tourism and businesses which are based on adding-value to local primary production'.

A genuinely integrated approach to rural resource development is therefore essential for sustainable rural development. As Jenkins (1997) observed with respect to rural Australia, government can best assist rural areas to meet the challenges of economic restructuring and change by supporting the development of 'soft infrastructure', such as education and entrepreneurial skills, and by attaching greater importance to the provision of relevant research to improve decision-making, rather than specifically supporting programmes which encourage the production of brochures, walking trails and other small-scale local tourism initiatives, such as visitor centres. Such an integrated approach to rural policy is also essential given the extent to which tourism and recreation are embedded in broader processes of counter- and exurbanisation (Buller and Hoggart 1994; Swaffield and Fairweather 1998; Mitchell 2004; Marcoullier *et al.* 2011), multiple dwelling (Hall and Müller 2004; McIntyre *et al.* 2006; Paris 2009), and amenity and lifestyle migration (Hall 2005a; Janoschka and Haas 2014) that serve to promote rather than divide the connections

between rural and urban spaces and centres. According to Champion (1998),

A key theme in the debate is the extent to which those moving into rural areas are motivated by a desire for 'rurality' in terms of rural living environment and lifestyle – in essence making a 'new start' that represents a 'clean break' from their past – as opposed to choosing (or even being forced) to move because of a geographical redistribution of elements that have always been important to their quality of life such as jobs, housing, services and safety.

(Champion 1998: 22)

Nevertheless, such movements are not new and are part of processes that have been occurring in the developed world since the late 1960s and which tie rural tourism back to some of the issues raised in Chapter 1 with respect to the growth in temporary mobility and the need to see tourism and recreation within the broader context of human movement. As Law and Warnes (1973: 377) observed in the early 1970s, 'evidence from both North America and north-west Europe is that rural areas, preferably in either waterside or hilly areas are the preferred setting for vacation and retirement homes'.

Mobilities and multiple dwelling: second homes in the countryside

A growing number of people in the western world have not only one fixed home, but share their lives between various places of dwelling (Hiltunen *et al.* 2013). The decision to own leisure-oriented multiple dwellings is often related to a desire to spend time at a second home in a high amenity environment and pursue recreational interests and quality-of-life goals (Müller 2007, Marcouiller *et al.* 2011). The utilisation of second homes therefore represents a significant portion of the leisure activities of many tourists and day-trippers in a number of countries around the world, and as such they are an integral, though often ignored, component of both domestic

and international tourism, and rural economic development (Jaakson 1986; Hall and Müller 2004). However, more than that they also illustrate the way in which tourism, recreation and leisure serve to connect various locations, as well as the growing difficulties for some in separating tourism from the mundane (Edensor 2007) and home from away (Hall 2005a).

Second homes are defined as:

a permanent building which is the occasional residence of a household that usually lives elsewhere and which is primarily used for recreation purposes. This definition excludes caravans, boats, holiday cottages (rented for a holiday) and properties in major cities and industrial towns.

(Shucksmith 1983: 174)

Shucksmith's definition is comparable to a number of approaches to second home research such as in Scandinavia and Canada, where the primary focus is the summer cottage. However, it should be noted that mobile second homes, such as caravans and camper trailers, which are also a very significant form of holidaying as well as housing in some instances, have had very little research undertaken on them.

The size of the second home market can be substantial. For example, in Finland at the end of 2011 there were nearly 0.5 million registered second homes and approximately 3,600 new ones being built annually. In addition, there are around 170,000 rural vacant detached houses, of which over 70 per cent are used as second homes. The result is that every other family had access to a second home through friends or extended family relations (Hiltunen *et al.* 2013). In Denmark second homes are the most important category of recreational accommodation, with approximately 220,000 second homes available to the 5.2 million people living in Denmark (Tress 2002). In Sweden there are between 500,000 and 700,000 second homes, with second homes accounting for 23 per cent of all overnight stays (Lundmark and Marjavaara 2004). In the case of New Zealand approximately 8 per cent of domestic overnight stays occur in second homes; while for holiday and leisure

purposes holiday homes account for 13.9 per cent of accommodation used (Keen and Hall 2004).

Historically, the research into second homes has focused on motivational, planning, regional development and impact-related issues. Second homes development has emerged as a major issue in a number of countries, including Canada, Denmark, Sweden and Wales, where, in some cases, local communities have perceived second home purchase by 'outsiders' as being socially and economically invasive (Selwood and May 2001; Janoschka and Haas 2014; Lipkina and Hall 2014). However, despite their economic, social and cultural significance, geographical research on second homes has been highly variable in terms of regions studied and the maintenance of continued interest in second homes as a research issue. Two reasons may be put forward for this. First, the degree of research interest they generate may vary in relation to their value or impact, whether it be economic, social or environmental. Second, second home research may well have fallen out of fashion due to the development of other research interests, for example the rise of interest in ecotourism. Regardless of these points, there exists a large body of international research focusing specifically on, or around, second homes (Hall and Müller 2004).

The first major period for research on second homes was in the 1970s. Prior to this time research was undertaken primarily in North America (especially Canada), France and Scandinavia, where there is a strong tradition of second home ownership (Coppock 1977a). During the 1970s an increase in the research undertaken from the United Kingdom culminated in Coppock's (1977a) benchmark publication *Second Homes: Curse or Blessing?* Since the mid-1990s, there has been renewed interest in second home development, as indicated by work in Australia (e.g. Selwood and May 2001) Canada (e.g. Halseth 1998), China (e.g. Huang and Yi 2011), Denmark (e.g. Tress 2002), Finland (e.g. Hiltunen 2007; Pitkänen 2011; Hiltunen et al. 2013), Ireland (Norris and Winston 2010), New Zealand (e.g. Fountain and Hall 2002), Norway (e.g. Kaltenborn 1997a, 1997b, 1998; Flognfeldt 2002; Vittersø 2007; Farstad 2011), South Africa (e.g. Visser 2006; Hoogendoorn and Visser 2011), Sweden

(Müller 1999, 2002a, 2002b, 2002c; Gustafson 2002b; Müller and Hall 2003), the United Kingdom (Gallent 1997; Gallent and Tewdwr-Jones 2000; Paris 2009, 2010) and the United States (Marcouiller et al. 2011), as well as the development of international overviews of the topic (Hall and Müller 2004; Müller 2004; Roca et al. 2013).

Regional economic development is often advocated by local governments as one of the major benefits of second homes. Second homes provide a means for regional development through:

- increasing direct visitor expenditure to the region from second home owners and their visitors;
- the provision of infrastructure used for both home owners and other tourists;
- the support of service and construction industries via the construction of new and maintenance of existing homes;
- the opportunity for further regional development via population gain through owners retiring to their second home.

However, despite the opportunities second homes may provide for regional development, the actual contribution varies from location to location, with no consistent benchmark available from which to judge the effect that they will have, particularly in the long term. Though the benefits to a region of second home development are potentially high, they may not always exceed the costs created for government in relation to increases in waste, health care and other services, as well as the social and environmental impacts that may also occur (Hall and Müller 2004; Hoogendoorn and Visser 2011; Müller 2011). For example, Deller et al. (1997) estimated that for the United States second homes generate revenues that just cover the increased expenses for public services. However, in other locations second home tourism is considered an important cornerstone of many rural economies. Second home owners tend to favour small rural shops and therefore contribute to the maintenance of service levels in the countryside (Marcouiller et al. 1998; Müller 1999; Hall and Müller 2004). For example, Müller (1999) established that four

German second home owners in Sweden spent as much as a permanent Swedish household. In a study of recreational homes in Wisconsin and Minnesota in the United States, Marcouiller *et al.* (1998) found that at the county level the expenditure patterns of the residents and recreational home owners were generally similar with respect to how much money was spent outside the county.

As with all tourism development, second homes invariably bring a range of impacts to an area. Undesirable physical impacts may occur due to a lack of adequate infrastructure and planning; this includes lack of sewerage systems, inappropriate site choice, excessive development and a failure to consider the excessive burden upon areas at peak holiday times (Gartner 1987). It has long been recognised that the responsibility for the management of these impacts usually lies with regional and local government, which must put effective regulatory controls into place (Dower 1977; Shucksmith 1983). Local government may also have a significant role in relation to social impacts, as it can regulate development so as not to incur conflict between second home owners and various groups over levels of development (Jordan 1980; Gartner 1986; Green *et al.* 1996; Visser 2004), perceived social inequality (Paris 2010) and competition for the use of land (Gallent 1997; Hoogendoorn and Visser 2011). Second homes, and the related issues of 'homes for locals', development controls and the cost of maintaining services, are therefore the focus of contested physical and social space issues (Girard and Gartner 1993; Fountain and Hall 2002; Hall and Müller 2004; Müller 2011; Lipkina and Hall 2014), especially given growing economic inequalities in many developed countries.

To understand the impacts of second homes, one must discover the motivations behind the decisions to have a second home. Second home owners are motivated by a number of reasons, many of which have to do with the specific amenity characteristics of a location, including distance from primary residence, physical and social characteristics of the area and availability of recreational opportunities. However, one of the most significant aspects of second home ownership is the extent to which it is related to broader travel and

lifestyle behaviour and the overall personal, spatial and temporal mobilities of individuals and families. The identification of a desirable second home environment tends to be related to an environmental search process of which travel is a key component. Holidaymaking provides opportunities to identify potential second home locations, while second homes may also be part of a wider lifestyle strategy that utilises second home purchase as a precursor to more permanent retirement or lifestyle migration. Indeed, recent renewed interest by geographers in second homes and their relationship to domestic and international migration suggests that second home tourism needs to be increasingly seen within a broader framework that examines the inter-relationships between different mobilities over the lifecourse (Warnes 1992; King *et al.* 2000; Williams and Hall 2000; Hall and Williams 2002; Hall and Müller 2004; Coles *et al.* 2004, 2006; Hall 2005a; Paris 2010; Halfacree 2011; Dufty-Jones 2012).

Conclusion

This chapter has emphasised the development of geographical research in rural recreation and tourism and its changing emphases. The geographer has sometimes found it hard to distinguish between the context of recreation and tourism, as users consume the same resources in the rural environment (Jenkins and Pigram 1994). The 1960s and 1970s saw the development of a strong recreational geography of the rural environment emerge from the UK and North America, followed by the influential work of S.L.J. Smith (1983a). However, there is a lack of continuity and theoretical development for much of the period after the 1970s. One possible explanation may be derived from Chapter 1 with the denial of mainstream geography and its reluctance to embrace such research as critical to the conceptual and theoretical development of the discipline in spite of the establishment of journals such as *Rural Studies* within which recreation and tourism are occasionally featured. As Müller (2011: 137) noted with respect to research on second homes in rural areas, 'despite the fact that most second homes are located in rural areas, they have seldom

been addressed within rural studies . . . second homes should be brought back into rural studies, but also that the rural has to be integrated more clearly into second home research'. Second homes are almost accepted as a by-product of tourism and a spatial outcome of urban consumption in the main, and so this highlights the interconnectedness of urban and rural areas in the production, consumption and impacts associated with tourism, recreation and leisure. Even so, one would expect that research assessment exercises in countries such as the UK would do little to foster a spirit of mainstream incorporation of tourism and recreation into the discipline as it may be assessed under business and management rather than as a subgroup of geography (Hall 2011e), particularly with the concerns for 'impact', reach and significance in the ways academic research in the field influences policy and contributes to the wider public good. The nearest inroad is through the study groups of professional bodies such as the Institute of British Geographers (IBG), the Canadian Association of Geographers (CAG), the Association of American Geographers (AAG) and the International Geographical Union (IGU).

The scope of the studies reviewed and discussed in this chapter have a common theme associated with some of the problems connected to rural areas in general, namely peripherality. Yet, ironically, this can also be a major feature associated with place-marketing of rural areas, where the peaceful rural idyll is marketed and commodified around the concepts of space and peripherality at different scales and the associated 'distance' from modernity and urbanisation. The rural geographer has made some forays into this area of research but, more often than not, the texts on rural geography pay only limited attention to tourism and recreation despite its growing significance in economic, social and political terms. Indeed, the outbreak of foot and mouth disease in the United Kingdom in February 2001 served only to highlight both the critical importance of tourism for the countryside and the absence of appropriate policy and intellectual frameworks that understand how tourism is embedded in the production and consumption of rural areas.

Further reading

Useful collections of readings on rural tourism include:

Mitchell, M. and Hall, D. (eds) (2005) *Rural Tourism and Sustainable Business*, Clevedon: Channel View.

On exurbanisation, amenity migration and second homes, see:

Burnley, I. and Murphy, P. (2004) *Sea Change: Movement from Metropolitan to Arcadian Australia*, Sydney: University of New South Wales.

Hall, C.M. and Müller, D. (2004) *Tourism, Mobility or Second Homes: Elite Landscapes or Common Ground*, Clevedon: Channel View.

McIntyre, N., Williams, D.R. and McHugh, K.E. (2006) *Multiple Dwelling and Tourism: Negotiating Place, Home and Identity*, Wallingford: CAB International.

Marcouiller, D., Lapping, M. and Furuseth, O. (eds) (2011) *Rural Housing, Exurbanization, and Amenity-Driven Development: Contrasting the Haves and the Have Nots*, Aldershot: Ashgate.

Janoschka, M. and Haas, H. (eds) (2014) *Contested Spatialities of Lifestyle Migration*, London: Routledge.

On tourism in more peripheral rural areas, see:

Hall, C.M. and Boyd, S. (eds) (2005) *Nature-based Tourism in Peripheral Areas: Development or Disaster?*, Clevedon: Channel View.

Müller, D.K. and Jansson, B. (eds) (2006) *Tourism in Peripheries: Perspectives from the Far North and South*, Wallingford: CAB International.

For an overview of rural recreation issues, see:

Pigram, J.J. and Jenkins, J. (2006) *Outdoor Recreation Management*, 2nd edn, London: Routledge.

On food tourism and alternative food networks, see:

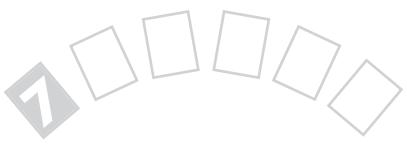
Hall, C.M. and Gössling, S. (eds) (2013) *Sustainable Culinary Systems: Local Foods, Innovation, and Tourism & Hospitality*, London: Routledge.

Hall, C.M. and Sharples, L. (eds) (2008) *Food and Wine Festivals and Events around the World: Development, Management and Markets*, Oxford: Butterworth Heinemann.

Kneafsey, M., Holloway, L., Venn, L., Dowler, E., Cox, R. and Tuomainen, H. (2008), *Reconnecting Consumers, Food and Producers: Exploring Alternatives*, Oxford: Berg.

Questions to discuss

- 1 How did the outbreak of foot and mouth disease in the United Kingdom in 2001 affect tourism?**
- 2 Is rural tourism distinctive?**
- 3 To what extent should second homes be regarded as part of the geography of tourism and recreation in rural areas?**
- 4 To what extent are rural recreation and tourism dependent on amenity values?**



Tourism and recreation in wilderness and protected areas

There are few really wild areas left in Britain today, and yet the lure of a ‘wilderness’ experience acts as a strong attraction to outdoor purists. The danger of overuse and degradation by outdoor recreationalists creates an urgent need to comprehensively identify, map and manage these wilder areas. It is possible to map both wild land quality and recreational use, and use the resulting overlays to identify spatial patterns and possible conflict areas. This is essential to developing an understanding of the conflicting needs of different stakeholders in landscape character and/in wilder areas. Only from such an understanding can we then hope to develop appropriate and well-founded policies on protected areas and wild land that are required to protect these unique parts of our natural heritage for future generations.

(Carver 2000)

Historically, wilderness has been one of the main sources of ‘the other’ in western society. Wilderness was what lay beyond the boundaries of a ‘civilised’, ordered landscape. Since the beginning of the nineteenth century, however, wilderness and wild areas began to assume a more favourable impression under the influence of the Romantic and transcendentalist movements, which favoured wild nature as an antidote to an increasingly industrialised and technocratic society. More recently, the conservation and commodification of wilderness have become entwined with the growth of recreation and tourism and wider interest in ecology and the conservation of biodiversity, which has seen protected areas, including national parks, established not only for outdoor and adventure recreation enthusiasts but also as one of the main sites in which ecotourism occurs. The establishment of protected areas and their use is therefore significant not only in terms of recreation, tourism and conservation but also as part of the wider story of changing attitudes towards nature.

Geographers have long played a significant role in understanding and contributing to the conservation of natural resources and natural areas and their relationship with recreation and tourist activities (e.g. Graves 1920; Marsh and Wall 1982; Sewell and Dearden 1989). Indeed, recreation and tourism have long been used as an economic and political justification for the conservation and legal protection of such areas. This chapter therefore examines a number of the ways in which geographers have contributed to an understanding of wilderness and protected area concepts as well as their management.

The changing meaning of wild nature in western society

Definition presents a major problem in the identification of wilderness. Definition is important ‘because it is the basis for common understanding and communication’ and it ‘provides a basis for putting a concept

into action through creating and preserving a referent' (Gardner 1978: 7). However, wilderness is an elusive concept with many layers of meaning (Gardner 1978; Gruber 1978). Tuan (1974: 112) has gone so far as to claim that 'wilderness cannot be defined objectively: it is as much a state of mind as a description of nature'. Wilderness has now become 'a symbol of the orderly progress of nature. As a state of mind, true wilderness exists only in the great sprawling cities.'

The problem of defining wilderness was well summarised by R. Nash, who emphasised that the notion of wilderness was loaded with personal symbolic meaning:

'Wilderness' has a deceptive concreteness at first glance. The difficulty is that while the word is a noun it acts like an adjective. There is no specific material object that is wilderness. The term designates a quality (as the '-ness' suggests) that produces a certain mood or feeling in a given individual and, as a consequence, may be assigned by that person to a specific place. Because of this subjectivity a universally acceptable definition of wilderness is elusive.

(Nash 1967: 1)

The notion of wilderness is substantially culturally determined and is derived in the main from the northern European experience of nature (Oelschlaeger 1991). Although the meaning of wilderness has changed over time, several themes may be distinguished. The word 'wilderness' is derived from the old English word *wild-deoren*, meaning 'of wild beasts', which in turn is derived from the Teutonic languages of northern Europe. In German, for example, *Wildnis* is a cognate verb, and *Wildor* signifies wild game (Nash 1967: 2).

The Romance languages have no single word which expresses the idea of wilderness but rely instead on its attributes. In French equivalent terms are *lieu desert* (deserted place) and *solitude inculte*, while in Spanish wilderness is *la naturaleza, immensidad* or *falls da cultura* (lack of cultivation). Italian uses the vivid *scena di disordine o confusione* (Nash 1967: 2). The Latin root of desert, *de* and *serere* (to break apart, becoming solitary), connotes not only the loneliness and fear

associated with separation but also an arid, barren tract lacking cultivation. Both the northern European and the Mediterranean traditions define and portray wilderness as a landscape of fear which is outside the bounds of human settlement (Tuan 1971, 1979).

The landscape of fear that dominated early European attitudes towards wilderness is found in the eighth century classic *Beowulf* (Wright 1957), 'where *wildeor* appeared in reference to savage and fantastic beasts inhabiting a dismal region of forests, crags, and cliffs' (Nash 1967: 1). The translation of the Scriptures into English from Greek and Hebrew also led to the use of wilderness as a description of uninhabited, arid land (Nash 1967). It was at this point that wilderness came to be associated with spiritual values. Wilderness was seen as both a testing ground for humans and an area in which humans could draw closer to God.

The attitudes towards nature in the Abrahamic religions was an essential ingredient of western attitudes towards wilderness (Glacken 1967; Passmore 1974; Gruber 1978; Attfield 1983; Pepper 1984; Short 1991). The dominant tradition within Judaeo-Christianity concerning humankind's relationship with nature was that it was 'God's intention that mankind multiply itself, spread out over the earth, make its domain over the creation secure' (Glacken 1967: 151). This relationship is best indicated in Genesis 1:28: 'Be fruitful and multiply, and fill the earth and subdue it; and have dominion over the fish of the sea and over the birds of the air and over every living thing that moves upon the earth.'

To the authors of the Old Testament, wilderness had a central position as a descriptive and symbolic concept. To the ancient Hebrews, wilderness was 'the environment of evil, a kind of hell' in which the wasteland was identified with God's curse (Nash 1967: 14–15). Paradise, or Eden, was the antithesis of wilderness. The story of Adam and Eve's dismissal from the Garden of Eden, from a watered, lush paradise to a 'cursed' land of 'thorns and thistles' (Genesis 2:4), reinforced in western thought the notion that wilderness and paradise were both physical and spiritual opposites (Williams 1962). Isaiah (51:3), for instance, contains the promise that God will comfort

Zion and ‘make her wilderness like Eden, her desert like the garden of the Lord’, while Joel (2:3) stated that ‘the land is like the garden of Eden before them, but after them a desolate wilderness’.

The experience of the Israelites during the Exodus added another dimension to the Judaeo-Christian attitude towards wilderness. For 40 years the Jews, led by Moses, wandered in the ‘howling waste of the wilderness’ (Deuteronomy 32:10) that was the Sinai peninsula (Funk 1959). The wilderness, in this instance, was not only a place where they were punished by God for their sins but also a place where they could prove themselves and make ready for the Promised Land. Indeed, it was precisely because it was unoccupied that it ‘could be a refuge as well as a disciplinary force’ (Nash 1967: 16).

The Exodus story helped to establish a tradition of going to the wilderness ‘for freedom and purification of faith’ (Nash 1967: 16). Elijah spent 40 days in the wilderness in order to draw guidance and inspiration from God (1 Kings 19:4–18). John the Baptist was the voice crying in the wilderness to prepare for the coming of the Messiah (Matthew 4:1), while Christ himself ‘was led by the spirit into the wilderness to be tempted by the devil’ (Matthew 4:1; Mark 1:12ff.). It was through contact with a difficult environment that spiritual catharsis could occur, a sentiment that exists to the present (Graber 1978).

The example of the prophets venturing into the wilderness was followed by early Christian ascetics and Jewish sects (Williams 1962). Hermits and monks established themselves in wilderness surroundings in order to avoid the temptations of earthly wealth and pleasure and to find a solitude conducive to spiritual ideals: ‘The monastic community in the wilderness was a model of paradise set in an unredeemed world. Wilderness was often perceived as the haunt of demons but in the neighbourhood of the monastery it could acquire some of the harmony of redeemed nature’ (Tuan 1974: 148).

The desert ascetics drew on an appreciation of nature that sprang from the Bible itself. As Glacken (1967: 151) observed, ‘The intense otherworldliness and rejection of the beauties of nature because they turn men away from the contemplation of God are

elaborated upon far more in theological writings than in the Bible itself’. The desert monks lived in the solitude of the wilderness to remove themselves from other humans, not from nature. Psalm 104 provides one of the clearest statements of the existence of a sympathetic attitude towards nature, noting that everything in nature has its place in a divine order: ‘the high mountains are for the wild goats; the rocks are a refuge for the badgers’ (Psalm 104:18). ‘O Lord, how manifold are thy works! In wisdom hast thou made them all’ (Psalm 104:24). As Glacken noted:

It is not to be wondered at that Psalm 104 has been quoted so often by thinkers sympathetic to the design argument and the physico-theological proof for the existence of God. The life, beauty, activity, order, and reasonableness in nature are described without mysteries, joyously – even triumphantly. God is separate from nature but he may be understood in part from it.

(Glacken 1967: 157)

The theme of the wisdom of the Lord being shown in the order of nature was similarly indicated elsewhere in the Bible. The notion that ‘The heavens are telling the glory of God; and the firmament proclaims his handiwork’ (Psalm 19:1) proved to be influential throughout Christendom in the Dark and Middle Ages, although by no means enabling a universally sympathetic attitude towards nature. Nature came to be regarded as a book which could reveal the works of the Lord in a manner similar to the Scriptures. In the early exegetical writings, God was regarded as being made manifest in his works:

There is a book of nature which when read along with the book of God, allows men to know and understand Him and his creation; not only man but nature suffered from the curse after the Fall; one may admire and love the beauty of the earth if this love and admiration is associated with the love of God.

(Glacken 1967: 203)

This view of nature played an important role in establishing a favourable attitude towards wild country.

St Augustine (in Glacken 1967: 204) wrote, 'Some people in order to discover God, read books. But there is a great book: the very appearance of created things.'

Reading the book of nature for the word of God was eventually to lead to the reading of nature itself, but the notion of nature as a book was also to prepare the way for the development of a natural theology in the writings of St Francis of Assisi, St Bonaventura and Ramon Sibiude. To St Francis, living creatures were not only symbols, but also 'placed on earth for God's own purposes (not for man's), and they, like man, praise God' (Glacken 1967: 216). St Francis' theology represented a revolutionary change in Christian attitudes towards nature because of the distinct break they make with the anthropocentric nature of earlier theology (White 1967). Upon the foundation built by the natural theologians and their intellectual heirs, such as John Ray and Gilbert White, came to be built the framework for the discovery of nature by the Romantic movement.

Despite a continuing appreciation of nature as part of God's divine presence by some theologians, the dominant attitude in the Judaeo-Christian tradition until the seventeenth century was that true appreciation of God could be gained only by looking inwards, not out at nature. Nature was provided for humans to utilise. Wilderness and wild lands were to be tamed and cultivated to display the divine order as interpreted by humankind. Nevertheless, while in the minority within Christian attitudes towards nature, the environmental theology of St Francis remains a significant theme within Christian thought because of not only attitudes towards wild nature but also responsibilities for environmental stewardship.

The dominant Abrahamic view of wilderness may be contrasted with that of eastern religions. In eastern thought, wilderness 'did not have an unholy or evil connotation but was venerated as the symbol and even the very essence of the deity' (Nash 1967: 20). The aesthetic appreciation of wild land began to change far earlier in the Orient than in the West. By the fourth century AD, for instance, large numbers of people in China had begun to find an aesthetic appeal in mountains, whereas they were still seen as objects of fear in Europe (Nicholson 1962; Tuan 1974).

Eastern faiths such as Shinto and Taoism 'fostered love of wilderness rather than hatred' (Nash 1982: 21). Shinto deified nature in favour of pastoral scenes. The polarity that existed between city and wilderness in the Judaeo-Christian experience did not exist outside European cultural traditions (Callicott 1982). In contrast, western civilisation has tended to dominate, rather than adapt to, its surrounding landscape. As Tuan (1974: 148) noted, 'In the traditions of Taoist China and pre-Dorian Greece, nature imparted virtue or power. In the Christian tradition sanctifying power is invested in man, God's vice regent, rather than nature.' However, it should be emphasised that Oriental civilisations, such as those of China, India and Japan, have also had highly destructive impacts on the environment despite arguably a more sympathetic cultural attitude towards nature, and will continue to do so as long as production and consumption imperatives prevail in contemporary policy settings.

The attitude of different cultures to nature and, hence, wilderness is important (Tuan 1971, 1979; Saarinen 1998). As Eidsvik (1980) recognised, wilderness has only recently taken on global meaning with the increasing dominance of western culture throughout the world and with respect to the governance and regulation of the environment and natural heritage. The perception of wilderness as an alien landscape of fear is derived from the northern European set of attitudes towards nature, where the Judaeo-Christian perception of nature became combined with the Teutonic fear of the vast northern forests. It is perhaps of no coincidence, therefore, that the creation of designated wilderness areas began in lands occupied by peoples who have inherited European cultural attitudes that frame the 'otherness' of wild nature. However, despite retaining something of its original attributes the meaning of wilderness has changed substantially over time and now incorporates wider scientific and conservation values, while there are now attempts to rewild some European landscapes for the ecological and recreational values it would create (Brown *et al.* 2011).

Table 7.1 portrays the development of the wilderness concept in the United States, Canada, New Zealand and Australia: those countries within which

Table 7.1 The development of the wilderness concept in the United States, Canada, New Zealand and Australia

Date	United States	Canada	New Zealand	Australia
Pre-1860	Major romantic influence on American art and literature 1832 Joseph Catlin calls for the creation of a 'nation's Park'; Arkansas Hot Springs reserved	Development of a Romantic perception of the Canadian landscape		A 'New Britannia' Aesthetic and utilitarian visions of the Australian landscape
1860s	'Walking' proclaims that 'in Wildness is the preservation of the World'		Rapid clearfelling of land for agriculture and mining	
1860s	Romantic Monumentalism 1864 George Perkins Marsh's <i>Man and Nature</i> is published, heralds the start of 'economic conservation'		Marsh's book well received in Australia	
1870s	Yosemite State Park established Wilderness perceived as 'worthless land'		1866 Jenolan Caves reserved The need to conserve forests argued by Clarke, Goyder and von Mueller 'Scientific Vision'	
1872	Yellowstone National Park established; John Muir begins writing and campaigning for wilderness preservation			
1880s	Rise of 'Progressive Conservation' led by Gifford Pinchot	1885 Banff Hot Springs Reserve declared	1878 T. Portes publishes 'National Domains' 1881 Thermal Springs Districts Act	1879 Royal National Park established in New South Wales
1890s	E.J. Turner declares the end of the American frontier; Yosemite National Park created with the help of railroads Forests Reserves Act 1891	Strengthening of a Romantic vision of nature in Canada and rise of progressive conservation 1894 Algonquin Park established	1887 Tongariro deeded to the New Zealand Government 1892 J. Matson calls for Australasian Indigenous Parks	Rise of the "Bush Idyll" – "Sydney or the Bush" National Parks associated with recreation and tourism 1891 National Park Act (S.A.) 1892 Tower Hill National Park Act (Vic.)
1900s	Cult of the Wilderness			

(Continued)

Table 7.1 (Continued)

Date	United States	Canada	New Zealand	Australia
	Tourism a major motive for the establishment of parks in all four countries			
1905	US Forest Service created			1905 State Forests and National Parks Act (Queensland)
1910s	1913 Preservationists lose battle to prevent Hatch Hatchy being dammed 1916 US National Park Service created	1911 Dominion Forest Reserves and Parks Act		1915 Scenery Preservation Act (Tas.)
1920s	Rise of Ecological Perspectives; Forest Service areas retained as 'primitive lands' 1926 Forest Service Wilderness Inventory	Negative reaction to introduced animals in National Parks begins	Growth of the Bushwalking Movement under Myles Dunphy	
	1928 Forest Service Regulation L-20		1927 Formation of the National Parks and Primitive Areas Council	
1930s	1934 Everglades National Park established 1937 Formation of the Wilderness Society 1939 Forest Service 'U' Regulations	1930 National Parks Act	1934 Greater Blue Mountains National Scheme	1934 Development of Snowy-Indi Park Scheme Proposal (NSW)
1940s	1949 Keyser Report		1944 Kosciusko State Park Act	1944 Kosciusko State Park Act
1950s	Dinosaur National Monument Campaign	1952 National Parks Act		
	1956 First Wilderness Bill	1955 Wilderness Areas Act (Ontario)	1955 Reserves and Domains Act	1957 Victorian National Park Authority created
1960s	1962 ORCC Report			1963 Kosciusko Primitive Area established (NSW)
	1964 Wilderness Act becomes law; RARE I commences	1969 Study tour of National Parks Director to North America	1967 NSW National Parks and Wildlife Service created	1967 Wilderness a major policy issue: Little Desert, Great Barrier Reef, Fraser Island and Lake Pedder
1970s	Mounting pressure from tourists and commercial interests in national parks in all countries 1974 Eastern Wilderness Act RARE II commences			1975 National Parks and Wildlife Service (Commonwealth) created
	1977 Reserves Act			

Table 7.1 (Continued)

Date	United States	Canada	New Zealand	Australia
1980s	'Sagebrush Rebellion' Provision for wilderness in Alaska	Major conflicts over wilderness preservation 1984 South Moresby Island campaign	1980 National Parks Act 1981 Wilderness Advisory Group established 1984 New wilderness areas established 1986 World Heritage listing for South Westland Park	1982 National Conservation Strategy 1983 Franklin Dam Case 1984 Calls for establishment of National Wilderness System 1985 CONCCM discussion paper
1990s	Increased attention given to the concept of ecotourism and sustainable tourism by governments and industry bodies	Renewed threats to explore for oil in the Alaskan wildlife reserve during Bush presidency	Continued debate over timber cutting in British Columbia, Ontario and Newfoundland	1987 Federal government acts to preserve the Wet Tropics, Kakadu, and the Lemontyne and Southern Forests 1987 NSW Wilderness Act Labour government restricts cutting of native forest on government land
2010s	Growing concern as to effects of climate change on Alaskan wilderness		Effects of climate change on Arctic wilderness	2004 renewed focus on public access rights to crown land and reserves

the idea of wilderness has historically been most influential in outdoor recreation and tourism as well as in promoting the idea of protected areas. However, it should be noted that changing attitudes towards wilderness were common in much of northern European society in the mid-nineteenth to early twentieth centuries and played a part in the Romantic nationalism of Finland, Norway and Sweden that promoted the idea of wild national landscapes (Wall Reinius 2009, 2012), many examples of which are now protected areas and significant tourist attractions. In addition, changing attitudes towards wild country and rural areas led to areas such as Scotland, the Lake District in the UK, and Switzerland becoming favoured as tourism destinations (see Chapter 6). Furthermore, shifts in cultural taste even led to the changes in garden design, with 'wild gardens' becoming popular from the 1870s on (see Robinson 2009; the original was published in 1870 and went to seven editions).

The classic example of changing popular attitudes towards wilderness in western culture is witnessed in the history of the evolution of the wilderness concept in the United States (Table 7.1). The founding fathers of the American colonies saw the wild lands before them in classical biblical terms as a 'howling wilderness', and although attitudes towards wilderness did change gradually through the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries it was not until the late eighteenth century that positive appreciation of American nature began to emerge. The political independence of the American nation found cultural expression in the extolment of the virtues of American natural scenery. However, a similar cultural expression was not to be found in colonial Canada, where untamed nature still assumed the guise of a landscape of fear (Kline 1970). Nevertheless, America's cultural independence from the Old World produced a desire to laud the moral purity of the wild forests and mountains of the New World, untainted as they were by the domination of things European, a cultural movement which, perhaps somewhat ironically, sprang from the Romantic movement then sweeping Europe.

The American Romantic movement laid the groundwork upon which a popular appreciation of the value of wild land would come to be based.

Artistic, literary and political perceptions of the importance of contact with wild nature provided the stimulus for the creation of positive cultural attitudes towards the American wilderness. Once positive attitudes towards primitive, unordered nature had developed, the emergence of individuals and societies dedicated to the preservation of wilderness values was only a short step away. However, an appreciation of the aesthetic values of wild land was countered by the utilitarian ethic that dominated American society.

As with many European colonial societies, the majority of North American settlers saw the land as an object to be conquered and made productive. The first reservations for the preservation of scenery therefore tended to be established in areas that were judged to be wastelands that had no economic value in terms of agriculture, grazing, lumbering or mining. The aesthetic value of wilderness was upheld by national parks and reserves which were intended to protect national scenic monuments that expressed the cultural independence of America, in addition to providing for the development of the area through the tourist dollar. Monumentalism was characterised by the belief that natural sites, such as Niagara Falls or the Rockies, were grand, noble and elevated in idea and had something of the enduring, stable and timeless nature of the great architecture of Europe, and proved a significant theme in the establishment of American parks (Runte 2010).

Although the national parks in Australia, Canada and New Zealand did not assume the same importance as national monuments, their development nevertheless parallels that of the American park system. The themes of aesthetic romanticism, recreation and the development of 'worthless' or 'waste' lands through tourism characterised the creation of the first national parks in Australia, Canada and New Zealand. Banff National Park in Canada was developed by the Canadian Pacific Railroad as a tourist spa (Marsh 1985). New Zealand's first parks had lodges and hostels established within them that matched the tourist developments in the US and Canadian parks. Australia's first parks, particularly those of Queensland and Tasmania, were also marked by the influence of the desire of government to boost

tourism. However, the Australian parks were also noted for their establishment, in unison with railway development, as areas where city dwellers could find mental restoration in recreation and communion with nature (Hall 1985, 1992a).

With the closing of the American frontier at the end of the nineteenth century the preservation of America's remaining wilderness received new impetus. A massive but unsuccessful public campaign by wilderness preservationists led by John Muir to protect Hetch Hetchy Valley in Yosemite National Park from a dam scheme, a conservation minded President (Theodore Roosevelt) in the White House, and the emergence of economically oriented 'progressive conservation', a precursor of present-day sustainable development (Hall 1998), under the leadership of Gifford Pinchot all led to wilderness preservation becoming a matter of public importance in the United States.

The United States Forest Service and National Park Service responded to pressure from recreationalists for the creation of designated wilderness areas. Contemporaneously, the development of the science of ecology led to a recognition of the scientific importance of preserving wilderness (Leopold 1921, 1925). The various elements of wilderness preservation blended together in the inter-war years to lay a framework for the establishment of legally protected wilderness areas.

Economic conservation and the development of a scientific perception of wilderness were also influential in Australia, Canada and New Zealand. In Australia, the publication of George Perkins Marsh's (1965 [1864]) book *Man and Nature* stimulated the colonial governments to establish forest reserves. In addition, significant scientists such as Baron von Mueller and bodies such as the Australasian Association for the Advancement of Science argued for the preservation of native flora and fauna in both Australia and New Zealand. However, the first national parks in Australia were created for reasons of aesthetics, tourism and recreation, with science gaining little recognition (Hall 1992a). In Canada, progressive conservation proved influential in the creation of forest reserves, and it is significant to note that many of the

early Canadian parks were established under forestry legislation, although wilderness preservation lagged behind the USA (Nicol 1969).

The declaration of the Wilderness Act in 1964 marked the beginning of the legislative era of wilderness preservation in the United States. Under the Wilderness Act wilderness is defined as 'an area where the earth and its community of life are untrammeled by man, where man himself is the visitor that does not remain'. The four defining qualities of wilderness areas protected under the Act are that such areas:

- generally appear to be affected by the forces of nature, with the imprint of man substantially unnoticeable;
- have outstanding opportunities for solitude or a primitive and unconfined type of recreation;
- have at least 5,000 acres or are of sufficient size as to make practical its preservation and use in an unimpaired condition;
- may also contain ecological, geological or features of scientific, educational, scenic or historical value.

The protection of wilderness through legal means gave new impetus to the task of improving the process of defining and compiling a wilderness inventory as well as providing for its management, a process that is still continuing in many parts of the world. There is no specific legislation for the preservation of wilderness in New Zealand (Hall and Higham 2000). Similarly, until late 1987, with the passing of the New South Wales Wilderness Act, no wilderness legislation had been enacted in Australia (Hall 1992a). In Canada, wilderness areas have received a degree of protection under provincial legislation. However, as in Australia and New Zealand, there is no national wilderness Act. Yet, in recent years increasing attention has been given to the implications of international conservation and heritage agreements, such as the World Heritage and Biodiversity Conventions, as mechanisms for the preservation of wilderness and other natural areas of international significance (Hall 1992a, 2010j).

Table 7.2 provides an overview of the number and area of protected areas around the world as of 2003. Strict nature reserves and protected wilderness areas

Table 7.2 Number and area of protected areas under IUCN Protected Area Management Categories 2003

Category	Description	Global no. of categories (2003) (%)	Global area of categories (2003) (km ²)	Global area of categories (2003) (%)
<i>Ia) Strict Nature Reserve:</i> protected area managed mainly for science	Area of land and/or sea possessing some outstanding or representative ecosystems, geological or physiological features and/or species, available primarily for scientific research and/or environmental monitoring	4,731	4.6	1,033,888
<i>Ib) Wilderness Area:</i> protected area managed mainly for wilderness protection	Large area of unmodified or slightly modified land and/or sea, retaining its natural character and influence, without permanent or significant habitation, which is protected and managed so as to preserve its natural condition	1,302	1.3	1,015,512
<i>II) National Park:</i> protected area managed mainly for ecosystem protection and recreation	Natural area of land and/or sea, designated to (a) protect the ecological integrity of one or more ecosystems for present and future generations, (b) exclude exploitation or occupation inimical to the purposes of designation of the area and (c) provide a foundation for spiritual, scientific, educational, recreational and visitor opportunities, all of which must be environmentally and culturally compatible	3,881	3.8	4,413,142
<i>III) Natural Monument:</i> protected area managed mainly for conservation of specific natural features	Area containing one, or more, specific natural or natural/cultural feature which is of outstanding or unique value because of its inherent rarity, representative or aesthetic qualities or cultural significance	19,833	19.4	275,432
<i>IV) Habitat/Species Management Area:</i> protected area managed mainly for conservation through management intervention	Area of land and/or sea subject to active intervention for management purposes so as to ensure the maintenance of habitats and/or to meet the requirements of specific species	27,641	27.1	3,022,515

Table 7.2 (Continued)

Category	Description	Global no. of categories (2003) (%)	Global area of categories (2003) (km ²)	Global area of categories (2003) (%)
V) Protected Landscapes/ Seascape: protected area managed mainly for landscape/seascape conservation and recreation	Area of land, with coast and sea as appropriate, where the interaction of people and nature over time has produced an area of distinct character with significant aesthetic, ecological and/or cultural value, and often with high biological diversity; safeguarding the integrity of this traditional interaction is vital to the protection, maintenance and evolution of such an area	6,555	6.4	1,056,088
VI) Managed Resource <i>Protected Area:</i> protected area managed mainly for the sustainable use of natural ecosystems	Area containing predominantly unmodified natural systems, managed to ensure long-term protection and maintenance of biological diversity, while providing at the same time a sustainable flow of natural products and services to meet community needs	4,123	4.0	4,377,091
No category		34,036	33.4	3,569,820
Total		102,102	100	18,763,407
				19.0
				100.0

Source: categories identified in IUCN 1994; Figures derived from Chape *et al.* 2003.

BOX 7.1 WHAT IS THE EFFECT OF WORLD HERITAGE LISTING?

World Heritage properties are areas or sites of outstanding universal value recognised under the Convention for the Protection of the World's Cultural and Natural Heritage (the World Heritage Convention (WHC)), adopted by a UNESCO Conference on 16 November 1972. The Convention is usually regarded as one of the pinnacles of international conservation.

The philosophy behind the Convention is straightforward: there are some parts of the world's natural and cultural heritage which are so unique and scientifically important to the world as a whole that their conservation and protection for present and future generations is not only a matter of concern for individual nations but for the international community as a whole.

(Slatyer 1983: 138)

Such is the significance of World Heritage Status (WHS) that World Heritage sites have been described as 'magnets for visitors' and World Heritage designation 'virtually a guarantee that visitor numbers will increase' (Shackley 1998: preface). Indeed, it is often suggested that WHS increases the popularity of a location or destination with visitors (e.g. Drost 1996; Pocock 1997; Thorsell and Sigaty 2001). However, many of the assertions regarding the tourist attractiveness of World Heritage sites and, similarly, the attractiveness of newly designated national parks are often based on extremely weak empirical evidence that does not consider locations within the context of historical visitation trends; other factors influencing visitation may have very little to do with designation (see also Buckley 2004). This does not mean that locations may be unattractive to visitation, rather that the attraction is primarily derived from other attributes. For example, Hall and Piggott (2001) reported on a survey of 44 World Heritage managers in OECD countries. Over two-thirds of sites reported an increase in visitor numbers since gaining WHS, the majority of them natural sites. Most of the sites reported an average increase of 1–5 per cent per annum since designation. However, significantly, the rate of increase or decline in visitation since designation was little different from overall trends with respect to tourism visitation. Indeed, less than half of respondents reported that the sites they managed had specific areas for the explanation of the World Heritage Convention and why the sites were granted WHS, even though almost two-thirds of sites used such status in order to attract international and domestic visitors. Over half of the sites considered the effect of WHS on tourism at the sites to have been either 'positive' or 'extremely positive', 18 site managers were neutral about the relationship between tourism and WHS, and only one site manager reported that WHS had been 'extremely negative' for tourism.

An interesting study of the effects of World Heritage designation was that of Wall Reinius (2004, 2012), who examined the Laponian World Heritage site in north-western Sweden, which was declared a World Heritage site in 1996. The site includes four national parks established under the provisions of the Nature Protection Act 1909: Sarek National Park and Stora Sjöfallet National Park (1909), Muddus National Park (1941) and Padjelanta National Park (1962), and two nature reserves established under the provisions of the Nature Conservation Act 1964: Sjaunja (1986) and Stubba (1988). In total, 95 per cent of the site is protected as national park or nature reserve. The World Heritage site has a total area of approximately 9,400 km². According to Wall Reinius (2004), only 3.7 per cent of her respondents (primarily Swedish and German tourists) stated that the visit would never have occurred or that they would have had different travel

plans if it had not been a World Heritage site. Nevertheless, 64 per cent of her respondents agreed either completely or in part that World Heritage designation had value for the surroundings, while 51 per cent agreed either completely or in part that WHS also had value for visitors. As Wall Reinius (2004) noted, redesignation from national park to World Heritage may have long-term effects on perceptions of a location as a destination; however, such influences required longitudinal analysis in order to be better understood. Indeed, acquisition of WHS may have more impact in a developing country context rather than in the industrialised nations because of the development of infrastructure and improved accessibility that designation may make possible.

only account for about 11 per cent of categories by area, with national parks being the most significant category by area. However, it should be noted that managed resource areas are not far behind, highlighting the challenge of enabling both use, including via tourism and recreation, as well as conservation.

Environmental histories of protected and wilderness areas

Environmental history is a field concerned with the role and place of nature in human life (Worster 1977, 1988). Research and scholarship on the environmental history of national parks and wilderness lie at the intersection of a number of fields of human and physical geography. Within geography, as with history, the increased awareness of the environment as a social, economic and political issue has led geographers and historians to attempt to chart the history of land use of a given region or site in order to increase understanding of its significance, values and present-day use (Simmons 1993; Dovers 1994, 2000a, 2000b; Crosby 1995; Pawson and Brooking 2002). Such research is not just an academic exercise. At a macro-level it can assist in understanding how natural resource management problems and user conflicts have developed and policies may be improved (e.g. Sæþórsdóttir *et al.* (2011) in Iceland; see also Sæþórsdóttir and Ólafsson 2010a, 2010b). At a micro-level such research can help develop interpretive material for visitors as part of heritage

management strategies, an area in which geographers are becoming increasingly involved (e.g. Ashworth and Tunbridge 1990; Tunbridge and Ashworth 1996; Hall and McArthur 1996, 1998). Cronan (1990) asserts that good work in environmental history incorporates three levels of analysis. These are the dynamics of natural ecosystems in time (ecology), the political economies that people erect within these systems (economy) and the cognitive lenses through which people perceive those systems (the history of ideas). Geographers, with their integrative approach to environment, cultural landscapes and land use, would therefore seem to be ideally poised to work in this area. As Mark (1996: 153) observed, 'Widening the scope of historical narrative has frequently resulted in more complex interpretation of the past and should point the way toward greater understanding of the past in heritage management'.

National parks are a major focus of heritage management but have been a relatively quiet backwater in traditional historical narrative, including historical and cultural geography (Parker 2010). Environmental history, however, can place them within the larger context of interaction between nature and culture (Mark 1996). For example, a number of extremely valuable park histories which highlight the role of tourism and outdoor recreation in park development have been written on the Yellowstone (Haines 1977), Grand Canyon (Hughes 1978), Rocky Mountain (Buchholz 1983), Olympic (Twight 1983), Sequoia and Kings Canyon (Dilsaver and Tweed 1990) and Yosemite (Runte 1990) national parks in the United

States; the Albertan (Bella 1987) and the Ontario (Killan 1993) national park systems in Canada, and with useful national overviews being provided by Nelson (1970), Hall (1992a), Dearden and Rollins (1993) and Runte (2010).

Environmental and park histories can provide substantial methodological challenges. In North America and the Antipodes, travel accounts written during the period of initial European settlement have been utilised by scholars interested in historic environments (Powell 1978). They often hope to establish a pre-European settlement landscape as a baseline from which to assess subsequent environmental change. One difficulty with using travel accounts, however, is that they are often written in places where the journalist is not actually travelling; instead, the diarist is summarising past events at a convenient place (Mark 1996). Another problem is how to tie the usually limited detail (little of which could be utilised quantitatively) to specific localities. The paucity of locality information is often present in even the best accounts, such as those left by collectors of natural history specimens.

The only site-specific records available in many areas on pre-colonial settlement landscapes are land survey notes. These have been helpful in establishing an historic condition of some forests, riparian habitats and grasslands. Their reliability varies, however, because there can be limitations associated with insufficient description, bias in recording data, contract fraud and land use prior to survey (Galatowitsch 1990). Another technique for developing an historical record of land use change or for reconstructing past environments or heritage sites is repeat photography (Rogers *et al.* 1984). However, while such techniques may be useful for specific sites or attractions, the photographic record of 'ordinary' landscapes, i.e. those which were not subject to the interest of visitors as a view or panorama, is more difficult to construct because of incomplete records. Indeed, the overall lack of longitudinal data on visitors to national parks and particular environments is a major problem in determining impacts of visitation and changing perceptions of the environment (Frost and Hall 2009a).

Cultural landscape documentation is somewhat narrower in scope than environmental history because the question of nature's character is not so central (Mark 1996). Nevertheless, it emphasises change over time and represents a way of integrating nature with culture (Muller 2003). In a protected area setting, its emphasis becomes one of design, material, change, function and use, with one of its main effects on heritage management being the broadening of the focus of historic preservation beyond buildings to the associated landscape and environmental context (Mark 1991; Antrop 2005).

The value of natural areas and wilderness

Decisions affecting environmental policies grow out of a political process (Henning 1971, 1974), in which 'value choice, implicit and explicit . . . orders the priorities of government and determines the commitment of resources within the public jurisdiction' (Simmons *et al.* 1974: 457). Therefore, in order to consider the means by which natural areas are utilised, it is essential to understand what the values of wilderness are. As Henning (1987: 293) observed, 'In the end, the survival of the wilderness will depend upon values being a respected factor in the political and governmental process'.

The value of wilderness is not static. As we have seen at the start of this chapter and throughout the book, the value of a resource alters over time in accordance with changes in the needs and attitudes of society. As noted above, ideas of the values of wild land have shifted in relation to changing cultural perceptions. Nevertheless, the dynamic nature of the wilderness resource does not prevent an assessment of its values as they are seen in present-day society. Indeed, such an evaluation is essential to arguments as to why natural areas should be conserved.

Broadly defined, the values of wilderness may be classified as being either anthropocentric or biocentric in nature. The principal emphasis of the anthropocentric approach is that the value of wilderness emerges in its potential for direct human use. In contrast, 'the

biocentric perspective places primary emphasis on the preservation of the natural order'. The former approach places societal above ecological values and emphasises recreational and aesthetic rather than environmental qualities. Both perspectives focus on human benefits. However, 'the important distinction between them is the extent to which these benefits are viewed as being independent of the naturalness of wilderness ecosystems' (Hendee *et al.* 1978: 18).

A more radical, and increasingly popular, interpretation of the notion of the value of wilderness has been provided by what is often termed a deep ecology perspective (Godfrey-Smith 1979; Nash 1990; Oelschlaeger 1991). Deep ecologists argue that wilderness should be held as valuable not just because it satisfies a human need (instrumental value) but as an end in itself (intrinsically valuable). Instrumental anthropocentric values, derived from a Cartesian conception of nature, are regarded as being opposed to a holistic or systematic view that emphasises the symbiotic interdependencies of the natural world (Hall 2013g). The holistic view broadly corresponds with the ecological conception of wilderness (Worster 1977; Nash 1990; Oelschlaeger 1991). However, it goes further by arguing that 'the philosophical task is to try and provide adequate justification . . . for a scheme of values according to which concern and sympathy for our environment is immediate and natural, and the

desirability of protecting and preserving wilderness self-evident' (Godfrey-Smith 1979: 316), rather than justified purely according to human needs and the services it provides. Indeed, from a genuinely ecocentric point of view the question 'What is the use of wilderness?' would be as absurd as the question 'What is the use of happiness?' (Godfrey-Smith 1979: 319).

Hendee *et al.* (1978) identified three consistent themes in the values associated with wilderness: experiential, mental and moral restorative, and scientific. Experiential values highlight the importance of the 'wilderness experience' for recreationists and tourists (Scott 1974). Several themes emerge in an examination of the wilderness experience, including the aesthetic, the spiritual and the escapist (Table 7.3). Given its essentially personal nature, the wilderness experience is extremely difficult to define (Scott 1974). Nevertheless, the values recorded from writings on wilderness listed in Table 7.3 do point to the various aspects of the wilderness experience that are realised in human contact with wild and primitive lands.

Associated with the values of the wilderness experience is the idea that wilderness can provide mental and moral restoration for the individual in the face of modern civilisation (Carhart 1920; Boyden and Harris 1978). This values wilderness as a 'reservoir for renewal of mind and spirit' and in some cases

Table 7.3 Components of the wilderness experience

Component	Nature of experience
Aesthetic appreciation	Finding beauty in nature
Religious	The experience of God in the wilderness
Escapist	Finding freedom away from the constraints of city living
Challenge	The satisfaction that occurs in overcoming dangerous situations and fully utilising physical skills
Historic/romantic	The opportunity to relive or imagine the experiences of pioneers of the 'frontier' that formed national culture
Solitude	The pleasure of being alone in a wild setting
Companionship	Paradoxically, in relation to the previous category, the desire to share the setting with companions
Discovery/learning	The thrill of discovering or learning about nature in a natural setting
Vicarious appreciation	The pleasure of knowing that wilderness exists without actually ever having experienced it directly
Technology	Influence of technological change on outdoor activities

Sources: Marshall 1930; McKenry 1972; Smith 1977; Hendee *et al.* 1978; Nash 1990.

offers 'an important sanctuary into which one can withdraw, either temporarily or permanently, to find respite' (Hendee *et al.* 1978: 12). This also harks back to the biblical role of wilderness as a place of spiritual renewal (Funk 1959) and the simple life of Thoreau's Walden Pond (Thoreau 1968 [1854]). The encounter with wilderness is regarded as forcing the individual to rise to physical challenge, with corresponding improvements in feelings of self-reliance and self-worth. As Ovington and Fox wrote, 'In the extreme', wilderness

generates a feeling of absolute aloneness, a feeling of sole dependence on one's own capacities as new sights, smells and tastes are encountered . . . The challenge and the refreshing and recreating power of the unknown are provided by unadulterated natural wilderness large enough in space for us to get 'lost' in. Here it is possible once again to depend upon our own personal faculties and to hone our bodies and spirits.

(Ovington and Fox 1980: 3)

The third major theme in the values associated with wilderness is that of the scientific values of wilderness

(Table 7.4) The preservation of wilderness is regarded as an essential component in the scientific study of the environment and human impact on the environment. Furthermore, wilderness has increasingly come to assume tremendous economic importance because of the value of the genetic material that it contains. However, the multidimensional nature of the wilderness resource may lead to value conflicts over the use of wilderness areas.

A fourth theme which is inherent in the values of wilderness is that of economic worth. In addition to the economic significance of genetic and other extractable resources, wilderness has importance as a tourist and recreation attraction. Indeed, the economic valuation of wilderness and natural areas has now become a critical factor in their designation (Hall 1992a), although it should be noted that the economic value of tourism has long been used to justify national park creation in areas that would otherwise be deemed worthless (Runte 1972, 1973, 1977, 2002, 2010; Hall and Frost 2009). As discussed on pp. 266–267, such a value may also be enhanced through international recognition such as that achieved through World Heritage listing.

McKenry (1977) has provided an analysis of the degree to which the values of wilderness are disrupted

Table 7.4 The scientific values of wilderness

Value	Description
Genetic resources/biodiversity	Large natural communities such as those provided for in wilderness areas can serve as sources of genetic materials which are potentially useful to humans. As more of the world's natural ecosystems are removed or simplified, the remaining natural areas will assume even greater importance as storehouses of genetic material.
Ecological research and biological monitoring	Wilderness areas provide protection for large natural ecosystems. Within these areas a variety of research on ecological processes can occur. Research may consist of ecosystem dynamics, comparative ecology, ethology, surveys of fauna and flora, and the relationship of base ecological data to environmental change.
Environmental baselines	Wilderness areas, representative of particular biomes, can be used as reference areas in the monitoring of environmental change both within the biome and on a global scale.
The evolutionary continuum	Wilderness areas provide the conditions in which the evolutionary continuum of adaptation, extinction and speciation can occur without the direct interference of humans.
Long term	Wilderness areas provide conditions in which flora and fauna conservation can occur, particularly for those species which require large territories to reproduce and be preserved.

Sources: P.E. Smith 1977; Frankel 1978; Hendee *et al.* 1978; Hall 1992a.

Table 7.5 Interactions between values associated with wilderness and common disruptive activities

Common disruptive activities	Water resources	Traditional aboriginal habitat	Wildlife resources and habitat	Plant resources and habitat	Research and education	Wilderness recreation resources	Vicarious appreciation of wilderness	Reserve resource pool
Hydro	1–2	5	3–4	3–4	4–5	4–5	4–5	4–5
Forestry	3–4	5	3–4	3–4	3–4	4–5	4–5	2–3
Mining	3–4	5	3–4	3–4	3–4	4–5	5	4–5
Agriculture	5	3–4	4–5	3–4	5	5	4–5	3–4
Grazing	3–4	4–5	2–3	3–4	2–3	3–4	3–4	2–3
Road	2–3	4–5	2–3	2–3	2–3	4–5	4–5	2–3
Tourism	3–4	5	3–4	2–3	2–3	4–5	4–5	2–3
Off-road	2–3	4–5	2–3	2–3	2–3	4–5	2–3	1–2

Scale of disruption to wilderness values:

1 No incompatible interaction (i.e. mutually compatible).

2 Slightly incompatible.

3 Substantial incompatibility.

4 Slight compatibility only.

5 Totally incompatible (i.e. mutually exclusive).

Source: adapted from McKenry 1977.

by activities such as forestry, mining, grazing and road construction. Table 7.5, based on McKenry's research, records the level of compatibility between wilderness values and common disruptive activities. The significant factor which emerges from Table 7.5 is that because of the intrinsic characteristics of wilderness as primitive and remote land, the range of uses that can occur within wilderness areas without diminishing the value of wilderness is extremely limited and will require careful management. As soon as the characteristics of the wilderness resource are infringed through the activities of western humans,

wilderness values are reduced. Emphasis is placed upon the impacts of western society, rather than those of technologically underdeveloped peoples, because, as the following discussion will illustrate, the present-day concept of wilderness is a product of western thought. Indeed, geographers such as Nelson (1982, 1986) have argued for the adoption of a human-ecological approach to wilderness and park management which sees the incorporation of the attitudes and practices of indigenous peoples as being an essential part of a contemporary perspective on the notion of wilderness.

BOX 7.2 NATIONAL PARKS AND INDIGENOUS PEOPLES

National parks are a western concept (Nash 1967, 1982). National parks have their origins in the New World desire to conserve nature and appropriately aesthetic landscapes for economic development through tourism (Hall 1992a, 2000b). Until recently, the creation of national parks was marked by the exclusion of aboriginal populations as undesirable elements in the 'natural' landscape. In the Americas, Australia and New Zealand historically this has meant that national park and other forms of government land ownership have often been used to exclude indigenous peoples from their own land. The drawing of boundaries between the natural parks and the rural human landscape available for agriculture, forestry, mining and/or grazing reflecting the Cartesian divide of western society has long sought to separate 'civilisation' and

'wilderness'. However, since the late 1960s, the separation between natural and cultural heritage has come to be seen as increasingly artificial (Mels 1999). In part, this has been due to the renaissance of aboriginal and indigenous cultures in the New Worlds of North America and Australasia, as well as greater assertion of native cultural values in postcolonial societies (Butler and Hinch 1996; Ryan and Huyton 2002; Hall and Tucker 2004). In addition, there has been an increased realisation by ecologists and natural resource managers that many ecological relationships in so-called natural landscapes are actually the result of a complex set of interrelations between the use of the land by native peoples and the creation of habitat, for example through burning regimes (e.g. Aagesen 2004) or through grazing in relation to transhumance (e.g. Bunce *et al.* 2004), as in the case of the Sami in the Nordic countries. Such developments have had enormous influence not only on the ways in which parks are managed but also on how they are established and re-created for tourist consumption (Cohen 1993; Pedersen and Viken 1996; Hinch 1998; Waitt 1999; Muller 2003; Pettersson 2004). Importantly, this has also meant that indigenous populations have been brought back into the management and even ownership of national parks and protected areas, although the reconciliation of different management goals as well as ownership and the right to control decision-making processes is clearly a difficult one with many competing interests. The role of indigenous peoples has therefore changed considerably over time.

The influence of the Romantic movement on the establishment of national parks was extremely significant (Hall 1992a). The first call for the establishment of national parks in the United States came in 1832 from an artist, George Catlin, who on seeing the slaughter of buffalo on the Great Plains described the waste of animals and humankind to be a "'melancholy contemplation", but he found it "splendid" when he imagined that there might be in the future [by some great protecting policy of government] . . . a magnificent park', which preserved animals and the North American Indian 'in their pristine beauty and wildness'. 'What a beautiful and thrilling specimen for America to preserve and hold up to the view of her refined citizens and the world, in future ages! A nation's Park, containing man and beast, in all the wild and freshness of their nature's beauty!' Catlin's seminal call for 'a nation's park' highlighted the new mood in America towards wilderness. Almost exactly 40 years after Catlin's journal entry, President Ulysses S. Grant signed an Act establishing Yellowstone Park, creating the institution of which Catlin desired 'the reputation of having been the founder' (Catlin 1968: 8, 9).

Similarly, John Matson (1892) compared the efforts made in New Zealand to protect wildlife with the absence of such attempts in the Australian colonies and appealed for the creation of 'indigenous parks' in order to preserve the animal and bird life of Australasia. Significantly, Matson quoted New Zealand 'poet' George Phipps Williams to conclude his case for the preservation of Maori, wildlife and their habitat, in a manner which is reminiscent of Catlin:

Out in the wilderness is there no desolate space,
Which you may spare to the brutes of indigenous race?
Grant us the shelter we need from the pitiless chase. . . .
Gone are the stateliest forms of the apteryx kind,
Short is the space that the kiwi is lagging behind;
Soon you shall painfully seek what you never shall find.

(George Phipps Williams, *A Plea of Despair*,
in Matson 1892: 359)

Williams' comments, along with those of Catlin, may seem ill at ease with twenty-first century political and cultural sensibilities. However, in the late nineteenth century such sentiments were commonplace. Maori, along with other aboriginal peoples, were seen as the remnant of a dying race, and placing them in protected areas, so long as the land was not required for other economic purposes, was often seen as the most appropriate course of action. Despite the initial Romantic sentiments which helped create the momentum for the establishment of national parks, humans, including the aboriginal peoples who had often created the park landscapes through their food-gathering practices, were excluded from the parks through loss of ownership and access rights, management and regulatory actions and policing strategies. Such measures were the result of ecological and cultural blindness at best, and outright racism and cultural imperialism at worst, with park boundaries serving as the demarcation between the natural and the cultural in European eyes.

Although the political status of aboriginal peoples is still a highly contested issue in many societies, substantial shifts have occurred in management practices with respect to aboriginal peoples and their role in national parks and protected areas since the 1890s. A number of broad social and political factors in relation to the overall rights of aboriginal peoples have contributed to these changes, including:

- a renaissance of aboriginal culture in a number of western countries, which has led to renewed pride in traditional cultural practices;
- the withdrawal of colonial powers and the development of new modes of administration and management;
- the assertion of ownership of and/or access to natural resources through treaty settlements, protests and other legal and political channels;
- changed government policies with respect to native peoples, which have led to greater economic and political self-determination;
- greater political influence.

The management of protected areas has been substantially affected and a number of changes have occurred at the micro-level in parallel to the shifts which have occurred at the macro-political level. This has occurred in a number of different locations and jurisdictions, but aboriginal peoples have gradually had a greater involvement in national park management in Australia, Canada, New Zealand, northern Europe, South Africa and the United States (Muller 2003). Hall (2000c) identified several factors in influencing these processes:

- A recognition that many supposedly 'natural' landscapes are the product of a long period of aboriginal occupancy which has created a series of ecological conditions and relationships which are dependent on certain types of human behaviour. This means that the traditional knowledge of native peoples becomes a vital ingredient in effective ecosystem management at times of environmental change.
- Growth of the tourist appeal of some indigenous cultural attractions.
- Greater emphasis by park management authorities on the role of various stakeholder groups, including native peoples, in park management and the development of appropriate co-operative management strategies.
- Changed park management practices and strategies which are aimed at specifically satisfying the concerns and needs of native peoples, including, in some cases, the management of national park lands owned by native peoples, which are then leased to park management agencies.

One of the challenges in managing wilderness and protected areas is to be able to identify them. This is especially so given that, as discussed at the start of this chapter, it is clear that our relationship to nature is socially constructed. How, then, may this relationship be understood? Figure 7.1 illustrates the relationship between perceptions of nature and the physical constitution of the areas and sites under investigation. It is also noted that different research approaches are connected to different ways of understanding nature and wilderness, but that these approaches are brought together under the rubric of resource management, which typically seeks to integrate human and physical geographies in a relatively applied framework.

Since the early 1980s, there has been growing academic attention in the field of wilderness perception imagery (e.g. Kliskey 1994; Higham 1997). Stankey and Schreyer (1987), for example, demonstrate that wilderness perceptions may be shaped by a wide range of influences. These include social attitudes, cultural influences, recreational experiences, expectation and personal cognition. However, wilderness perceptions can also be mapped so as to gain a better understanding of visitor perceptions of different locations and

environments and the values placed upon them (Flanagan and Anderson 2008). Understanding the spatial distribution of recreationists based upon an appreciation of wilderness perceptions could contribute to the attainment of two fundamental goals: the maximisation of visitor satisfaction and the mitigation of environmental impact at tourist sites (Kliskey 1998, 2000; Alessa *et al.* 2008). Yet the management of protected areas requires the management not only of the visitor but also of the underlying resource upon which the visitor experience is based and which is, in many cases, the primary motivation for conserving an area. Therefore an extremely important area to which geographers have made a contribution is the identification and inventory of natural resources. This is illustrated in the next section with respect to the identification and inventory of wilderness.

Identifying wilderness

Although the values of wilderness are well recognised, for management and legislative purposes such values need to be translated by a method by which

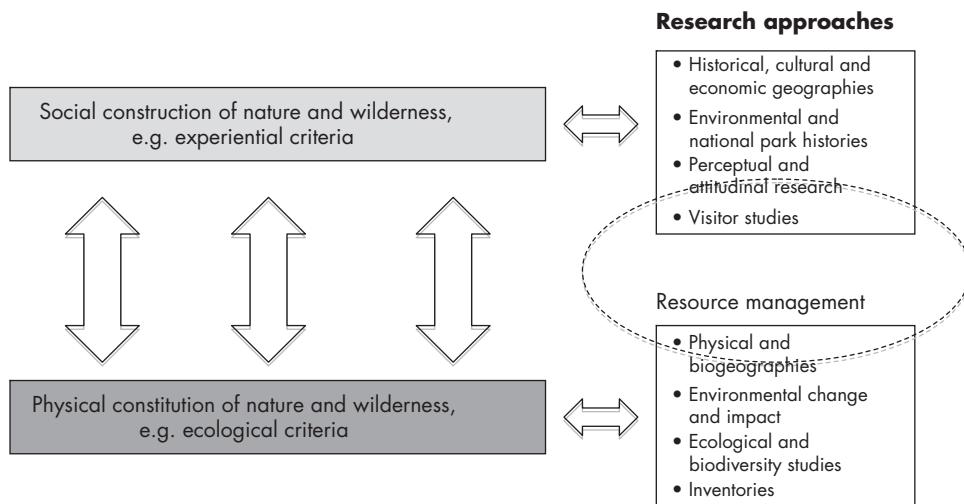


Figure 7.1 The relationship between the social construction and physical constitution of nature and wilderness

wilderness can be mapped in space and over time. In addition, such a process can assist in the provision of conservation, scientific and tourism information, technical advice, recognition of management issues and objectives, the integration of conservation and development, and the design of national and regional conservation systems.

According to Dasmann's (1973: 12) classification of national parks and equivalent reserves, wilderness areas have two principal purposes: 'that of protecting nature (defined as primary) and that of providing recreation for those capable of enduring the vicissitudes of wilderness travel by primitive means'. These purposes reflect the values of wilderness identified in the previous section. 'The area is maintained in a state in which its wilderness or primitive appearance is not impaired by any form of development, and in which the continued existence of indigenous animal and plant species is assured' (Dasmann 1973: 12). However, unlike some of the use limitations of strict natural areas, wilderness is available to recreationists (see also Table 7.2).

In 1984 the IUCN General Assembly recommended 'that all nations identify, designate and protect their wilderness areas on both public and private lands' (Resolution 16/34, in Eidsvik 1987: 19). Yet such measures need to have a basis by which wilderness can be identified if they are to succeed. Although wilderness inventory has been undertaken in the United States as part of the obligations under the Wilderness Act, probably the series of inventories that have been undertaken in Australia since the 1970s have been the most influential, especially with respect to the undertaking of inventories in Europe (Carver *et al.* 2002, 2012; McMorran *et al.* 2008; Comber *et al.* 2010; Ólafsdóttir and Runnström 2011; Orsi *et al.* 2013), where institutions are supporting the mapping of wild areas (European Parliament 2009). Therefore, it is to the Australian experience that we will now turn to illustrate some of the challenges of the inventory process. This is important because it is not just wilderness, but the entire set of wildness conditions of a given area that matter, because they reflect all the available functions, services and recreational opportunities offered by that

area (Joyce and Sutton 2009; Sæþórsdóttir and Ólafsson 2010b). Arguably two major issues become critical in such an exercise. The first is the need for consistency, i.e. the adoption of an approach that can detect the particular conditions of a location, e.g. morphology, extent of human presence, adapt to them and eventually supply results that are replicable between areas. The second problem is the need for inventory outputs that not only estimate the gradient of wildness across an area but also identify and cluster land parcels characterised by similar wildness conditions because these can then eventually be assigned a common management strategy (Lesslie *et al.* 1988a; Orsi *et al.* 2013). However, as will be seen, these elements have often been difficult in the Australian context.

Wilderness inventory in Australia

an inventory of potential wilderness areas should be compiled by all states and Territories, where possible in consultation with user groups. The inventory would assess areas within existing parks and extend to other land if appropriate. It would be desirable for a consistent approach to be adopted for the surveys.

(Council of Nature Conservation Ministers
(CONCOM) 1985: 7)

Definition is the major problem in the inventory of wilderness. The definition, and its accompanying criteria, provide the source from which all else flows. Two different conceptions of wilderness are generally recognised, one anthropocentric, the other biocentric or ecocentric. From the anthropocentric view, wilderness is seen from a perspective in which human needs are considered paramount. Adherents of this approach tend to ascribe a recreational role to wilderness. In contrast, the biocentric approach defines 'wilderness in ecological terms and [equates] wilderness quality with a relative lack of human disturbance' (Lesslie and Taylor 1983: 10).

The recreational values of wilderness have tended to be dominant in wilderness literature (Hendee *et al.* 1978). This is partly the result of the 'Americanisation' of the national park and wilderness concepts,

where the recreational perspective of United States research has predominated, but it is also probably related to the way in which the wilderness idea has developed (Nash 1963, 1990; P.E. Smith 1977; Stankey 1989; Oelschlaeger 1991; Frost and Hall 2009b). Nevertheless, over recent years the biocentric concept of wilderness has become increasingly important in research given the growth of the importance of ecological research relative to recreational research in national park and reserve management, as well as the growing importance of biodiversity conservation overall (Mittermeier *et al.* 2003; Hall 2010f).

Table 7.6 demonstrates the major features of the wilderness inventories that had been carried out in Australia until the methodology for the National Wilderness Inventory supported by the then Australian Heritage Commission had become well developed, as well as its continuation in the form of the national-level Vegetation Assets, States and Transitions (VAST) dataset for Australia (Thackway and Lesslie 2006, 2008; Lesslie *et al.* 2010). For each inventory the study area, wilderness definition, dimensional criteria, status of coastal areas, database and status of roadworks are recorded. The status of roadworks criterion is included because it provides a basis for comparison with the 'roadless area' concept that permeates American notions of wilderness (e.g. Strithold and Dellasala 2001), and also illustrates one of the major problems in standardising wilderness criteria (Bureau of Land Management 1978). As Lesslie and Taylor (1983: 23) observed, 'road definition is a major point of contention in the general wilderness literature. Controversy centres on the qualities which make a high grade road an unacceptable intrusion into wilderness and a low grade road a detrimental but nevertheless acceptable intrusion.'

The first Australian study of wilderness of any consequence, the wilderness study of eastern New South Wales and south-east Queensland by Helman *et al.* (1976) was designed as a model for future Australian wilderness inventories and it was applied in Victoria (Feller *et al.* 1979) and Tasmania (Russell *et al.* 1979). However, the inventory procedures may not be valid for arid and semi-arid environments because they were undertaken in relatively humid, forested and

mountainous environments (Lesslie and Taylor 1983); also, they failed to recognise the remoteness and primitiveness which constitute the key qualities of wilderness (Mark 1985). Stanton and Morgan's (1977) study of Queensland identified four key areas as fitting rigid conservation-based criteria, while 24 other areas were identified as being 'equivalent to the wilderness areas delineated by Helman *et al.* (1976) in their study of eastern Australia' (Morgan 1980).

Kirkpatrick's (1980) study of south-west Tasmania identified wilderness as a recreational resource, 'as land remote from access by mechanised vehicles, and from within which there is little or no consciousness of the environmental disturbance of western man' (Kirkpatrick and Haney 1980: 331). Kirkpatrick assigned absolute wilderness quality scores, which had not been attempted in Australian wilderness inventories, although it was characteristic of American ones. However, unlike the United States inventories, Kirkpatrick focused on the more readily quantifiable characteristics of wilderness: remoteness and primitiveness.

Remoteness and primitiveness are the two essential attributes of wilderness (Helburn 1977; Hall 1987). Remoteness is measured 'as the walking time from the nearest access point for mechanised vehicles', while primitiveness, which 'has visual, aural and mental components', is 'determined from measures of the arc of visibility of any disturbance . . . and the distance to the nearest disturbance' (Kirkpatrick and Haney 1980: 331). The identification of remoteness and primitiveness as the essential attributes of a wilderness area helped create the methodological basis for the wilderness inventory of South Australia by Lesslie and Taylor (1983, 1985) and provides the basis for a national survey of wilderness.

Lesslie and Taylor (1983) saw previous wilderness inventory procedures as unsatisfactory because they sought to express a relative concept in absolute terms. They identified four indicators of wilderness quality: remoteness from settlement, remoteness from access, aesthetic primitiveness (or naturalness) and biophysical primitiveness (or naturalness). These indicators were used to provide an inventory of relatively high quality wilderness areas in South Australia. The

Table 7.6 Australian wilderness inventories

Study and area	Definitions of wilderness	Dimensional criteria	Status of coastal areas	Status of roadworks	Database
Helman <i>et al.</i> 1976; Eastern New South Wales and south-east Queensland	Large area of land perceived to be natural, where genetic diversity and natural cycles remain essentially unaltered	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a minimum core area of 25,000 ha; a core area free of major indentations; a core area of at least 10 km in width; a management (buffer) zone surrounding the core of about 25,000 ha or more 	Coastal areas were not required to meet the dimensional criteria as rigidly as inland areas, due to their linear characteristics and the type of ecosystems and recreation they support	If roads do not seriously impair the user's perception of the wilderness or the natural functioning of the ecosystem and use can be controlled by management, their presence to a limited degree should not preclude wilderness status	Landsat images in conjunction with DNM 1:250,000 maps. Aerial reconnaissance to check results
Stanton and Morgan 1977; Queensland	An extensive pristine area with extremely limited access		No specific criteria	Roadworks are incompatible with the strict definition of wilderness	Aerial photographs at approximately 1:84,000. 1:1,000,000 maps.
Feller <i>et al.</i> 1979; Victoria	As for Helman <i>et al.</i> 1976	As for Helman <i>et al.</i> 1976, with special criteria for semi-arid and mountain wilderness, a minimum area of about 150,000 ha for semi-arid wilderness and 50,000 ha for mountain wilderness	Minimum area as close as possible to 50,000 ha; it may be smaller if: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> the core area is free of major indentations; there is a buffer on the landward side of the core; there is a reasonable length of coast included in the core 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> All two-wheel drive roads and substantial four-wheel drive tracks were excluded from the core. Substantial tracks were included only if they were dead-end and not often used; sealed and gravel roads were excluded from the core and buffer; an acceptable density of tracks was determined for each wilderness 	DNM 1:100,000 maps, aerial photographs at 1:20,000 to 1:50,000. Additional information from Forests Commission, National Parks Service and Land Conservation Council maps. Some field checking was carried out

(Continued)

Table 7.6 (Continued)

Study and area	Definitions of wilderness	Dimensional criteria	Status of coastal areas	Status of roadworks	Database
Russell <i>et al.</i> 1979: Tasmania	As for Helman <i>et al.</i> 1976, with special attention to exclusion of intrusions and the use of natural topographic boundaries to determine core area boundaries. Minimum areas of approximately 10,000 ha were also identified and delineated	The core of a wilderness area with a coastal boundary may extend to the coastline with an as yet undefined buffer zone extending into the surrounding coastal waters	The buffer zone boundary excluded all formed access roads and high-density or high-impact vehicular tracks. Vehicular roads and tracks were excluded from the inner core wilderness areas	No roadworks are included in wilderness areas	Lands Department 1:500,000, 1:250,000 geographic and 1:100,000 topographic maps. Land tenure maps at 1:100,000 and 1:250,000. Aerial photographs at 1:50,000. Some field checking
Kirkpatrick 1980: south-west Tasmania	An area of land remote from access by mechanised vehicles and within which there is little or no consciousness of the environmental disturbances of western man	Wilderness was assumed to exist in relatively undisturbed environments at places greater than 5 km or more from access point or human disturbance. Wilderness quality scores were derived from mathematical functions which represent the relationship between the intensity of the wilderness experience, the time/distance from the access point or nearest sign of human disturbance, and the proportion of the area of visibility occupied by signs of human disturbance	No special consideration	No roadworks are included in wilderness areas	Lands Department 1:100,000 and 1:250,000 map series. Additional information from the National Parks and Wildlife Service and the South West Tasmanian Resource Survey

Table 7.6 (Continued)

Study and area	Definitions of wilderness	Dimensional criteria	Status of coastal areas	Status of roadworks	Database
Lesslie and Taylor 1983; South Australia	Land which is remote from and undisturbed by the presence and influences of settled people	Wilderness quality was scaled according to four indicators: remoteness from settlement, remoteness from access, aesthetic primitiveness and biophysical primitiveness. Wilderness quality was then expressed as classes: very high, high or moderately high. Additive and weighted additive procedures ranked sites according to their wilderness value. High quality wilderness could then be distinguished	No special consideration	High grade roads were regarded as access points while low grade roads were treated as aesthetic disturbances. Wilderness quality relates to the density of linear structures (such as roadworks) per unit area. Four-wheel drive transport was seen as an appropriate wilderness travel mode in arid and semi-arid areas	DNM 1:250,000 and 1:100,000 topographic series, Department of Lands 1:50,000 topographic series and South Australian Royal Automobile Association Touring maps
Hawes and Heatley 1985; Tasmania	• largely free of evidence of human artefacts, activity and disturbance; • remote from substantial human artefacts and areas where there is substantial human activity or disturbance; and • remote of access	Land whose direct remoteness (the map distance between that point and the nearest intrusion) and access (remoteness (the minimum time separation between that point and any access point) are d and t respectively, for a suitable choice of values d (km) and t (hours and days))	• regular use of mechanised vehicles is regarded as a major intrusion; • no special provision was made for the use of mechanised vehicles as coastal areas by it was assumed that use was still low due to the relative inaccessibility	The following were regarded as major intrusions: • all roads, and all vehicular tracks accessible to and frequently used by off-road vehicles; • all areas where mechanised transport is intensively used or where the use of such transport has led or is likely to lead to the formation of permanent tracks or cause long-term environmental disturbance	1:100,000 maps of Tasmania and 1:500,000 vegetation map of Tasmania; primitive country and wilderness were identified manually on 1:500,000 maps

(Continued)

Table 7.6 (Continued)

Study and area	Definitions of wilderness	Dimensional criteria	Status of coastal areas	Status of roadworks	Database
Lesslie <i>et al.</i> 1987; Prece and Lesslie 1987: Victoria	As for Lesslie and Taylor 1983	Modification of Lesslie and Taylor methodology for ease of digitising, storing and spatially organising wilderness quality indicators through a grid cell framework. (NWI Stage I)	No special consideration	Three grades of road and track access were distinguished according to the level of access and the degree of use: major two-wheel drive roads; minor two-wheel drive roads; and four-wheel drive tracks	DNM 1:100,000 topographic maps, Department of Conservation Forests and Lands regional maps, RAC Victoria Guide maps, governmental reports, land tenure information and personal knowledge
Lesslie <i>et al.</i> 1988a: Tasmania	As for Lesslie <i>et al.</i> 1987	NWI Stage II, as for Lesslie <i>et al.</i> 1987	No special consideration	As for Lesslie <i>et al.</i> 1987	National 1:250,000 topographic mapping grid, of Tasmania, 1:100,000 topographic maps, 1:25,000 1:500,000 vegetation map topographic series, RAC Tasmania touring information, Forestry Commission 1:100,000 maps, large-scale aerial photography, Forestry Commission Tasmania GIS Forest type database National 1:250,000 topographical mapping grid
Lesslie <i>et al.</i> 1991a: Cape York Peninsula, Queensland	As for Lesslie <i>et al.</i> 1987	NWI Stage III	No special consideration	As for Lesslie <i>et al.</i> 1987	In addition to the three grades utilised in previous National Wilderness Inventory stages a fourth grade of access was distinguished: very low – established but unconstructed vehicle access routes (e.g. beach access) and cleared lines; established walking tracks; cleared land
Lesslie <i>et al.</i> 1991b: Kangaroo Island, South Australia	As for Lesslie <i>et al.</i> 1987	NWI: South Australia	Lakes, rivers and oceans included as natural bodies		National 1:250,000 topographical mapping grid, 1:100,000 map series, Department of Lands 1:50,000 map series

Table 7.6 (Continued)

Study and area	Definitions of wilderness	Dimensional criteria	Status of coastal areas	Status of roadworks	Database
Manidis Roberts Consultants 1991: Western New South Wales	A wilderness area is a large tract of land remote at its core from access and settlement, substantially unmodified by modern technological society or capable of being restored to that state, and of sufficient size to make practical the long-term protection of its natural system	Combination of Helman <i>et al.</i> 1976 and NWI methodology in order to indicate prospective wilderness areas	Not applicable	A paved road excludes the surrounding land from a wilderness area classification. Tracks and loose surface roads are acceptable in small quantities, because it is possible to reduce the impact and restore the wilderness value. Walking track and maintenance track impacts are not considered to reduce wilderness value substantially	Literature review, contacts within the network of conservation groups, 1:100,000 scale maps, by NATMAP and the Central Mapping Authority
Lesslie <i>et al.</i> 2010: Australia	As for Lesslie <i>et al.</i> 1987	A minimum size criterion was imposed (8,000 ha for temperate environments in eastern and southern Australia and 50,000 ha for remote and pastoral areas). A minimum size of 20,000 ha applied in Victoria. For Western Australia a high Total Wilderness Quality value and an area of greater than 100,000 ha were used	No special consideration	As for NWI	Combines data derived from the Australian Land Disturbance Database, satellite imagery, land use and vegetation datasets

DNM: Division of National Mapping
NWI: National Wilderness Inventory
RAC: Royal Automobile Club

Source: adapted from Hall 1992a: 12–17.

attributes of remoteness and primitiveness may be expressed as part of a continuum which indicates the relative wilderness quality of a region (Figure 7.2). Such a continuum or gradient approach can accommodate the ecological and recreational characteristics of a far wider range of environments than can the inventories formulated for the higher rainfall areas of Australia (Lesslie and Taylor 1983; Hall and Mark 1985; Hall 1987; Lesslie *et al.* 1987; Lesslie 1991; Manidis Roberts Consultants 1991; Thackway and Lesslie 2006, 2008).

The variation in approaches to wilderness inventory in Australia is 'systematic of confusion concerning the definition of wilderness, since areas which satisfy biocentric considerations need not be consistent with areas which satisfy anthropocentric considerations' (Lesslie and Taylor 1983: 11). Indeed, given the nature of the wilderness experience it has long been recognised that the area required to satisfy recreational criteria for wilderness may be much smaller than the area required for maintaining the ecological balance of a region (Valentine 1980). Therefore, the experiential criterion for wilderness remains substantially different from the ecological criterion and the concept of 'wilderness experience' must be separated from that of 'wilderness area'. As Lesslie and Taylor (1983: 14) observed, there has been an 'almost universal tendency to confuse the benefits derived from wilderness with the nature of wilderness itself, a point of crucial importance in the delineation, inventory and management of wilderness. Hence, the two attributes which are definitive of wilderness, remoteness from the presence and influences of settled people, and primitiveness, the absence of environmental

disturbance by settled people, need to be based at the high quality end of the wilderness continuum in order to accommodate the anthropocentric and biocentric dimensions of wilderness (Taylor 1990; Lesslie 1991). In Australia, the methodology of Lesslie and Taylor (1983), modified in the 1987 Victorian inventory (Lesslie *et al.* 1987; Preece and Lesslie 1987), comes closest to achieving this goal and served as the model for other studies within the National Wilderness Inventory (NWI), discussed below. Lesslie *et al.*'s (1987) methodology is able to indicate low quality wilderness areas which are not indicated in an inventory along the lines of Helman *et al.* (1976), but which may nevertheless be of significant conservation and recreation value (Hall 1987).

National wilderness inventory and beyond

In 1987 the Australian government, through the then Australian Heritage Commission, initiated the NWI to provide information in order to improve decisions about wilderness conservation (Lesslie *et al.* 1991b). This action arose from 'the rapid decline in area and quality of relatively remote and natural lands in Australia and in recognition that an inventory of the remaining resource was the necessary first step in formulating appropriate measures for conservation and management' (Lesslie *et al.* 1991a: 1).

The NWI had three main emphases (Lesslie *et al.* 1988a): to compile a national wilderness database; to refine database maintenance procedures and analytical techniques; and to produce information relevant to policy and management issues. Several inventories were conducted under the auspices of the National Wilderness Inventory, including surveys of Victoria (Lesslie *et al.* 1987; Preece and Lesslie 1987), Tasmania (Lesslie *et al.* 1988a), South Australia (Lesslie *et al.* 1991b) and Queensland (Lesslie *et al.* 1991a). In 1990 the NWI was accelerated to provide a comprehensive coverage for the whole of Australia. The NWI was later renamed the Australian Land Disturbance Database, comprising databases of total wilderness quality and biophysical naturalness (Lesslie and Maslen 1995) as well as wilderness of potential national significance

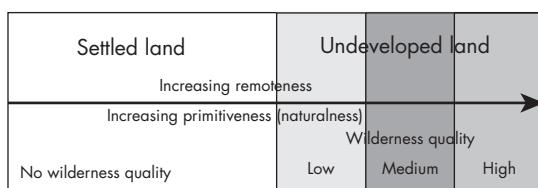


Figure 7.2 The wilderness continuum

Source: Hall 1992a.

identified from existing databases in 2000. These datasets were then used in the Vegetation Assets, States and Transitions (VAST) dataset for Australia (Lesslie *et al.* 2010), together with satellite imagery, land use and vegetation datasets, to give a national picture of vegetation condition which further identified areas of high wilderness quality. The VAST classification orders native vegetation condition in a spectrum from *naturally bare* (VAST 0), *residual* (VAST I), through *modified* (VAST II), *transformed* (VAST III), *replaced* (*adventive* (VAST IV) or *managed* (VAST V)), to *removed* (VAST VI) (non-vegetated) (Lesslie *et al.* 2010). Wilderness of potential national significance was therefore assigned to the VAST residual class. (See Table 7.7.)

The evaluation of wilderness in the NWI and subsequent datasets is based upon the notion of wilderness quality as a continuum of remote and natural conditions from pristine to urban. A spatial framework utilising the techniques of Geographic Information Systems (GIS) is used to sample variation in values of the four wilderness quality indicators. There are two major advantages in using a GIS to formulate wilderness evaluation databases. First, the approach is open-ended: new data may be added and current data modified as has been the case with VAST (Lesslie *et al.* 2010), which also offers the potential to see the impact of future developments, land use change and other forms of environmental change on wilderness quality and levels of biophysical naturalness. Second,

the process is spatially flexible, enabling scale to be matched to purpose. Furthermore, maps showing the distribution of wilderness identified in the inventory can be generated rapidly and efficiently in order to assist decision-making (Lesslie and Maslen 1995; Lesslie *et al.* 1993, 2010; Thackway and Lesslie 2006).

Inventories provide a systematic means of ensuring the designation areas of high environmental quality: 'Recognition of wilderness is the necessary first step towards protecting, appreciating and managing wilderness areas' (Manidis Roberts Consultants 1991: 2). However, identifying an area as wilderness does not, by itself, ensure that its wilderness qualities can be maintained; this may only be done through the appropriate legislation and management. 'Decisions of this kind are inevitably judgemental, requiring comparative assessments of the social worth of alternative and often conflicting landuse opportunities' (Lesslie *et al.* 2008b: v).

The Australian Council of Nature Conservation Ministers (CONCOM) (1986: 8) proposed that the following key criteria be used to identify and evaluate land which has potential as a wilderness area:

- *remoteness and size*: a large area, preferably in excess of 25,000 ha, where visitors may experience remoteness from roads and other facilities;
- *evidence of people*: an area with minimal evidence of alteration by modern technology.

However, CONCOM (1985) criteria may be contrasted with the United States wilderness legislation, which suggests as a guideline for minimum wilderness size an area of 5,000 acres (2,023 ha), and where impacted ecosystems may be included if they contribute to the viability and integrity of the wilderness area. One of the ironies of the criteria for wilderness identification chosen by CONCOM is that they exclude many of the wilderness areas that have already been established under state legislation! According to CONCOM (1986: 4), 'Wilderness areas are established to provide opportunities for the visitor to enjoy solitude, inspiration and empathy with his or her natural surroundings'. The CONCOM position is to preserve the 'wilderness experience', not necessarily the

Table 7.7 Area of the VAST condition class 1 (residual) for Australian states and territories

Territory	area (hectares)	% of total area
Australian Capital Territory	103,900	44.08
New South Wales	8,945,000	11.18
Northern Territory	93,732,200	69.67
Queensland	57,555,000	33.34
South Australia	46,610,600	47.45
Tasmania	3,532,600	53.05
Victoria	3,074,300	13.56
Western Australia	171,949,200	68.19
<i>Total</i>	<i>385,502,800</i>	<i>50.25</i>

Source: Lesslie *et al.* 2010.

intrinsic qualities of wilderness. However, to preserve wilderness mainly for recreational values is to ignore the significant range of other values of a wilderness area (see pp. 268–274) (Watson *et al.* 2009).

Unlike the United States government, the Australian government does not have vast areas of federal land upon which wilderness legislation would be readily enforceable. State governments, which under the Australian constitution have primary control over land use, regard the reservation of wilderness areas under appropriate legislation as being a state responsibility, and several states have enacted specific legislation for wilderness (e.g. New South Wales, South Australia) or have developed wilderness policies under existing state national parks laws (e.g. Western Australia). This situation therefore means that unless the federal government exercises its constitutional powers in relation to the environment, any Australian national wilderness system may be achieved only through consensus between the Commonwealth and the various state and territory governments. However, the political controversy surrounding wilderness conservation in Australia means that this is not very likely. Indeed, the renaming by the Australian federal government of the NWI as a disturbance database, with disturbance referring to that resulting from post-European technological and population impacts, perhaps reflects the politically charged nature of wilderness (Dovers 2000a). Nevertheless, the NWI and its successors still serve as valuable management tools by which to evaluate the potential loss of wilderness quality which new developments might bring and the potential corresponding loss of visitor satisfaction.

Managing tourist and recreational demand for wilderness and protected areas

Tourism and recreation have increasingly become significant as one of the main values attached to wilderness and its conservation, with substantial increases in demand for access to wilderness in recent years. Demand for tourist or recreational experience of

wild country or wilderness may be related to two major factors: (1) changing attitudes towards the environment; (2) access to natural areas.

The increase in demand for contact with nature has gone hand in hand with the production of natural areas for tourist consumption. While the setting of a boundary for a national park may be appropriate for assisting conservation management, it can also serve as a marker for tourist space. In the same way that notions of rurality are complex spaces of production and consumption (see Chapter 6), so it is that the ideas of wilderness and naturalness are bound up in the commodification of landscapes for tourist and recreational enjoyment (Olwig and Olwig 1979; Short 1991; Evernden 1992; Mels 1999, 2002; Saarinen 2001, 2005). For some, such a perspective is at odds with the mythology that national parks are ecological rather than cultural landscapes but, as R. Nash (1982: 1) noted, wilderness is 'heavily freighted with meaning of a personal, symbolic and changing kind'. Although the personal meaning of wilderness may not be of great value when it comes to the designation of wilderness areas from a biocentric perspective which concentrates on actual rather than perceived naturalness (see p. 269), it is of value in terms of the recreation and tourism values of wilderness. For example, Higham's (1997) examination of the dimensions of wilderness imagery by international tourists in the South Island of New Zealand found that the desire for remoteness is reinforced in the similar high regard for the scale of the location ('big enough to take at least two days to walk across'). However, there is also a desire for the provision of safeguard mechanisms to reduce risk, with the provision of search and rescue operations receiving the highest mean score of all listed variables. The desire for swing bridges and walkwires over watercourses, signposting and well-marked and maintained tracks confirms the widely held desire for wilderness recreation in a natural but relatively safe and humanised environment. Furthermore, the placing of restrictions upon access and group size was widely considered acceptable by international visitors.

Higham's (1997) research raises important questions about the role of accessibility to wilderness

areas and the cultural context from which visitors approach wilderness areas. Indeed, issues of access are now presenting major management problems in wilderness and national parks. For many years access to wilderness was restricted by both the nature of the terrain and the capacity of individuals to travel there. Up until the Second World War the main means of access to most national parks was by train, with many of the national parks in the New World actually being developed in association with the railroads (Hall 1992a; Runte 2010). However, in the post-war period there was a substantial increase in the proportion of personal car ownership, thereby increasing accessibility of parks. National park management agencies also promoted themselves to the public through 'parks for the people campaigns'. Herein, though, lies the critical situation in which many parks and wilderness managers now find themselves. National parks were originally established to provide both recreational enjoyment and conservation (Hall 1992a). The founders of the park movement, though, such as John Muir, could never have imagined the almost continuous growth in demand for park access from tourists and recreationists seeking to escape the urban environment. The situation now sees traffic jams occurring in some parks, congestion on walking tracks, displacement of local users by tourists, increased pollution and other adverse environmental impacts, and reduced visitor satisfaction. Within this context, therefore, park and wilderness managers are now seeking both a better understanding of their visitors and how they may be satisfied, and strategies to find a better match between visitor needs and the capacities of the resource to be used, yet to retain the values that attract people in the first place (Hall and McArthur 1998; Taff *et al.* 2013). Historically, tourist profiles have been generated to assist in the planning and management of visitor demand at a particular destination, attraction or site. Analysing tourist demand has traditionally been based on one of two main approaches: a socio-economic approach and a psychological or psychographic approach that also includes lifestyle analysis (Roberts and Hall 2004; see Chapter 2).

Another major issue in terms of tourism and recreation in national parks and wilderness areas is the

extent to which tourism economically benefits such peripheral areas (Rudkin and Hall 1996; Weaver 1998; Walpole and Goodwin 2000; Hall and Boyd 2005). As an influential World Wildlife Fund publication on ecotourism states:

One alternative proposed as a means to link economic incentives with natural resources preservation is the promotion of nature tourism. With increased tourism to parks and reserves, which are often located in rural areas, the populations surrounding the protected areas can find employment through small-scale tourism enterprises. Greater levels of nature tourism can also have a substantial economic multiplier effect for the rest of the country. Therefore, tourism to protected areas demonstrates the value of natural resources to tourists, rural populations, park managers, government officials and tour operators.

(Boo 1990: 3)

Tourism and recreation in natural environments can undoubtedly bring economic benefits in some cases both to communities on the periphery and to the wholesalers and suppliers of such experience if managed appropriately, and it is for this reason that increasing attention is being given to the supply of the experience of wild nature (Fennell 1999). However, a number of issues are starting to emerge with the potential impact of visitors not just on the landscape but also on individual species (MacLellan 1999; Woods 2000; Orams 2002; Hall and Boyd 2005), as well as the distribution of where money is spent and how long expenditure stays within local economies (see Chapter 4).

Supplying the wilderness and outdoor recreation experience

In many ways the idea that one can 'supply' a wilderness or outdoor recreation experience seems at odds with the implied freedom of wilderness. However, the tourism industry is in the business of producing such experiences, while national parks and wilderness

areas, by virtue of their formal designation, are places which have been defined as places where such experiences may be found (Arnould *et al.* 1998; Zegre *et al.* 2012). One of the most important transformations in the production of leisure on the periphery has been the way in which the initial construction of national parks as places of spectacular scenery and national monuments for the few were transformed into places of mass recreation in the 1950s and 1960s and to places of tourist commodification in the 1980s and 1990s, particularly through the notion of ecotourism.

A number of different meanings were applied to the concept of 'ecotourism' (Valentine 1992; Weaver 1998, 2001; Fennell 2001; Higham and Lück 2002) which range from 'shallow' to 'deeper' statements of the tourism environment relationship:

- ecotourism as any form of tourism development which is regarded as environmentally friendly and has the capacity to act as a branding mechanism for some forms of tourist products;
- ecotourism as 'green' or 'nature-based' tourism, which is essentially a form of special interest tourism and refers to a specific market segment and the products generated for that segment;
- ecotourism as a form of nature-based tourism that involves education and interpretation of the natural environment and is managed to be ecologically and culturally sustainable.

Many destinations around the world are now focusing on the supply of an ecotourism product as a means of tourism development (Fennell 1999; Garrod and Wilson 2003). Unfortunately, much of the ecotourism promotion best fits into the shallow end of the ecotourism spectrum, in that much of it revolves around the branding of a product or destination rather than seeking to ensure sustainability. Indeed, one of the greatest problems of ecotourism is the extent to which such experiences can be supplied without a limit on the number of people who visit natural areas, as visitation may lead not only to environmental damage, but also to perceptions of crowding, thereby reducing the quality of the experience (Boller *et al.*

2010; Needham *et al.* 2011). As Kearsley *et al.* (1997: 71) noted, 'From the viewpoint of tourism . . . it is the impact of tourists upon tourists that has increasingly led to concern. Issues of crowding, displacement and host community dissatisfaction have risen to prominence.'

Crowding is a logical consequence of rising participation in outdoor recreation and nature-based tourism activities (Gramann 1982; Needham 2013). It should therefore be no great surprise that crowding is one of the most frequently studied aspect of wilderness recreation (Shelby *et al.* 1989). Indeed, many issues in wilderness management and outdoor recreation, such as satisfaction, desired experiences, carrying capacity and displacement, are all related to the primary issue of crowding. Furthermore, social carrying capacity is increasingly being recognised as the most critical of all types of carrying capacity, since ecological impacts can often be controlled by management actions other than limiting use levels; for example, facilities may be extended and made more effective, and physical capacities are usually high (Shelby and Heberlein 1984; Needham *et al.* 2011).

Importantly, crowding should not be confused with density. Density refers to the number of individuals in a given area, while crowding refers to the evaluation of a certain density (Graefe *et al.* 1984a, 1984b). Shelby *et al.* (1989) identified four sources of variation in perceptions of crowding:

- *temporal variation*: variation either in terms of the time or season within which outdoor recreation activities are taking place – for example, weekends and public holidays are likely to experience higher than average use densities thereby resulting in inflated perceptions of crowding;
- *resource availability*: variation of resource availability (e.g. the opening and closing of tracks in alpine areas) may act to alter the presence of people at recreational sites;
- *accessibility*: distance (expressed in terms of time, cost, spatial or perceived distance) will affect crowding and densities, particularly if there is little or no recreation resource substitution;

- *management strategies:* management can intervene directly (e.g. use restrictions) or indirectly (e.g. de-marketing) to reduce visitor numbers at recreation sites.

Shelby *et al.* (1989) also investigated the hypothesis that crowding perceptions would vary according to the type of recreational use, although they were not able to resolve this hypothesis. However, recreational use history is a substantial factor in influencing perceptions of crowding. Concerns over crowding are also closely related to issues of social carrying capacity in wilderness and outdoor recreation areas. Social carrying capacity in recreation areas 'has typically been defined as a use level beyond which some measure of experiential quality becomes impaired' (Graefe *et al.* 1984b: 500). However, there is no 'absolute value' of social carrying capacity and there is no single response to specific levels of use in a particular area. Instead, indicators of social or behavioural capacity will be dependent on the management objectives for a given recreation site. Shelby and Heberlein (1986: 21) therefore refined this definition to read: 'Social carrying capacity is the level of use beyond which social impacts exceed acceptable levels specified by evaluative standards.'

Several factors have been identified as influencing crowding norms, with a number of variables contributing to the interpretation of increasing recreational use density as perceived crowding:

- *visitor characteristics:* motivations, preferences and expectations, previous use experiences, visitors' attitudes towards wilderness;
- *characteristics of those encountered:* type and size of groups encountered, behaviour of those encountered, perceptions of alikeness;
- *situational variables:* type of area and location within an area.

Manning (1985) concluded that crowding norms are extremely diverse, yet the significance of visitor characteristics as a factor and the psychographic variables which comprise this factor indicate the possibility of a high degree of agreement being reached on

crowding norms within particular subsets of the recreational population. This latter possibility highlights the importance of managers having a good understanding of the psychographic and demographic profiles of their visitor base in order to optimise levels of visitor satisfaction and attainment of management objectives (Manning *et al.* 2010).

Density alone therefore provides no measure of visitor satisfaction. Satisfaction will be determined by expectations, prior experiences and commitment to the recreational activity. Perceptions of crowding are therefore influenced by use densities, but this relationship is mediated by a range of other factors and variables (Graefe *et al.* 1984a). Indeed, a range of reactions or coping strategies are possible in recreationalist response to decreased recreational satisfaction, which may result not only from crowding, but also from such factors as littering, noise and worn-out campsites (e.g. Anderson and Brown 1984; Hardiman and Burgin 2011). Such reactions include:

- modifying behavioural patterns (e.g. by camping rather than using developed facilities);
- changing time of visit or use (e.g. visiting in shoulder or off-peak periods in order to avoid conflicts with other users);
- changing perceptions, expectations and recreation priorities, e.g. developing a new set of expectations about a recreational setting in order to maintain satisfaction;
- recreational displacement, where those who are most sensitive to recreational conflicts seek alternative sites to achieve desired outcomes.

Of the above strategies, recreational displacement is probably the most serious from the manager's perspective as displacement appears to be a reality of wilderness use regardless of the level of recreational experience (Becker 1981; Anderson and Brown 1984). Therefore, increases in numbers of visitors to wilderness and other natural areas, particularly at a time when such areas have to cope with their promotion as places for ecotourism experiences as well as the pressures of traditional recreation users, may lead to a

BOX 7.3 WILDERNESS AND GLOBAL ENVIRONMENTAL CHANGE: THE ARCTIC

Although human impacts have long been recognised as a threat to the integrity of wilderness area they have usually been seen in terms of immediate or relatively short-term impacts in the form of erosion, changed species behaviour or reduction of naturalness. Arguably, a far more serious long-term impact that is also wider in scale is that of global and regional environmental change (Hall and Higham 2005; Gössling and Hall 2006a; Scott *et al.* 2012). One of the most affected areas is the Arctic (Arctic Climate Impact Assessment (ACIA) 2004), which is warming at nearly twice the rate of the rest of the globe, and increasing greenhouse gases from human activities are projected to make it even warmer, with the region projected to warm an additional 7–13°F (4–7°C) by 2100.

Such rapid climatic change is affecting both terrestrial and marine polar ecosystems. More than any other species, the polar bear (*Ursus maritimus*) has become a symbol of global climate change, evidenced by images in the popular media of polar bears 'struggling' to survive in a warming Arctic climate. Although some of these images may be misleading, across the Arctic many polar bear populations are under threat due to significant decreases in the extent, thickness and increased variability of sea-ice (Dawson *et al.* 2010). The polar bear tourism industry that has developed in Churchill, Canada, is threatened by declining sea-ice conditions on Hudson Bay. Projections are that over the next 30 years sea-ice conditions may deteriorate to the point that the polar bear population may collapse in this region (Dawson *et al.* 2010). However, the polar bear is not the only polar species threatened by climate change. Other terrestrial iconic species such as musk ox, caribou and reindeer may also experience a decline in numbers as a result of climate change (Tyler 2010), while seal populations are also affected by the changing abundance and dynamics of sea-ice (Scott *et al.* 2012).

Polar ecosystems are also particularly vulnerable to environmental change as their species richness prior to the current period of anthropogenic-induced change is low, with correspondingly low levels of redundancy making it relatively easier for new species to outcompete existing species in the same ecological niche. The general vulnerability of Arctic ecosystems to warming and the lack of adaptive capacity of Arctic species and ecosystems are therefore likely to lead, where possible, to relocation rather than rapid adaptation to new climates (Hall 2010k; Hall *et al.* 2010). Overall in such a situation tourism may only add another level of stress on Arctic species and ecosystems at the very time that the Arctic will potentially become more accessible for nature-based tourism activities.

decline in wilderness qualities as users are displaced from site to site. The case of crowding and other variables which influence visitor satisfaction and behaviour, including displacement, highlights the significance of understanding the factors of supply and demand of the recreation and tourist experience (see Chapters 2 and 3). Just as importantly, they indicate the need for sound planning and management practice in trying to achieve a balance between the production and consumption of tourism and recreation, particularly in environmentally sensitive areas.

Conclusion

This chapter has highlighted a number of areas in which geographers have contributed to research and scholarship in the tourism and recreation periphery. From the topophilia of Tuan (1974), the sacred space of Graber (1978) and the breathtaking historical analysis of Glacken (1967), geographers have been at the forefront of understanding the human relationship not only to the natural environment, and wild lands in particular, but also to the behaviours of tourists and

recreationists in the wilderness. In addition, geographers have assisted in developing techniques to identify wilderness areas, undertake environmental histories and cast light on their values. More recently, geographies have been at the forefront of understanding the development and management of nature-based tourism (Valentine 1992; Fennell 1999, 2001; Weaver 2001), including the impact of human visitation on wildlife (Orams 2002, 2005; Higham and Shelton 2011).

As a resource analyst, the geographer therefore 'seeks to understand the fundamental characteristics of natural resources and the processes through which they are allocated and utilised' (Mitchell 1979: 3). The geographer's task is also relayed by Coppock (1970: 25), who has made remarks of direct relevance to a better understanding of the relationship between tourism, recreation and wilderness conservation: 'A concern with problem solving and with the processes of human interaction with resources, particularly in respect of decision making, will powerfully assist a more effective geographical contribution to conservation.'

Further reading

On the development of wilderness and national park ideas, see:

Nash, R. (1982) *Wilderness and the American Mind*, 3rd edn, New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

Oelschlaeger, M. (1991) *The Idea of Wilderness: From Prehistory to the Age of Ecology*, New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

Runte, A. (2010) *National Parks: The American Experience*, 4th edn, Lanham, MD: Taylor Trade Publishing.

On wilderness inventories in Europe, see:

Carver, S., Evans, A. and Fritz, S. (2002) 'Wilderness attribute mapping in the United Kingdom', *International Journal of Wilderness*, 8(1): 24–9.

Orsi, F., Geneletti, D. and Borsdorf, A. (2013) 'Mapping wildness for protected area management: a methodological approach and application to the Dolomites UNESCO World Heritage Site (Italy)', *Landscape and Urban Planning*, 120: 1–15.

For an international overview on national parks and tourism, see:

Frost, W. and Hall, C.M. (eds) (2009a) *Tourism and National Parks: International Perspectives on Development, Histories and Change*, London: Routledge.

For an excellent introduction to some of the problems encountered in the management of natural areas, see:

Newsome, D., Moore, S. and Dowling, R. (2002) *Natural Area Tourism: Ecology, Impacts and Management*, Clevedon: Channel View.

Questions to discuss

- 1 Is wilderness only a concept of the New World or does the concept also have relevance to western Europe?
- 2 Is the methodology of Australia's national wilderness inventory easily transferable to other countries?
- 3 What are the main factors which influence crowding norms?

Coastal and marine recreation and tourism

The coast is a magnet for tourists and recreationists, although its role in leisure activities has changed in time and space, as coastal destinations have developed, waned, been re-imaged and redeveloped through time. The coastal environment is a complex system which is utilised by the recreationist for day trips, while juxtaposed to these visits are those made by the domestic and international tourist. However, the understanding and focus of this system have shifted over time. Pearce and Kirk (1986) identified three elements to the coastal environment: the *hinterland* (where accommodation and services are provided); the *transit zone* (i.e. dunes); and the *recreational activity zone* (beach and sea). This model typifies much of the research by geographers prior to the 1990s: to observe, describe, record, synthesise and model recreational and tourism phenomena in pursuit of an explanation of the spatial relationships and nature of the coast. In Lavery's (1971b) analysis of resorts, the distinction between recreation and tourism is blurred but the coastal resort was a dominant element of the observed patterns and models of tourism activity. The pursuit of explanations of the spatial structure of coastal tourism and preoccupation with the resort morphology have led to the replication of a multiplicity of studies that look at the similarities and differences between resorts in different parts of the world.

This assessment may equally be applied to the recreational activities of visitors to the coastal environment since this neglect is not germane to tourism alone. This was confirmed by Patmore (1983: 209) since, 'For such extensive resource, it has been little studied in any comprehensive fashion'. As Page and

Connell (2010) observed, the coast has attracted a great deal of interest from social scientists (e.g. anthropologists, sociologists, historians, cultural studies, transport studies and coastal and environmental science) but this has not yielded a body of knowledge that adequately explains why the coast continues to be a magnet for leisure use. Indeed, ocean and coastal tourism is widely regarded as one of the fastest growing areas of contemporary tourism (Pollard 1995; Kim and Kim 1996; Orams 1999), especially the rise of cruising (Rodrigue and Notteboom 2013), with its distinct itineraries that are concentrated in North American, European, Caribbean and Asian waters, with distinct relationships with the coastal areas and ports and their perceived safety for visitors (Bowen *et al.* 2012). While tourism development has been spatially focused on the beach for much of the post-war years, as witnessed, for example, in the slogan of the four 'S's of tourism – sun, sand, surf and sex – the coastal and the marine environment as a whole has become one of the new frontiers and fastest growing areas of the world's tourism industry (Miller and Auyong 1991). The exact numbers of marine tourists remain unknown, although Zacarias *et al.* (2011) indicated that in Spain 0.001 per cent of the beach area generated 10 per cent of GDP; Miami Beach had a tourism economy worth US\$2.4 billion and Florida US\$65 billion. As many studies of the environmental impact of tourism acknowledge, the selling of 'sun, sand and surf experiences', the development of beach resorts and the increasing popularity of marine tourism (e.g. fishing, scuba diving, windsurfing and yachting) have all placed increased pressure on the coast, an area for which use may already be

highly concentrated in terms of agriculture, human settlements, fishing and industrial location (Miller 1993). However, because of the highly dynamic nature of the coastal environment any development which interferes with the natural coastal system may have severe consequences for the long-term stability of the environment (Cicin-Sain and Knecht 1998). Indeed, in the United States, the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration (NOAA) recognised that,

Of all the activities that take place in coastal zones and the near-shore coastal ocean, none is increasing in both volume and diversity more than coastal tourism and recreation. Both the dynamic nature of this sector and its magnitude demand that it be actively taken into account in government plans, policies, and programs related to the coasts and ocean. Indeed, virtually all coastal and ocean issue areas affect coastal tourism and recreation either directly or indirectly. Clean water, healthy coastal habitats, and a safe, secure, and enjoyable environment are clearly fundamental to successful coastal tourism. Similarly, bountiful living marine resources (fish, shellfish, wetlands, coral reefs, etc.) are of critical importance to most recreational experiences. Security from risks associated with natural coastal hazards such as storms, hurricanes, tsunamis, and the like is a requisite for coastal tourism to be sustainable over the long term.

(NOAA 1997)

The concept of coastal tourism embraces the full range of tourism, leisure and recreationally oriented activities that take place in the coastal zone and the offshore coastal waters. These include coastal tourism development (accommodation, restaurants, food industry and second homes) and the infrastructure supporting coastal development (e.g. retail businesses, marinas and activity suppliers). Also included are tourism activities such as recreational boating, coast- and marine-based ecotourism, cruises, swimming, recreational fishing, snorkelling and diving (Miller and Auyong 1991; Miller 1993; Wiener *et al.*

2009). Marine tourism is closely related to the concept of coastal tourism but also includes ocean-based tourism such as deep-sea fishing and yacht cruising. Orams (1999: 9) defines marine tourism as including 'those recreational activities that involve travel away from one's place of residence and which have as their host or focus the marine environment (where the marine environment is defined as those waters which are saline and tide-affected)'. Such a definition is significant, for as well as having a biological and recreational base it also emphasises that consideration of the elements of marine and coastal tourism must include shore-based activities, such as land-based whale watching, reef walking, cruise ship supply and yachting events, within the overall ambit of marine tourism.

This chapter seeks to review the principal ways in which the geographer has approached the coastal and marine environment. In particular, it highlights the reluctance of geographers to adopt a holistic understanding, whereby recreation and tourism are analysed as competing and yet complementary activities using the same resource base. The chapter commences with a discussion of the way in which the coast, and the beach in particular, was created by recreationalists and tourists. Like wilderness areas, the discovery of the coast as a potential resource for leisure use illustrates that leisure resources are *created*: they exist in a latent form until their discovery, recognition and their development lead to their use. In most geographical analyses of the coastline as such a resource, the value of an historical approach is acknowledged in virtually every textbook on resorts. And yet the geographer has been largely remiss in addressing this vital theme – how the resource was discovered and developed in time and space, with a number of exceptions of individual resorts and classic studies (e.g. Gilbert 1939). It developed in the human consciousness, supplanting perceptions of the coastal zone as a repulsive environment once the lure of the seaside marked a changing sensibility in society. For this reason, historical reconstructions of the coastal environment need to recognise the way in which the resource was discovered, popularised and developed, and assumed a cultural significance in society.

Coastline as a recreation and tourist resource: its discovery and recognition as a leisure resource

The beach as we know it is, historically speaking, a recent phenomenon. In fact, it took hundreds of years for the seashore to be colonised as the pre-eminent site for human recreation . . . A proscenium for history, the beach has become a conspicuous signpost against which Western culture has registered its economic, aesthetic, sexual, religious, and even technological milestones.

(Lenček and Bosker 1999: xx)

The perception of the beach as a natural resource for leisure has changed throughout history. For example, the European acceptance of the beach embodied notions of utility which replaced a reverence for the sea and images of nature dominating human existence in the littoral zone. In the Romantic period the beach represented a site for pleasure, spiritual exercise and a positive experience. The symbolic value of the beach was also incorporated in poetry and landscape painting, and created a new sensibility and practices. This brought new social, psychological, economic and spatial prestige to a landscape as a place of leisure and pleasure (see Lenček and Bosker 1999). In Corbin's (1995) *The Lure of the Sea: The Discovery of the Seaside 1750–1840*, the dramatic changes in western attitudes towards the sea, the seaside and the landscape are reviewed in a European context. As a French translation of the European literature, it provides a fascinating reconstruction of those elements in western society which contributed to the discovery of the coast as a leisure resource (i.e. Romanticism) and the impact on perceptions of the seaside. The publication of Jane Austen's *Sanditon* in 1817, heralded as the first 'seaside' novel, was a parody of coastal tourism as a fashion-driven experience with health and recuperative benefits. Yet the discovery of the pleasure qualities of the coast and the transformation from the classical period 'knew nothing of the attraction of seaside beaches, the emotion of a bather plunging into the waves, or the pleasures of a stay at the seaside. A veil of repulsive images prevented the seaside from

exercising its appeal' (Corbin 1995: 1). What the period 1750 to 1840 witnessed was a fundamental reassessment of the ways in which leisure time and places were used with the evolution of the seaside holiday. Within that evolutionary process the beach was invented as part of a resort complex. As Figure 8.1 identifies, the coast as a resource has gone through a process of invention, rejection and rediscovery, and this has occurred at different times and in various spatial contexts since no two countries have identical patterns of development in coastal tourism and recreation (Page and Connell 2010).

The beach developed as the activity space for recreation and tourism, with distinct cultural and social forms emerging in relation to fashions, tastes and innovations in resort form. The development of piers, jetties and promenades as formal spaces for organised recreational and tourism activities led to new ways of experiencing the sea. The coastal environment, resort and the beach have been an enduring resource for tourism and recreation since the 1750s in western consciousness, with their meaning, value to society and role in leisure time remaining a significant activity space. The coastal environment has distinct spatial characteristics, as Figure 8.2 illustrates, which ranges from the highly developed resort towns that have pre-occupied the analysis of the tourism area life cycle (TALC) through to more, isolated and remoter locations (Butler 2006; Page and Connell 2010).

Indeed, the beach 'invites watchers to unearth not only the dominant, culturally elite themes of a period, but its popular sensibilities: a blank piece of real estate on which each wave of colonizers puts up its own idea of paradise' (Lenček and Bosker 1999: xx): in short, the coast represents a liminal landscape in which the juncture of pleasure, recreation and tourism is epitomised in the postmodern consumption of leisure places (Preston-Whyte 2002). However, as Preston-Whyte (2004) acknowledged, the discussion on beaches as liminal spaces needs to be deepened, particularly the dominance of a western perspective that assumes liminality to be associated with heightened sensibilities associated with the temporary suspension of normal states, and a paucity of empirical exploration of the nature of the symbolism of these

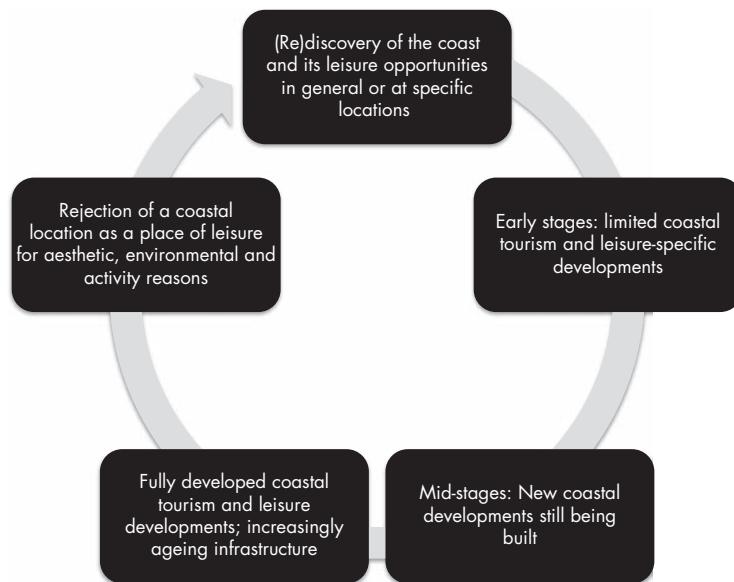


Figure 8.1 The cyclical life course of society's approach to coastal leisure

Source: adapted from Page and Connell 2010.

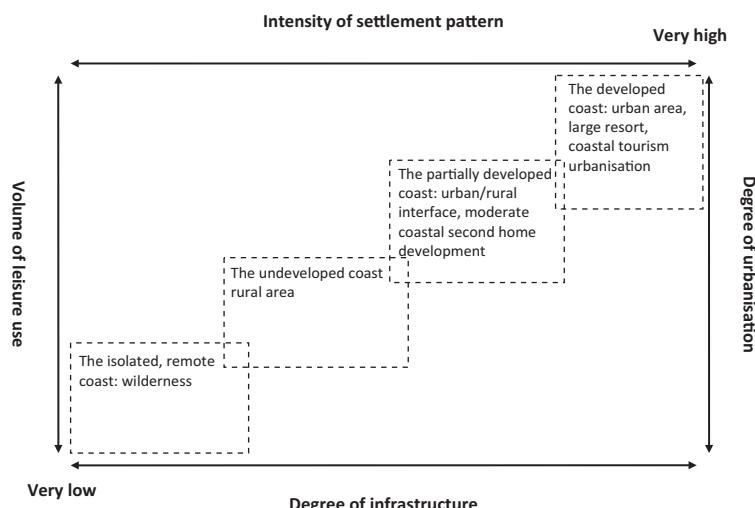


Figure 8.2 The scope of the coastal environment

Source: Page and Connell 2010.

spaces. Preston-Whyte (2004) argued that two main issues need to be addressed. First, the human actors, with their cultural discourse and symbols to conceptualise and tame the beach, and the non-human actors that constitute the material conditions of the beach itself with its attractions and dangers, must be dealt with on equal terms. Second, dualisms such as nature/culture, that feature so strongly in socio-spatial analysis (Murdock 1997; Watmore 1998, 2000; Cloke and Johnston 2005a), need to be addressed. In doing so, Preston-Whyte (2004) believed that researchers would then be in a better position to understand the cryptic comment made by Richard in Alex Garland's influential novel (and subsequent film) *The Beach*: 'It doesn't matter why I found it so easy to assimilate myself into beach life. The question is why the beach life found it so easy to assimilate me' (Garland 1997: 116, quoted in Preston-Whyte 2004: 357).

As Edgerton (1979) observed, for some Californian beaches in the 1970s, 400,000 visitors a day was not uncommon. Given the spatial distribution of beaches in California (Figure 8.3 indicates the distribution of state beaches), this is a dominant cultural element of the region's leisure culture. In fact, in 2001 the visits to California's top three state beaches were: Santa Monica (7.8 million visits), Lighthouse Field (7.3 million visits) and Dockweiler (3.8 million visits). Beach visits generated US\$75.4 million in travel and tourism expenditure for the Californian economy, supporting up to one million jobs and generating a further US\$4.8 million in tax revenue. The scale of such visits also illustrates the evolution of California's beaches as a leisure playground (Löfgren 2002; Dwight *et al.* 2007), popularised in popular culture in the 1950s by the diffusion of surfing from Waikiki beach in Hawaii. In the 1960s, the evolution of a Californian beach music culture (e.g. the Beach Boys) generated a new stimulus to beach use, especially with the rise of the beach party. The 1970s and 1980s saw additional stimuli which have continued the beach culture, particularly the television series *Baywatch* (Löfgren 2002).

As Braun and Soskin (2002) show in relation to Daytona Beach, Florida, day-trippers to coastal areas

can help stabilise seasonal fluctuations in visitor demand. Yet, conversely, they can also increase resource degradation due to volume of use, generate image problems and additional policing and maintenance costs. This has led researchers such as Zacarias *et al.* (2011) to assess the recreation carrying capacity for beaches. Their study of Faro beach in Portugal concluded that 1,328–2,628 beach users a day was the optimum threshold for its recreational carrying capacity, while the socio-cultural capacity was much lower at 305–608 visitors a day. In fact economists utilising Willingness to Pay methodologies (see Birdir *et al.* 2013) highlighted that in a study of Turkey beach users were prepared to pay €1.90–2.30 for a visit to the beach if the fee was used to improve the environment (including the cleanliness and maintenance of the resource). Rolfe and Gregg's (2012) valuation study of Australian beaches placed the value of beach visits at \$587.3 million.

The beach is therefore an environment where, sometimes, hordes of people are prepared to tolerate overcrowding to experience the human–nature environmental landscape – being at one with nature so that the sun, sea and sand can be experienced in the tourist and recreationalist consciousness and pursuit of the liminal existence.

The geographer's contribution to the analysis of coastal recreation and tourism

The coast has emerged as one of the popular, yet hidden and underplayed elements in the geographer's application of the hallmark traits of spatial analysis, observation and explanation. From the early context for economics, such as Hötelling's (1929) model of ice-cream sellers on the beach, to Weaver's (2000) model of resort scenarios, the coast has assumed a significance as a context for research, but not as a veritable resource for the legitimate analysis of tourism and recreation. This dependence on the coast as a laboratory for the analysis of spatial concepts, interdependencies and the application of geographical methodologies does not adequately reflect the

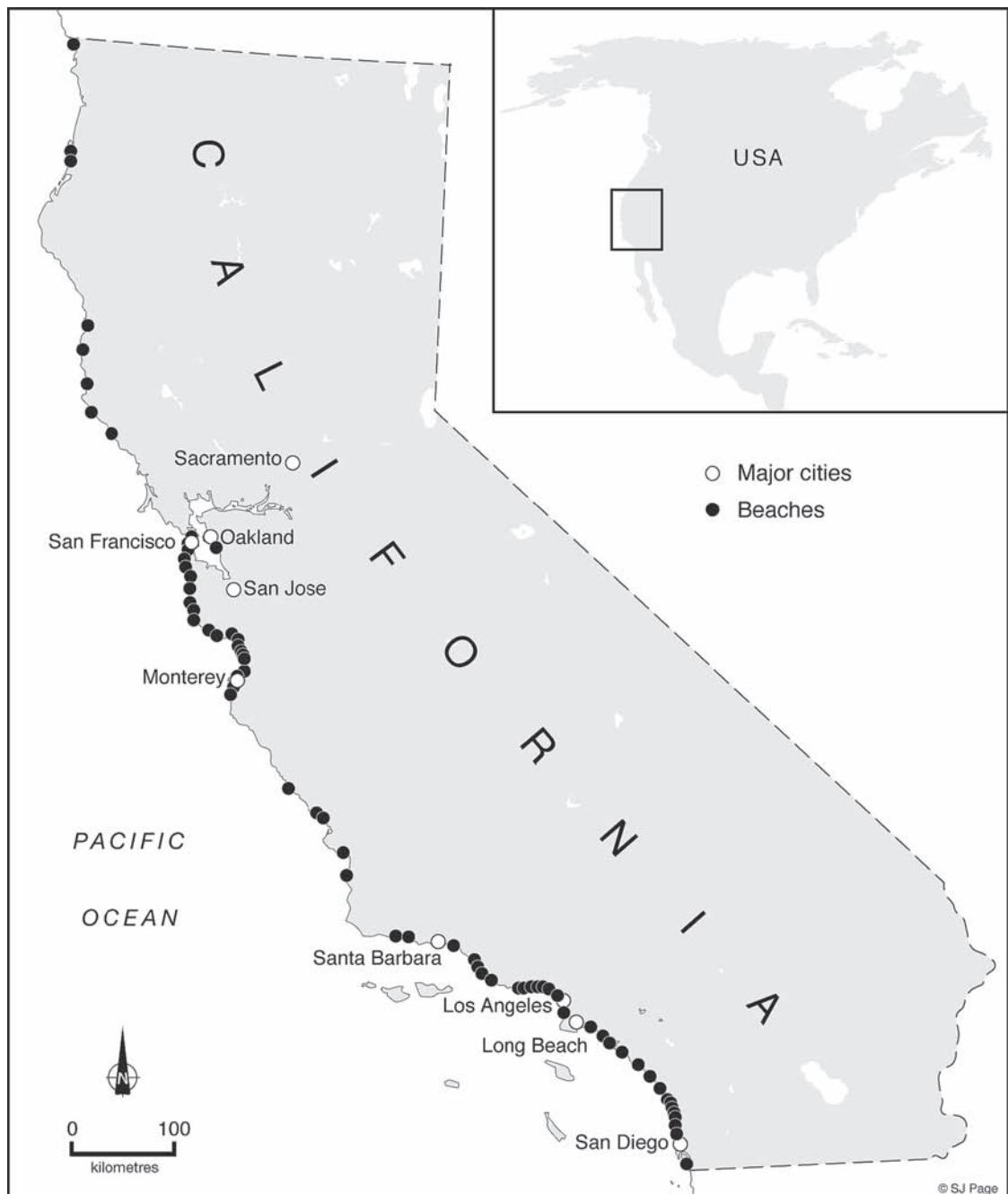


Figure 8.3 Spatial distribution of beaches in California

cultural and leisure significance of the beach and coastline in recreational and tourism activity in time and space. To the contrary, locating a landmark study which embodies the coastline as one of the most significant resources for recreation and tourism is notoriously difficult. The literature is fragmented, with tourism and recreational geographers seemingly obdurate given their reluctance to move this theme higher up the research agenda to fully appreciate its wider significance in modern-day patterns and consumption of day trips and holidaymaking. Despite the fact that the coast remains one of the most obvious contexts for tourism and recreation, it is poorly understood. Research is reliant on a host of very dated and highly disjointed studies of the coastal environment. Despite the publication of two important works in the 1990s (Fabbri 1990; Wong 1993b), the area has barely moved forward in the mainstream tourism literature. This is extremely problematic for both tourism and recreation studies and geographers, as observed by Page and Connell (2010), where the wider social science contributions have not expanded the spatial dimensions.

The early interest in coastal tourism and recreation (e.g. Gilbert 1939; Patmore 1968; Lavery 1971b; Pearce and Kirk 1986) has not been accompanied by a sustained interest; as a result, the research published has been highly specialised (see Table 8.1) and not been situated in a wider ecosystem/environmental context where the interconnections and sustainability of coastal environments can be understood in a holistic context. Nevertheless, geographers have contributed to the historical analysis of resorts, in conjunction with seminal studies by social historians such as Walton (1983), and have formulated models to describe the process of development and change. However, as Page and Connell (2010) argued, the evolution of the coastal environment has also emerged as a socially stratified manner (Figure 8.4). Figure 8.4 illustrates that the beach has emerged in a democratised manner, in those countries that do not allow privatisation of the beach, as the use of the coast has gradually permeated down the social scale and gradually appealed to a mass audience, as beach spaces have been consumed by larger audiences.

The main dynamics of change, combined with temporal and spatial seasonality embodied in tourist and recreational travel to the coast, have remained an enduring theme in the geographer's analysis of this resource for leisure (e.g. Houghton 1989). The recreational and tourist behaviour which occurs in the coastal environment has also generated a number of seminal studies (i.e. Mercer 1972; Cooper 1981), while the physical geographers have made valid studies of the processes affecting vulnerable coastal environments. This has been complemented by studies of the pattern and impact of resort development, which raises important conservation issues associated with the human–environment interactions in these environments. Even so, some of these early models have been challenged in recent studies of Boracay, Philippines (Smith *et al.* 2011), and Benidorm (Baidal *et al.* 2013). In the latter case, the ability of a resort to adapt by reinventing itself, providing differentiated products and innovating in terms of providing new services, has challenged the conventional notion of the direction resort development follows. Finally, geographers have also made useful contributions to the policy, planning and management of coastal environments. But what marks this area out in the geography of recreation and tourism is the sparse nature of these studies within the mainstream literature, with the entire theme seeming almost unfashionable and knowledge often being based on findings from studies published in the 1960s, 1970s and 1980s, despite the significance of Fabbri's (1990) and Wong's (1993b) collections of papers on the topic by geographers and non-geographers (e.g. Phillips and House 2009). As a result, the following section examines the different contributions geographers have made and the significance to increasing our knowledge of the coast in the formation of distinct leisure and tourism geographies.

Historical analysis of recreation and tourism in the coastal zone

In many Anglo-American geographical analyses of recreation and tourism the English seaside resort is a popular topic for discussion and it is often portrayed as a salutary lesson with respect to the rise and fall of

Table 8.1 Illustrations of the geographer's contribution to the analysis of coastal recreation and tourism

Theme	Examples
Historical analysis of recreation and tourism in the coastal zone	Gilbert (1939) The development of coastal resorts Naylor (1967) The development of tourism in Spain Patmore (1968) Spa resorts in Britain Robinson (1976) Geography of tourism and resort development Barke and Towner (1996) The evolution of tourism in Spanish resorts Towner (1996) Synthesis of the process of development of resorts and patterns of tourism Stansfield and Rickert (1970) The recreational business district
Models of recreation and tourism	Miossec (1977) The process of resort development Pigram (1977) Analysis of beach resort morphology Britton (1982) Model of postcolonialist resort development Jeans (1990) Analysis of beach resort morphology in England and Australia Weaver (2000) Destination development scenarios
Tourist and recreationalist travel to the coast	Patmore (1971) Routeways and tourist/recreational travel Wall (1971, 1972) Patterns of travel by Hull car owners Mercer (1972) Recreational use of Melbourne beaches
Tourist and recreationalist behaviour	Coppock (1977a) Second home ownership Cooper (1981) The behaviour and activities of tourists in Jersey Wong (1990) Recreational activities in coastal areas of Singapore Walmsley and Jenkins (1994) Perception of coastal areas Pearce (1998) Tourist time budget study in Vanuatu Tunstall and Penning-Rowsell (1998) Beach user perceptions in England May (1993) Survey of South England Morris (1996) Environmental management in coastal Spain Burns <i>et al.</i> (1990) Analysis of coastal processes affecting the SW Cape coastline in South Africa
Resort development	Pearce (1978) The form and function of French resorts Wong (1986, 1993a) The development of island tourism in Peninsular Malaysia Morrison and Dickinson (1987) Costa Brava in Spain Kent <i>et al.</i> (2002) Water supply and coastal resorts in Mallorca McEwen <i>et al.</i> (2002) Flood warning and caravan parks
Conservation of coastal environment	Kirkby (1996) Recreation and the quality of coastal water in Spain White <i>et al.</i> (1997) Special Area Management and coastal tourism resources in Sri Lanka Leafe <i>et al.</i> (1998) Shoreline management Turner <i>et al.</i> (1998) Sustainable management of the coastline Barke and Towner (2003) Sustainable tourism in Andalucia Wong (2003) Coastal erosion in South-East Asia
Human–environment interactions within coastal environments	Edwards (1987) Ecological impacts of tourism on heritage coasts in the UK Carter <i>et al.</i> (1990) Impacts on the Irish coastline McDowell <i>et al.</i> (1990) Impacts on the Costa del Sol Catto (2002) Anthropogenic pressure on coastal dunes
Management and planning of coastal areas for recreation and tourism	Pearce and Kirk (1986) Carrying capacity for coastal tourism Carter (1988) The coastline as an area to manage for recreation and tourism Ghelardoni (1990) Planning the Aquitaine coastline in France for tourism Nielsen (1990) Constructing a recreational beach in Denmark Nichols (1999) Integrated coastal management
Business and economic dimensions of coastal development	Dumas (1982) The commercial structure of Benidorm Penning-Rowsell <i>et al.</i> (1992) Economics of coastal management

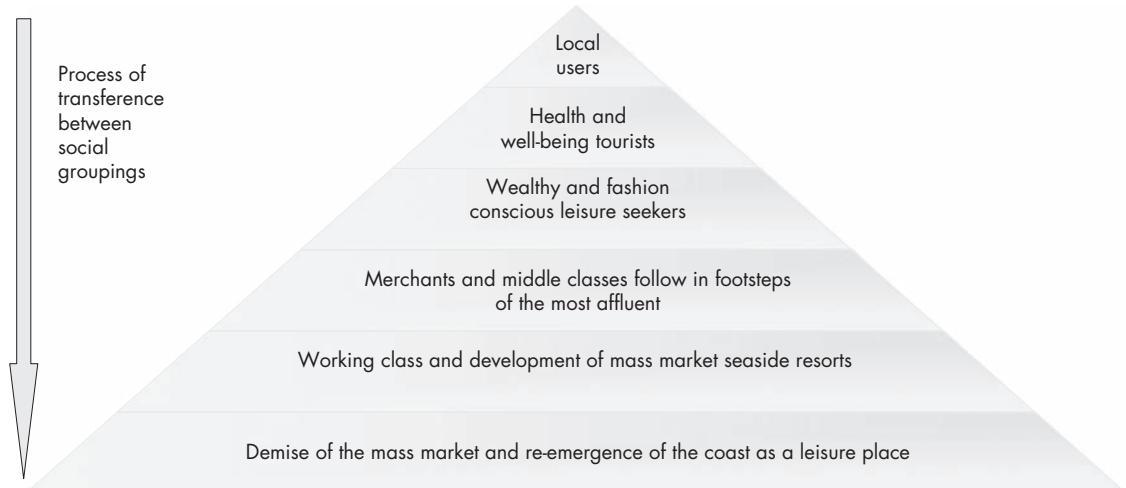


Figure 8.4 Evolution of the coast as a leisure environment

tourism destinations. Indeed, A.M. Williams and Shaw's (1998) interesting analysis of the rise and fall of the English seaside or coastal resort examined two principal concerns of the historical geographer and contemporary tourism geographer: continuity and change in the development, organisation and prospects for the resort. Most analyses of the English seaside resort by geographers (e.g. Patmore 1968) refer to the seminal studies by E.W. Gilbert (1939, 1949) and the doctoral thesis by Barrett (1958). Despite these influential studies, the most notable contributions to the analysis of English resorts came from the social and economic historians, such as Walton (1983), and the geographical analysis by Towner (1996). What these studies emphasise are the role of historical sources, such as the census, development plans, advertising, photographic archives and other documentary sources, in reconstructing the recreational and tourism environments in coastal areas in the Victorian, Edwardian and subsequent periods. Specific phenomena, such as the English holiday camp, examined by Ward and Hardy (1986), are also charted using similar sources. An illustration of the importance of examining the historical issues in the development of the coast as a tourism and leisure resource is seen in Box 8.1.

In each of the studies of the English seaside resort, geographers have sought to map and analyse the changing dynamics of resort development. A number of useful historical analyses of Spanish coastal tourism exist (e.g. Barke and Towner 1996; Walton and Smith 1996), which review the emergence of coastal areas in the era during and after the Grand Tour. The late nineteenth and early twentieth century patterns of coastal tourism in Spain, and the dynamics of tourist circuits, were reconstructed from historical guidebooks. The relationship of tourist circuits, the evolution of the Spanish railway system and the development of tourist accommodation highlighted the consumption of leisure resources, particularly the evolution of seaside resorts. Walton and Smith (1996: 57) concluded that 'The importance of the quality of local government to resort success has been strongly apparent in studies of English resorts, but its role in San Sebastian was even more impressive'. Evaluations of coastal resources, such as the development of the England and Wales Heritage Coastline (Romeril 1984, 1988), have emerged as an historical resource. In other countries (e.g. the USA and Australia), historical studies of coastal tourism and recreation (see Pigram 1977; Miller 1987; Jeans 1990; Pigram and Jenkins 2006) have considered resorts, their life cycles

BOX 8.1 PROMOTION OF THE SEASIDE RESORT: PLACE-PROMOTION STRATEGIES

Following the promotion of spa resorts in the UK, with the royal patronage of individual sites such as by Queen Anne in 1702, the link with the coast was harnessed where spa resorts were located in seaside locations as spa visitors began to bathe in the sea and use the beach. 'By the 1730s Brighton and Margate, along with Scarborough, had distinct seabathing seasons' (Ward 2001: 31). But the rise of the coastal resorts did not simply mirror those of earlier spa resorts. The seaside, with its beach and sea, were not in private ownership, providing opportunities for different social classes to partake of the pleasures of the coast. As Walton (1983: 190–1) argued, 'At the seaside rich and poor, respectable and ungodly, staid and rowdy, quiet and noisy not only rubbed shoulders . . . they also had to compete for access to, and use of, recreational space'. This reflects the improved access. For example, in the 1820s London Steamers to Thanet in Kent improved access, as did the railway in the period after the 1840s, initially as day excursionists then as holidaymakers.

To encourage visitors, resorts in the nineteenth century engaged in place-promotion strategies, building on the more crude methods which predate this period, such as guidebooks, limited newspaper advertising and editorials in popular national journals such as the *Gentleman's Magazine* (Brown 1988). One of the prime movers in place-promotion was the railway companies. While some resorts produced guidebooks to promote their wares, the railway companies used newspapers, posters and handbills to promote day excursions. This in turn also helped shape place-images and stereotypes of individual resorts, where hedonism and cheap excursions were popular (e.g. Blackpool). In contrast, private promoters of railway tours such as Thomas Cook adopted a more educative approach to tours, aiming the products at specific niches rather than the mass market.

Blackpool, among the UK resorts, entered the place-promotion role after the Lancashire and Yorkshire Railway's fare policy threatened its excursion and holiday business from working class areas. By an Act of 1879, the town council levied a local tax on the rates to undertake advertising at railway stations, attractions and amusements in the town. Not only did the town's Advertising Committee start with illustrated brochures aimed at the middle class market, but after 1881 Blackpool posters began to appear to publicise attractions, the Blackpool Tower, constructed in 1894, and the illuminations, introduced after 1912. In France, railway advertising on the Compagnie de l'Ouest after 1886 saw colour posters introduced to advertise coastal destinations. Soon, individual resorts also used this method of place advertising, despite the expense and print runs of up to 6,000. Due to the cost many posters in France were displayed for up to three years and brochures would also have a similar life expectancy.

In the UK, the railway companies approached this method of promotion more cautiously (Ward 2001). Although some companies produced posters for individual resorts, such as 'Skegness is so bracing' by the Great Northern Railway in 1908, this was not the norm. Indeed, the Local Government Board in 1914 deemed municipal advertising on tourism inappropriate despite Blackpool's highly developed publicity programme on the rates. Even so, a 'highly competitive resort selling game' (Ward 2001: 37) existed in the UK, and only limited powers were granted prior to 1914. After 1914, the UK saw a greater resort and railway company partnership in place-promotion, with the Health Resorts and Watering Places Act 1921 allowing resort municipalities the right to spend up to a 1d rate on certain forms of advertising. After this point, co-operative railway-resort marketing emerged, although the 1930s saw greater pressure for local authorities to increase their marketing and place-promotion activities as the car and charabancs opened up

new day trip markets. In the case of the most prolific railway advertiser, the Great Western Railway (GWR), A. Bennett acknowledged that

The GWR's literary and visual representations drew heavily upon the concept of departure, that is, the qualitative distinction between daily or accepted routine and that of a special experience. Departure could assume an historical form, a particular location, an aesthetic appreciation or the sheer, exuberant pleasures of the seaside . . . GWR marketing also stressed the experience of the journey itself in its various forms, as a spectacle, an adventure and often as a unique and glamorous event . . . These were brought together in prestige advertising, a dimension of place marketing.

(Bennett 2002: 3)

The iconography of railway poster advertising provides not only an expression of place-marketing, but also a distinct style and mode of representing the imagery of the coast for potential visitors (Hewitt 1995). As Bennett (2002) observed, the GWR view of the seaside had two key elements: that of a fashionable and exclusive 'watering place' for certain locations (e.g. Torquay) and that of family-based resorts (e.g. Paignton and Porthcawl). GWR also took a lead role in the overseas marketing of Britain, with its influential role in developing the Travel Association of Great Britain and Ireland, to promote the country overseas due to the economic benefits of inbound tourism.

Ward (2001) acknowledged that the 1920s were the heyday of railway company place-promotion and the 1930s saw municipalities increase their role. By 1939, Blackpool was producing 150 holiday guides to send to potential visitors, while resorts began a greater market segmentation, attracting conferences off-season. Therefore what this Box shows is that a number of agents and actors in coastal resorts (e.g. the railway companies and municipalities) devised a wide range of promotional tools to sell and advertise their localities. This was highly controversial in the Victorian, Edwardian and inter-war periods and remains so even to the present day. It is also interesting to note that entrepreneurial companies like GWR created images and marketing strategies which saw a massive investment in tourism advertising. This was very influential in developing new and repeat business among the domestic and overseas markets, with carefully targeted market positioning of specific resorts to meet the expectations, desires and perception of prospective visitors.

and development in a longitudinal context. The historical geography of specific resorts has provided a focal point for research, where a range of factors explain why resorts developed where they did, why they developed and the pace and scale of change. This often remains a starting point for most analyses of the coast as an evolving resource for leisure use.

Models of coastal recreation and tourism

In the early studies of coastal recreation and tourism (e.g. Gilbert 1939), the major contribution to spatial

knowledge was predicated on developing models which had a universal or more general application. D.G. Pearce (1995a) reviewed models of resort development, acknowledging the role of historical antecedents (e.g. the role of developers in developing resorts for different social classes). Using the resort life cycle developed by Butler (1980), various factors were used to explain similarities and differences in development paths and the resulting morphological structure of the resort. D.G. Pearce (1995a) identified the problem of tourism functions being added to existing urban centres in coastal locations where a day trip market may also exist. What Pearce concluded was

that 'a spectrum of coastal resorts exists, ranging from those with a wholly tourist function, notably the new planned resorts, to those where a significant amount of tourist activity occurs alongside a variety of other functions' (Pearce 1995a: 137). Interestingly, this reiterates the earlier typology developed by Lavery (1971c) in a recreational context, where a similar notion of a continuum was implicit but not explicitly developed. What Pearce (1995a) could have added is that the local recreational market in many resorts will numerically outnumber the tourist market, though the behaviour of the former is very much more climatically conditioned and opportunistic as they have more alternative leisure opportunities.

Among the most widely cited models of the resort is Stansfield and Rickert's (1970) discussion of the impact of consumption on resort morphology. Their resulting model, identified as the Recreational Business District (RBD), utilised earlier concepts from urban morphology models where central place functions of urban centres exist. The RBD, as distinct from the CBD, was viewed as the locale for recreational services and activities. Stansfield and Rickert (1970: 215) defined the RBD as 'the seasonally oriented linear aggregation of restaurants, various specialty food stands, candy stores and a varied array of novelty and souvenir shops which cater to visitors' leisurely shopping needs'. Although the model was based only on two New Jersey seaside resorts, the important distinction for current cultural interest in coastal recreation and tourism was that the RBD was not only an economic manifestation but also a social phenomenon. Similar relationships between the CBD, which is spatially detached from the RBD in resorts, was an important focus for research in the 1970s and 1980s. Had such models been developed in the 1990s, the research agenda and formulation of the model framework would have been very different. A greater emphasis would potentially have been placed upon the supply dynamics which created the RBD (i.e. the role of capital) (Judd and Fainstein 1999), the cultural and social meaning attached to the tourist, and recreationalists' experience of the RBD as a place in time and space (Britton 1991). It would arguably not be viewed in a static context, since the processes of change and evolution of the

RBD to accommodate consumer tastes would be more emphasised.

In the emerging tourist destinations of the Asia-Pacific (Hall and Page 2000), the RBD is a more complex phenomenon where the addition of hawker stalls, souvenir sellers and the informal economy combine to create a distinct entertainment district. D.G. Pearce (1995a) identified the addition of a night-life function in Patong, Phuket (Thailand), where the commodification of sex tourism is an additional function evident in the RBD (Ryan and Hall 2001). In integrated resort development in the Asia-Pacific, the RBD function is typically incorporated as a key function, e.g. Densarau Island in Fiji (Smith 1991, 1992a, 1992b; Xie *et al.* 2013). Land use zoning and the spatial separation of accommodation from the RBD to increase resort carrying capacity in locations such as Cancun (Gormsen 1982) highlighted the use of spatial concepts to manage tourist development. Pigram's (1977) influential study of morphological changes in Surfers Paradise (Queensland, Australia) between 1958 and 1975 recognised the spatial separation of the RBD and CBD. Yet relatively little interest has been shown in models of beach use, with a notable exception (Jeans 1990) where a semiotic model was developed. This model distinguished between the resort, which represented culture, and the sea, which represented nature. What emerged was a transitional zone between culture and nature, a zone of 'ambiguity' – the beach. A second axis of meaning was also recognised, where the beach zone had a social periphery, where nonconformists (i.e. semi-nude and nude bathers and surfers) inhabited the area.

Tourist and recreational travel to the coast

Within the tourism literature, the role of transport as a facilitating mechanism to explain tourist travel, patterns of tourism and development has only belatedly been acknowledged (Page 1994b, 1998, 1999, 2005, 2009a). There are a number of seminal studies (e.g. Patmore 1968) in explaining the development of spas. Similarly, Pearson's (1968) study of the evolution of coastal resorts in East Lincolnshire illustrated the geographers' interest in the transport dimension.

Patmore's (1971: 70) recognition that 'Deep-rooted in the very concept of outdoor recreation is the "journey to play", the fundamental movement linking residence or workplace to recreation resource. Such movement varies in scale, in duration and frequency.' A similar analogy may also be applied to tourism, and geographers have utilised a wide range of concepts from transport geography to analyse the patterns of travel for coastal activity by recreationalists and tourists. As Patmore (1971) recognised, it is the identification of the routeways (the lines of movement) and the link to nodes of intensive leisure activity which have preoccupied geographers' analysis of tourism and recreational travel, seeking to model and understand this phenomenon (Mansfield 1969). As Patmore argued:

The crux of recreational planning is therefore the location, design and management of a relatively limited number of sites devoted wholly or partially to recreation, together with a concern for the routes which link them both to each other and to the residences of the users.

(Patmore 1971: 72)

For the coastal environment, it has been the mobility afforded by the car (Wall 1971, 1972) that has posed many of the resulting pressures, planning problems and conflicts in environments that are constrained in the number of visitors they can absorb. Wall (1971) recognised that holidaymakers generate a considerable proportion of the road traffic in resorts. As Wall (1971: 101) poignantly and ironically commented, 'One of the major advantages of automobile travel is that it appears to be quite cheap. The capital expenditure involved in the purchase of an automobile is likely to be large, but having incurred this outlay, the cost of additional increments of travel is comparatively small.'

The car remains convenient and flexible, and adds a degree of readily available mobility which is not constrained by public transport timetables. Probably the greatest constraint for the car is in accommodating the space demand in relation to recreational and tourist routeways in coastal environments (i.e. parking

space) (Davenport and Davenport 2006). There is also growing evidence from the public sector of pressure in some coastal environments to exclude the car from certain areas. The car can reduce 'the friction of distance', making coastal environments attractive and accessible to urban dwellers. However, one has to place the coastal environment in the wider recreational and tourist context of participation levels. Patmore (1971: 76–7) aptly summarised this issue: 'The nearest seaside or open moorland may lure people from conurbations six times a year, while the local park is used every day to exercise the dog.' This hierarchy of tourism and leisure resources can often be overlooked.

Access to the coastal environment is a key concept, though, as Patmore (1971) argued, it was a relative term, since improvements in transport routes and technology may directly change the nature of the access. The historical geographer's emphasis on the role of railway companies in Victorian Britain has identified their function in developing major visitor hinterlands for specific coastal resorts. Even some 150 years later, coastal resorts in many countries still have a limited reliance upon the rail network as a source of visitors, although the car is by far the most important mode of travel for recreational trips. The coastal environment and the routeways developed along coastlines, with viewing areas and a network of attractions, may also be a major recreational resource. For example, on the upper North Island of New Zealand, the collaboration between regional tourism organisations (see Page *et al.* 1999) created the Pacific Coastal Highway scenic drive. Not only did this utilise coastal routeways that receive comparatively limited traffic outside the main summer season, but it also reduced congestion on other routeways between Auckland and the Bay of Islands.

Coastal recreational footpaths are also a major routeway resource, a linear recreational resource that often transects a variety of other leisure resources, from the coastline to the built environment through to the countryside (Huxley 1970). Many countries contain dense networks of footpaths, with Patmore (1971) referring to an estimated 120,000 miles in England and Wales. The issue is contentious,

especially in coastal environments where the coastline is adjacent to privately owned land, and access is carefully guarded. In England and Wales, the designation of Heritage Coasts (Romeril 1988) has improved access issues and provided an opportunity for management agreements to be developed between private landowners and planners. As Keirle (2002) has shown in relation to Wales, coastal land should be considered as open countryside so that the public have right of access, while some forms of personal leisure transport may also contribute to environmental pollution and management issues (Davenport and Davenport 2006).

Tourist and recreational behaviour: use and activity patterns in coastal environments

Among the influential studies by geographers from the 1970s were the development of a behavioural geography and its application to recreation and tourism, especially in relation to coastal environments. Mercer (1971a: 51) summarised the significance of the behavioural perspective, where 'The values and attributes of any outdoor recreation site, whether a local neighbourhood park or major wilderness area are perceived somewhat differently by numerous sub-groups within society'. Mercer (1971a) outlined the recreationalists' decision-making process (subsequently modified by Pigram 1983) and the meaning attached to tourism and recreational experiences. Mercer's (1970) analysis of recreational trips to beaches in Melbourne highlighted the urban resident's vague notion of the outdoor recreational opportunities open to them. The role of image in choosing beach environments is an important factor, and may override concerns of overcrowding and even pollution (Roca and Villares 2008). Perceived distance and accessibility are also important factors affecting recreational search behaviour, and may account for why certain coastal environments attract large crowds and others do not. In England and Wales, the coast is no more than 120 km away for the most inland population, and, building on the model by Pearce and Kirk (1986), it is evident that the coast contains a variety

of recreational environments: the shore, beach and the marine environment (Orams 1999). Each resource is perceived in a variety of ways by different individuals and groups, and the potential for resource conflict is high unless research can harmonise the needs and wishes of multiple resource users (Concu and Atzeni 2012).

There is also a need to understand fundamental differences in the user's perception of the developed coastal resort and the nature of the natural environment, such as the beach, sea and coastline, because, as Patmore (1983: 209) remarked, 'the coast is the epitome of the wider problems of recreational use' of resources. The behaviour and activities of coastal tourists and recreationalists are therefore vital to understanding the nature of the problems and impacts which occur. The use of coastal environments is very much contingent on the availability of leisure time as holidays and free time at weekends. This led Patmore (1983: 158) to argue that, 'on a day-to-day basis, holidaymakers' patterns of activities within the holiday area differ, but little from the use of day visitors ... Little attention, however, has been given to the sequence of those activities as the holiday progresses.' One of the seminal studies which addressed this topic was Cooper's (1981) analysis of holidaymaker patterns of behaviour in Jersey. As a laboratory for tourism research, Jersey offers many attractions, for it is almost a closed system with a limited number of resorts, attractions and defined tourist itineraries.

What Cooper (1981) observed was a spatial and temporal pattern of tourist use of the coastal environment and non-coastal resources. For example, the holiday begins at the tourist's accommodation to maximise uncertainty in visiting unknown places. As a result, at St Heliers (the location of two-thirds of the island's accommodation stock) 75 per cent of tourists surveyed spent their first day in the town. After that point, a growing spatial awareness of coastal resources developed, and the two most popular beaches (St Brelade's Bay and Gorey) were visited on days two and three. The touring of the island to derive spatial familiarity with the tourist resources also occurred on days two and three. As spatial knowledge of the island developed, smaller and lesser known recreational sites

were visited. What Cooper's (1981) research highlighted was a wave pattern in visitation, as visitors' use of resources (especially the use of the coastal environment) moved down the hierarchy, spreading to a wider distribution of sites. This indicates a classic geographical diffusion process and offers a great deal of advice for planners and coastal management (see also Pearce 1988a; Tudor and Williams 2006).

Probably one of the most interesting studies published by geographers was Tunstall and Penning-Rosell's (1998) review of the English beach. As they observed,

England's beaches and coasts have a special place in the nation's consciousness. A day at the English beach is a particularly notable experience, full of rituals, symbolism, nostalgia and myths. The holiday at the coast, or the day visit, brings special activities, enjoyment and memories that virtually no other recreational experience provides. The English beach, with its particular characteristics and contexts, holds special meanings for those it attracts, and creates experiences which have life-long echoes.

(Tunstall and Penning-Rosell 1998: 319)

In their analysis of the beach, they precisely identify it as the inter-tidal zone, the area which occurs above the high-water mark where beach material exists (i.e. sand, shingle and mud). The significance of the coast is epitomised in the UK Day Visits Survey, with over 137 million visits a year in England to rural areas, seaside resorts and the coastline. A similar study in Australia by Maguire *et al.* (2011) also highlighted the role of beaches as national icons, as well as their place in popular culture (see also Booth 2001). Maguire *et al.* (2011) confirmed the finding by Oh, Draper and Dixon (2010) that beach use was polarised in its use between local users and non-local users: local beaches are used frequently, typically daily, and non-local beaches infrequently, typically for walking and swimming.

Cultural geographies of the beach and coastal environment (e.g. Shields 1991) mark the change, continuity and endurance of the beach as a social construction. In the post-war period, the English

coastline has attracted a growing retirement migration (for an early analysis of this trend in the UK, see Cosgrove and Jackson 1972), increasing the recreational appeal of these environments. This is complemented by the rise of second home ownership in coastal locations (Coppock 1977a; Hall and Müller 2004; Roca *et al.* 2013), a feature that Page and Connell (2010) observed alongside the repopularisation of the beach as a postmodern construct, contributing to its rebirth and regeneration in some locations. Some coastal resorts have also sought to diversify their appeal, with the development of conference and convention business (Shaw and Williams 1997). What Tunstall and Penning-Rosell (1998) recognised was that the coastal resort, and particularly the beach/sea-wall/promenade which protects the RBD from nature, is a costly infrastructure that needs ongoing investment.

Tunstall and Penning-Rosell used a longitudinal research technique, focused on 15 beaches in England over a decade, examining preferences towards beaches and protection methods to consider the values attached to beaches. A model of beach users' attitudes and values was developed to explain the factors which contribute to the values attached to beaches. The role of recreational constraints (i.e. time and income), frequency of visitation, cost of visit, tastes and values (i.e. subjective enjoyment value), and the values assigned to specific resorts and beaches were incorporated into the model. A range of popular and less popular beaches were examined, with commercial resort towns and smaller towns. Each location had the potential to experience beach erosion problems. Among the main factors motivating beach visits to popular recreational sites were the cleanliness of the site, type of beach material available, the natural setting and familiarity with the site. In the case of undeveloped coasts such as Spurn Head (Humberside), the quietness and natural setting were important attractions. The convenience of access and a number of other factors were important (albeit in varying degrees according to the place visited) as pull factors, including:

- the town and its facilities;
- quality of the seafront promenade;

- characteristics of the beach;
- the coastal scenery;
- scenery and places to visit in the hinterland;
- suitability of the sea for swimming and paddling;
- convenience of the journey;
- cost of the trip (modified from Tunstall and Penning-Rowsell 1998).

What Tunstall and Penning-Rowsell's (1998) study confirmed is Patmore's (1983) earlier assertion on the diversity of coastal resources and reasons for visiting them. The coast, the sea, the seashore and landscape are all integral elements associated with the social, aesthetic and cultural meaning attached to the coast. However, 'There is considerable diversity in what attracted visitors to particular places but it is clear that seafront elements were more important at almost all locations than other aspects of the resort' (Tunstall and Penning-Rowsell 1998: 323). What detracted from visitation at specific sites was sewage, cleanliness, litter and the water-bathing quality, though, as R. Morgan (1999) found, it was complex to deconstruct and explain even the visitors' perception of these issues, since perception and behaviour were not necessarily rational and predictable.

In temporal and spatial terms, Tunstall and Penning-Rowsell (1998) found that beach visits not only are experienced differently but also have different meanings. This varied according to whether the visits were made by residents, day visitors or tourists. For residents, the beach was a local leisure resource, a regular and routine element of their everyday lives (similar to parks for urban dwellers). For the day visitor, the beach was construed as a special event, an occurrence perhaps experienced only a couple of times a year. For holidaymakers, it is a special experience, but one often repeated, with tourists who return to the same location year on year. What is culturally significant with a beach visit is the way in which it can enable the visitor to recollect childhood memories and a process repeated through time by families. It also marks a social occasion, with large proportions arriving by car as groups of two to four. In the summer season, beach visits are interconnected with families and young children. Even so, the beach readily

accommodates solitary visitors, and in some locations up to one-third of users were unaccompanied. In this respect, the beach can function like a park with its ability to accommodate a multitude of users (see also Maguire *et al.* 2011).

The amount of time spent at the beach varied by resort, with the majority of people spending less than four hours on the beach. It was typically between two and four hours in duration. Beach activities included a diversity of marine activities (sailboarding, jetskiing for a minority) and a common range of activities, including:

- sitting/sunbathing/picnicking on the beach;
- sitting/sunbathing/picnicking on the promenade;
- swimming/paddling;
- walking/strolling on the promenade/cliffs;
- long walks (3 km or more);
- informal games or sports;
- walking the dog;
- playing with sand, stones and shells (modified from Tunstall and Penning-Rowsell 1998).

This shows that, while activities are important, so are relaxing and passive pastimes in different countries (Maguire *et al.* 2011). This seminal study by Tunstall and Penning-Rowsell (1998: 330) recognised not only that 'English beaches are important to the English' but also that environmental concerns for pollution and the quality of the resource are important to recreationalists, tourists and residents alike. The following assessment by Tunstall and Penning-Rowsell really encapsulates the wider meaning, significance and value of the beach and could certainly also be applied to other countries such as Australia, as illustrated in Maguire *et al.*'s (2011) study:

The seaside and its beaches are special because they are special places to play, to relax, to exercise or to enjoy. They bring back memories – mainly of families and childhood. They are places of discovery and adventure, and contact with nature. Their meanings come from these imaginings and these activities, and from the repeated visits to the same familiar and reassuring locales. Their beaches have

a coherence that derives from their enduring physical character – waves, tides, sand and noise and from the assemblage of features that keeps them there: the sea-wall, the promenade and the groynes. Each is understood and valued, for its timelessness and familiarity.

(Tunstall and Penning-Rowse 1998: 331)

Carr (1999) explored the youth market and their behaviour within resorts, particularly the meaning and significance of the beach and liminality. What Carr (1999) emphasised was that there were comparatively few gendered differences in leisure and tourism activities among visitors aged 18 to 24 years of age. In fact, these results appear to confirm the findings of Tunstall and Penning-Rowse (1998), in that the resort and beach are major attractions for coastal tourism. Other studies published in non-geographical journals (e.g. Morgan *et al.* 1993) have also examined issues of perception among beach users, but the literature is increasingly scattered across a wide range of coastal-related journals which are not necessarily tourism- or recreation-related. However, R. Morgan's (1999) examination of beach rating systems for tourist beaches highlighted the contribution which coastal researchers can make to understanding the perception of beach users. By using beach awards, such as the European Blue Flag (UNEP/WTO 1996; Mihalic 2002), there are indications of a growing interest in the promotion of beach tourism in relation to quality measures (Williams and Morgan 1995). Even so, poor public knowledge of these rating schemes and their significance, even though in the EU the number of Blue Flag beaches increased from 1,454 in 1994 to 1,927 in 19 countries in 1998, and this figure grew in 2013 to 3,850 Blue Flag beaches internationally as the ecolabel has been extended. Morgan (1999) assessed 70 beaches in Wales and concluded that beaches are different, with users having different preferences in line with Tunstall and Penning-Rowse's (1998) study. Many of these issues have also been examined in the context of Ireland and Portugal, where beaches were valued in different ways, with cultural and climatic factors influential in attitudes to beach use (MacLeod *et al.* 2002).

Environmental perspectives on coastal recreation and tourism

The environment for coastal leisure pursuits has seen the geographer make a number of influential contributions from a range of perspectives. In the early analysis of the coastline for tourism and recreation, Cosgrove and Jackson (1972) identified the vital characteristic which makes the coast a major focal point for geographical analysis: it is a zonal resource, with activities concentrated at specific places, making management a key issue in time and space (Jennings 2006). Although the coast may have a number of different resource designations (e.g. Heritage Coastline and Area of Outstanding Natural Beauty in England and Wales), the impacts of tourism and recreation are multifaceted. In the wide-ranging study by the German Federal Agency for Nature Conservation (1997), the dominant coastline regions globally were the Mediterranean, the Caribbean, the Gulf of Mexico, the Indian Ocean islands, Australasia and the Pacific islands. In this context, the coastal resource is a global environmental issue which is complex, diverse and not simply reduced to beach resorts, as the discussion has alluded to so far. (See Visser and Njunga's (1992) examination of the Kenyan coastline, where the ecological diversity in the coastal environment comprises coral reefs, sea grass and seaweed beds, mangrove forests, sand dunes and inland tropical forests.)

According to the German Federal Agency for Nature Conservation (1997), coastal tourism environments may be categorised as follows:

- oceanic islands;
- coral reefs;
- offshore waters;
- mangroves;
- near-coastal wetlands;
- sandy beaches;
- coastal dunes.

The environments under the greatest recreational and tourism pressure are sandy beaches, followed by coastal dunes (see Nordstrom *et al.* 2000 for a review of management practices to restore dunes). Within a

European context, the principal erosion and sedimentation processes affecting coastal environments are related to natural processes, including:

- wave and tidal action;
- geomorphological factors (e.g. rivers which impact upon the river mouth and deltas);
- meteorological factors (e.g. wind and storms);
- changes in sea level;
- geological processes (e.g. seismic and volcanic activity).

In addition, the European coastline is also subjected to a great number of environmental stresses, to the point where some researchers consider it to be under the greatest pressure of any coastal environment globally (German Federal Agency for Nature Conservation 1997; Hall 2006c). For example, Jiménez *et al.* (2011) found that 72 per cent of Catalan beaches in Spain were experiencing an average rate of erosion of 1 m a year, a feature also observed in other studies of beach erosion (e.g. Phillips and House 2009). Indeed, El Mrini *et al.*'s (2012) analysis of beaches in north-west Morocco highlighted the dependence upon the beach of tourism but also the pressure it places upon the resource base under conditions of annual erosion. As a consequence, the pressures on the natural environment are being compounded by (Gössling 2001; Hall 2006c):

- large-scale pollution by oil spills;
- harbour and marina development;
- increasing shore erosion caused by interruption of sediment processes as a result of building on the coastline;
- high levels of freshwater removal which is causing salt water to encroach upon the water table;
- increasing levels of nutrient run-off;
- clearance and filling of wetlands for resort and golf course development as well as 'aesthetic improvements';
- increasing impacts from tourism and recreational activities: approximately 100 million tourists visit the European coastline annually, a figure which could rise to 230 million by 2030.

Some of the visible signs of environmental deterioration include water pollution and the increase in frequency of algal blooms. This problem is exacerbated by nutrient enrichment from sewage pollutants (Daby *et al.* 2002). In the Mediterranean between 1900 and 1990 there was a 75 per cent loss of sand dunes in France and Spain due to sand loss. As A.T. Williams *et al.* (2001) suggest, visitor pressure increases dune degradation and vulnerability, highlighting the need for close monitoring of impacts and changes in dune morphology. In fact Kindermann and Gormally (2013) pointed to the destabilising effect of recreational trampling and use of dunes. This is a clear indication of the scale of the problem in relation to tourism which is sand and beach dependent. How has the geographer contributed to the wider understanding, analysis and debates associated with coastal environments for recreation and tourism?

Physical geographers have examined the geomorphological characteristics which underlie the creation of existing coastal environments (May 1993; Wong 2003; El Mrini *et al.* 2012). In the case of the Cape coastline in South Africa, Burns *et al.* (1990) indicated the need to develop tourism according to sound environmental principles. They argued that the physical characteristics of soft shorelines need to be recognised, and near-shore and aeolian sediment transport regimes must be understood and quantified. This highlighted the active nature of the littoral zone of coastlines, so that long-term shore erosion can be reduced to create recreational environments. What emerges from much of the literature on beach erosion, particularly dune erosion, is that intervention is a costly strategy. In the case of Florida, 'there has been a tendency to build so close to the shoreline as possible: Florida is no exception. Such actions have destroyed dunes, wetlands and beaches which formed protective barriers against storms and floods' (Carter 1990: 8). In an historical analysis of coastline destruction in Florida, Carter examined the speed of environmental degradation:

The first shoreline buildings were beach houses in the dunes. Very often the seawardmost dunes were lowered or removed altogether to give a view of the sea. Very soon, house owners became aware of

shore-line changes, especially natural erosion, and began to protect against it. Much of this protection was unapproved, unsightly and ineffective. Along the east coast, bulkheads and groynes were common after 1925, yet by the mid 1930s, much of the duneline was destroyed . . . It quickly became clear that such an approach was exacerbating erosion, and there was mounting pressure for official assistance . . . Florida became a natural laboratory for shore protection devices, including inlet bypassing and back-passing, beach nourishment and diverse species of revetments, breakwaters and groynes . . . Not all were successful.

(Carter 1990: 8–9)

What emerged from Carter's (1990) study was that by the 1980s, of the 870 km of Florida's coastline, 40 per cent of the coastline with sand dunes was under threat, which also affected roads, houses and other development. This figure had increased further by 2010 (Paterson *et al.* 2010). Much of the impact is recreation- and tourism-related, since in areas where no recreation occurs no erosion exists. In the case of Denmark, Nielsen (1990) examined the positive enhancement of the environment with the creation of Koege Bay Beach Park in 1980 to meet the recreational needs of the Greater Copenhagen area. Using land reclamation methods, including extensive beach nourishment, a new beach environment was created. Some 5 million m³ of sand were used, dredged from lagoon areas, and a 20 m wide dyke was built of sand to a height of 3 m above sea level. Various environmental management measures were needed, including sluices for the lagoon environment to prevent stagnant water. A programme of planting on the dunes was also implemented to stabilise the resource. By developing the beach park to fit the underlying geomorphology, the creation of the beach park represents a good example of an attempt to develop a sustainable leisure resource, although it is not without environmental effects. However, the time frame is too short at this stage to observe long-term consequences and impacts or to assess the extent to which it is a truly sustainable resource. What is clear is that where significant demand exists in close proximity to an

urban population, the creation of a local resource may act as a honeypot and attract a significant number of visitors, taking pressure off other sites.

What Nielsen (1990) identified was the close involvement in physical geographers' monitoring and evaluation of coastal processes to understand how the coastal geomorphology will respond to such a radical change – the creation of a new recreational environment. In a detailed coastal geomorphological study of the German coastline, Kelletat (1993) documented the major beach nourishment needed for islands along the German North Sea coast. This was due to tourism, recreation and storms. However, in a study of Sylt Island, the growth of tourism has also provided the impetus and funding for nourishment on islands of the German North Sea coast (Kelletat 1993).

A range of other studies (e.g. Carter *et al.* 1990; McDowell *et al.* 1990; Hall 2009f) have also documented the production of coastal recreation strategies and coastal management plans to co-ordinate decision-making in the coastal zone. The diverse range of interest groups associated with coastal environments highlights the complexity of developing management plans where collaboration, communication and management solutions are introduced to control tourist and recreational use (Goodhead and Johnson 1996).

One related aspect of the geographers' interest in the coastal environment has been the development of resorts and planning measures to manage these physical impacts. In a conceptual context, the dynamics of resort development and change have hinged on the Butler (1980, 2006) model, and subsequent criticisms (e.g. Cooper and Jackson 1989; Cooper 1990) and concerns with the post-stagnation phase (Agarwal 1994; Priestley and Mundet 1998). This distinguishes between the land use and physical planning and management measures needed for the coastal environment and strategic planning measures needed to ensure the long-term prosperity, viability and development of the resort (Inskeep 1994), with specific examples of planning measures implemented in resort development documented by Meyer-Arendt (1990), P.P. Wong (1986, 1990) and Hao *et al.* (2013). However, it is important to recognise that an

over-focus on tourism-specific planning measures may ignore the need to manage tourism within the demands of the wider coastal system (Peel and Lloyd 2010; Lloyd *et al.* 2013).

A major criticism which may be levelled at coastal planning and research is the omission of major environmental problems associated with water that are now assuming a greater role in geographical research on tourism and coastal destinations, especially in water-stressed areas (e.g. Gössling *et al.* 2012b). Many coastal environments, particularly in semi-arid zones, have seen coastal tourism development occur unabated, while the inequity of water availability has fallen upon local residents, who have forfeited the right to access to clean water as hotel groups have usurped their power and access rights to ensure luxury tourism is retained for high spending overseas tourists. One might argue that systematic planning for coastal tourism in such environments should pay particular attention to the sustainability issues and equity issues before luxury tourism that is highly water consumptive is permitted, at huge cost to the local environment and local population. Such a situation highlights the need for integrated coastal zone management (ICZM) approaches to the management of coastal areas (Johnson 2002).

Integrated coastal zone management

As the DoE (1996: n.p.) explained, ICZM is 'the process which brings together all those involved in the development, management and use of the coast within a framework which facilitates the integration of their interests and responsibilities to achieve common objectives' (see also European Commission 1997). This reflects the increased demands placed on coastal resources for recreation and tourism use. ICZM is underpinned by the need for beach management, where a well-planned beach layout with effective spatial zoning and development can accommodate increased opportunities for recreation (Micallie and Williams 2002). This can also lead to reduced maintenance costs, and more clearly articulated strategies for coastal defence and conservation and improved bathing water quality.

In a more strategic context, ICZM is based upon the need to integrate environmental considerations with coastal tourism policies and plans. This can assist in integrating key decisions on the carrying capacity of specific beach sites, the necessary management plans for specific sites and zones as a means of integrating a diverse range of planning policies and stakeholder needs. It may also assist in achieving a sustainable balance between recreational use and nature conservation, so that conflicts associated with achieving a consensus on appropriate recreational uses can be progressed. Here, core or activity centre locations for active water sports are one option in zoning informal and formal/active recreational activities. As Roe and Benson argue:

zoning in time and space is a well-established method of recreational management. It has been recommended for coastal zone management . . . as has the reduction of the levels of activity in particular areas through the provision of alternative sites. It is, however, understood that by itself, zoning is unlikely to prevent the emergence of problems. Time zoning allows a particular activity access to a stretch of water between specified time limits on a voluntary basis.

(Roe and Benson 2001: 32)

Yet such a system is often ineffective due to irregular loss of waterspace in tidal areas and ineffective sanctions for non-compliance. In some instances the use of by-laws may help in the enforcement of zoning strategies. This requires education strategies and co-operation with formal clubs (e.g. sport clubs), and reflects the importance of the need to involve the local community in ICZM (see Caffyn and Jobbins 2003). One development in Maine, USA, was the introduction of a volunteer programme to help monitor the shoreline change with scientists from the University of Maine, to understand the changes induced by anthropogenic effects, sea-level changes and changing mechanism of erosion (Hill *et al.* 2002).

One immediate problem facing policy-makers and planners in relation to the implementation of ICZM is the challenge posed by climate change (Gössling

2002; WTO 2003; Gössling and Hall 2006a; Hall and Higham 2005; Scott *et al.* 2012), particularly for small island states which have a dependence upon coastal locations for inbound tourism (Gössling *et al.* 2009a). However, the impacts of climate change are not necessarily negative for tourism in all coastal regions. For example, in a report on the implications of a warming Arctic, it was noted that because of the decline of sea-ice, tourism-related shipping through key marine routes, including the Northern Sea Route and the Northwest Passage, is increasing (Arctic Climate Impact Assessment 2004).

As Johnson has shown in the UK, there are a number of instances of urban coastal resorts pursuing regeneration projects, reflecting the fact that 'the UK coastline is an example of a natural resource that has been used and abused for many years' (Johnson 2002: 177). Much of the leadership is from the local government sector, but sustainability is the antithesis of the resort development models by which many mass tourism destinations in the UK and Europe are promoted, often driven by private sector interests. Although not developed by geographers, ICZM offers a useful range of perspectives on the planning process for marine and coastal areas in relation to land use and the different needs of stakeholders. Yet one also has to be cognisant of the fact that the coast, the beach and the resort are major cultural icons in contemporary society, retaining much of their value, meaning and significance from previous eras. In this context, the

experience of the coast, the beach, the resort and of the place is socially and culturally conditioned. There is a continuity in the transmission and formation of values of the beach and coast, which may help to explain the ongoing love affair the recreationalist and tourist have with such special 'places'. In historical terms, the resort morphology, rules, meanings and behaviour embodied in the coastal environment have changed in line with what society will tolerate, condone and legitimate. But these special, highly valued, natural and human-made environments remain central to the recreational and tourist experience of leisure places and space.

Probably one of the greatest challenges facing many coastal environments relates to the potential effects of climate change as such environments are amongst the most vulnerable to sea-level rises and the effects of increasing temperature rises, making summer coastal visits less desirable and comfortable, as observed by Moreno and Becken (2009). As Hadley (2009: 198) noted, 'The major effect of climate change on the coastal zone will be due to increasing sea level which, in combination with possible increases in the frequency and intensity of storms, will bring about:

- change in patterns of erosion and sedimentation;
- increased risk of flooding;
- change in the distribution and types of coastal habitats'.

BOX 8.2 CRUISE TOURISM

Cruise tourism accounts for about 2 per cent of total world tourism (Gui and Russo 2011). It is a high yield growing segment of the market that is of increasing importance to many coastal destinations, including the Caribbean and the Pacific Islands. The global cruise sector has grown rapidly since the 1970s, from an estimated 600,000 to 10.4 million in 2000 and an estimated 16.4 million passengers in 2011. Annual passenger growth averaged 7.5 per cent per year between 1980 and 2011, with almost 73 per cent of all passengers in 2010 being sourced from North America (Gui and Russo 2011). This share is constantly declining, however, as cruises become increasingly popular around the world (Rodrigue and Notteboom 2013). The Cruise Line Industry Association reports an average length of cruises of seven plus days. There

has also been growth in the capacity of cruise ships, and in 2012 a total of 14 ships with 17,984 beds were introduced. By 2015, another 25 ships are anticipated to join the global cruise fleet, representing an investment of US\$10 billion.

Cruise tourism has become significant for a number of ports because cruise tourists are higher yield tourists, spending, on average, much higher amounts per day than other categories of international tourists (Kester 2003). There is substantial competition for the cruise ship market in various parts of the world, particularly because it tends to be highly seasonal in nature. In a study of cruise tourism in Australia, Dwyer and Forsyth (1996) reported that home-porting cruise ships in Australia, with a marketing emphasis on fly-cruise packages for inbound tourists, had the greatest potential for generating large expenditure inflows to Australia. In addition, they reported that because of leakages due to foreign ownership and foreign sourcing of inputs, the average expenditure per passenger per cruise injected into the Australian economy is twice as great for the coastal as opposed to the international cruise.

Because of the overall growth in the cruise ship market, partly allied to ageing populations in developed countries, greater numbers of retirees and security concerns, a number of coastal destinations are aggressively competing for cruise ship visitation. For example, in the case of Newfoundland, 'Cruise was seen as having long-term growth potential, and is appealing since cruise visitors return for conventional vacations' (Environmental Planning Group of Canada (EPGC) 2002: 49). However, in an evaluation of potential activity markets, 'The cruise potential rated lowest as it is the cruise lines, not the destination, that develops the market, although the cruise lines like to see marketing support for their efforts, particularly destination awareness marketing support' (EPGC 2002: 60). The provincial capital, the City of St John's, has placed substantial emphasis on developing the cruise market and has developed a public-private partnership in order to attract more cruise ships. Traditionally, cruise lines utilised St John's as a stopover port of call for their small to mid-sized vessels. However, since the late 1990s the economic value of the cruise industry has been fuelled by both the increased efforts placed on home-porting vessels out of St John's and the widening of the navigation channel to St John's Harbour to accommodate the newer and larger vessels in the marketplace.

Nevertheless, there is significant concern over the impacts of cruise ships. Wood (2000) argued that the global nature of the cruise market has meant that cruise ships have become examples of 'globalisation at sea', with corresponding deterritorialisation, cultural theming and simulation. Once the realm of exploration, the polar seas have now become incorporated into the global cruising industry. Hall *et al.* (2010) highlight the extent to which cruise tourism may be a threat to polar destinations because of the extent to which ships and their passengers can carry biota and disease as well as the particular characteristics of such tourism:

- tourists are disproportionately attracted to sites of relative high/medium diversity;
- the intensity of visitor use is increasing both in absolute terms and, in general, over time and space;
- sites of high popularity are not consistent over time, meaning that the potential for human impact is not contained in a number of specific sites but varies as a result of tourist trends and changing fashions;
- the range of tourist activities is expanding: in addition to being able to land on beaches and observe immediately accessible wildlife, options now include extensive walks and kayaking trips.

In much of the Arctic region the growth in shipping, including cruise ships, is expected to play a major role in introducing marine and terrestrial invasives, especially given the substantial growth in Arctic tourism (Hall and Saarinen 2010). For example, the number of cruise ships operating in Greenland waters grew from 13 in 2003 to 39 in 2008, with the number of port arrivals increasing from 164 to 375 in the same period, and growth in cruise ship visits also occurring in Alaska, Iceland, Nunavut and Svalbard (Hall *et al.* 2010). Areas that were once impossible to reach for cruise ships are now becoming accessible. Hull fouling and ballast water are identified as major sources of alien maritime species, while other biota may come ashore via tourists. As a result of climate change new Arctic locations are also opening up to tourist visitation, creating opportunities for the introduction of alien species (Hall 2010k).

In fact the potential effect on some Small Island States (SIDS) (Jones and Phillips 2011) may lead to some coastal destinations being eradicated by sea-level rises. A further challenge will be the overall impact of climate change on the relative attractiveness of some coastal destinations to tourists (Scott *et al.* 2012; Bujosa and Rosselló 2013). Therefore, while the coast may be a social leveller, a free resource to be enjoyed and consumed according to the vagaries of the season and weather, this assumption may well be challenged in terms of the effect of climate change in different regions of the world.

Conclusion

The coastal environment has been neglected in one sense by the geographer, where recreational and tourism activity have not been understood in the wide context of the resource, its use, impacts and planning needs. Given the growing concerns over sea-level rise, coastal urbanisation and environmental change, the coastline needs to be moved higher up the geographer's research agenda in tourism and recreation, reiterating Patmore's (1983) criticism of the comparative neglect of this issue. Given the value and significance attached to the beach and coast, observed by Tunstall and Penning-Rowsell (1998), it is evident that the coast is a major recreational environment. The association with resorts and the geographer's preoccupation

with resort models and development should arguably be directed to a fuller understanding of the impact of human beings on the coastal environment, particularly interference with coastal processes and the resulting measures needed to redress the consequences for the coastal environment.

There is no doubt that the coastal environment is facing a wide range of environmental pressures, not least of which is the growing intensity of use. This, combined with environmental impacts from human activity, poses many severe planning problems for one simple reason: the scale and rate of change associated with coastal processes (e.g. erosion) may be extremely rapid. This requires costly remedial action, particularly in the case of beach nourishment and in coastal protection schemes where the natural environment is directly altered by tourist and recreational development.

Given the potential impacts of tourism on the coastal environment, it is therefore not surprising that government agencies have been trying to encourage more sustainable forms of coastal development in Asia and the Pacific. Sustainable development of coastal tourism is recognised as being dependent on:

- good coastal management practices (particularly regarding proper siting of tourism infrastructure and the provision of public access);
- clean water and air, and healthy coastal ecosystems;

- maintaining a safe and secure recreational environment through the management of coastal hazards (such as erosion, storms, floods) and the provision of adequate levels of safety for boaters, swimmers and other water users;
- beach restoration efforts that maintain the recreational and amenity values of beaches;
- sound policies for wildlife and habitat protection (NOAA 1997).

However, such a statement, while laudable, fails to reflect the complexities and difficulties of the management and regulation of tourism with respect to the physical environment. Unfortunately, there is usually little or no co-ordination between programmes that promote and market tourism and those that aim to manage coastal and marine areas. Environmental or planning agencies often fail to understand tourism, while tourism promotion authorities tend not to be involved with the evaluation of its effects or its planning and management. This particularly appears to be the case with some species of charismatic marine fauna, although significant advances have been made with respect to whale watching management in some countries. Nevertheless, for many peripheral coastal destinations marine ecotourism (Garrod and Wilson 2003, 2004) and commercial recreational fishing would appear to be an appropriate development mechanism if they can be managed appropriately. Implementation strategies often fail to recognise the interconnections that exist between agencies in trying to manage environmental issues, particularly when, as in the case of the relationship between tourism and the environment, responsibilities may cut across more traditional lines of authority. Therefore, one of the greatest challenges facing coastal managers is how to integrate tourism development within the ambit of coastal management, and thus increase the likelihood of long-term sustainability of the coast as a whole. Nevertheless, solving such dilemmas will clearly be of importance to many countries in the region, which has a substantial emphasis on marine and coastal tourism, particularly when environmental quality becomes another means to achieve a competitive edge in the tourism marketplace.

The coastal environment has a great deal of potential for cultural and social geographers to explore the value and role of tourism and recreation in these leisure places. There is also a role for applied geographers to combine their skills with those of planners, to understand, explain and develop planning measures to safeguard these threatened environments. The coastal environment is one of the best examples of how geographers can harness their ability to construct a holistic understanding of the human and physical environment in a coastal context, where the interactions, impacts and measures needed to ameliorate negative effects can be addressed. The period since 1970 has not, with a few notable exceptions, seen the geographical fraternity rise to this challenge and lead the coastal research agenda in a tourism and recreational context. One would hope, indeed expect, geographers to engage their skills, building on a long tradition of the geographer's involvement with the recreational and tourism use of the coast.

Further reading

For general overviews of marine and ocean tourism, see:

Garrod, B. and Wilson, J.C. (eds) (2003) *Marine Ecotourism: Issues and Experiences*, Clevedon: Channel View.

Orams, M. (1999) *Marine Tourism*, London: Routledge.

In terms of the environmental impact of tourism and recreational activities in coastal environments, see:

Baldwin, J. (2000) 'Tourism development, wetland degradation and beach erosion in Antigua, West Indies', *Tourism Geographies*, 2(2): 193–218.

Davenport, J. and Davenport, J. (2006) 'The impact of tourism and personal leisure transport on coastal environments: a review', *Estuarine, Coastal and Shelf Science*, 67: 280–92.

Defeo, O., McLachlan, A., Schoeman, D.S., Schlacher, T.A., Dugan, J., Jones, A., Lastra, M. and Scapini, F. (2009) 'Threats to sandy beach ecosystems: a review,' *Estuarine, Coastal and Shelf Science*, 81(1): 1–12.

German Federal Agency for Nature Conservation (ed.) (1997) *Biodiversity and Tourism: Conflicts on the World's Seacoasts and Strategies for Their Solution*, Berlin: Springer.

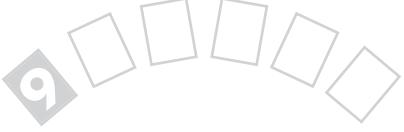
Rutin, J. (2010) Coastal tourism: a comparative study between Croatia and Tunisia. *Tourism Geographies*, 12(2): 264–77.

With respect to cruise tourism, see:

Rodrigue, J.P. and Notteboom, T. (2013) 'The geography of cruises: itineraries, not destinations,' *Applied Geography*, 38: 31–42.

Questions to discuss

- 1 Why is the coastline such a popular area for recreationalists and tourists in some locations and not others?**
- 2 What techniques have geographers used to examine tourist use of the coastline, and how effective are they in explaining the motivation for such activities?**
- 3 What are the environmental problems associated with the coastal environment as a recreational and tourist resource?**
- 4 What are the planning and management measures which have been successful in reconciling the use of coastal environments with the need for preservation and recuperation of the resource base?**



Tourism and recreation planning, policy and governance

Geographers have long been interested in planning and the cognate areas of planning and governance. Indeed, a number of academic departments combine geography and planning, while many geography students have gone on to specialise in planning as a professional career. Planning and the associated area of policy analysis are therefore substantive areas of applied geographical research, particularly as geographers have sought to make their work more relevant to the society in which they work (Dredge and Jenkins 2007).

It should therefore come as no surprise that tourism and recreation planning and policy have long been major areas of interest for geographers (Hall and Jenkins 1995, 2004; Church *et al.* 2000; Jenkins 2001; Bramwell 2004; Church 2004; Gill 2004; Dredge and Jenkins 2007, 2011). This chapter examines the nature of recreation and tourism planning, policy and governance, and then goes on to discuss the contributions that geographers have made in these fields, particularly with respect to the role of planning and policy at a regional or destination level. More specific applications in recreational and tourism planning have been introduced in earlier chapters and so this chapter discusses many of the principles, concepts and geographical contributions to the field as a whole.

Recreation planning and policy

According to Henry and Spink (1990: 33), prior to the 1990s the 'treatment of leisure planning in the literature can be described as unsystematic and fragmented'. In part this criticism remains, as the

planning for commercial and public leisure and recreation organisations and spatial planning, where the public good is normally the underlying rationale (Jenkins 2000), are often conflated. Geographers have tended to focus on the latter (Pigram and Jenkins 2006).

In many industrialising nations, the nineteenth century saw the intervention by philanthropists and reformers to address the squalor and living conditions of the working population, embodied in government legislation. Environmental improvement was predicated on the notion that it had a positive effect on the human condition. This shaped government legislation where a wide range of Utopian, humanitarian and determinist attitudes (see Taylor 1999) were reflected in the debates on improvement. In the UK, the Housing and Town Planning Act 1909 highlighted the need for government intervention to generate more socially appropriate forms of land use which market forces would not address (i.e. public open space). In the period after 1800, and the UK planning acts of 1909, 1919, 1932, 1947, 1968, 1980 and 1986 shaped the subsequent role of the state in town and planning in relation to leisure, where political ideology shaped the nature of state intervention in the UK (Veal 2010). In a rural context, the Countryside Act 1968 established a network of country parks, picnic sites, nature trails and bird sanctuaries. This was accompanied by the state's division of planning powers into two levels of local government: structure plans came under county and regional authorities, with a view to a 10 to 20 year time frame and framework for local plans which were the responsibility of district authorities. Despite subsequent

modifications in the 1980s and 1990s in the 'retreat from state planning', these two levels of planning remain. They can also be discerned in many other countries. Much of their concern has been with land use planning and site-specific planning for recreation, since this has been the public sector concern: the ordering of leisure space and provision through time.

Recreation planning: the concern with space and place

According to Pigram and Jenkins (1999: 270), 'In the planning of recreation space, the aim should be to provide a range of functional and aesthetically pleasing environments for outdoor recreation, which avoid the friction of unplanned development, without lapsing into uniformity and predictability'. Since people decide on recreation participation as a discretionary use of time and on a voluntary basis, planning is beset by a wide range of factors that need to be considered. One of the most persuasive issues is the trends and tastes in leisure and outdoor recreation. Here the problem is in matching potential demand to the supply of recreation space, while a growing sophistication among recreation users means issues such as quality and satisfaction are also important in public sector provision (Veal 2011).

There is also a temporal and cyclical factor which is often overlooked in leisure planning, namely that in times of economic downturn, recreation assumes a new dimension in the amelioration of hardship (Glyptis 1989b). At the same time, such economic stringencies may also put the public sector under increased pressure in terms of its priorities for resource allocation (i.e. what is the opportunity cost of additional expenditure on leisure provision). At the local planning level, different local authorities will have varying levels of commitment to recreation provision, which will also vary according to the political persuasion of the elected politicians, which varies in time and space. However, it is also important to note that the economic capacity of local leisure planning is often greatly dictated by policies of national governments with respect to local government funding as well as priorities.

Against this background, planners need to understand societal changes, namely demographic trends, lifestyle changes (Havighurst and Feigenbaum 1959), social attitudes to recreation and the increasing demands of ethnic groups (Floyd 1998; Johnson *et al.* 1998; Veal 2010), people with disabilities and other minority groups to achieve equity goals in local planning for leisure (Shinew and Arnold 1998; Stumbo *et al.* 2011). In many countries, notably the USA, Canada, New Zealand, Britain and Australia, issues of cultural pluralism and a multicultural population pose new challenges to conventional notions of recreation planning, while in countries such as Indonesia recreation has been used to try and develop national identity (Moser 2010).

Probably one of the greatest technological innovations that now exist to assist planners in integrating these new perspectives into social and land use planning is GIS. It enables planners to spatially integrate the demand and supply of recreation and to evaluate possible locational issues and outcomes. This is also invaluable in modelling resource degradation. In essence, GIS operates on spatial data, which have a standard geographical frame of reference. It also utilises attribute data, which are statistical and non-locational. GIS allows planners to link planning goals to basic geographical issues such as location, trends through time, patterns at specific points in time and an ability to model issues such as recreational demand, supply and impacts (Nahuelhual *et al.* 2013; Kienast *et al.* 2012) (see also the discussion on wilderness inventories in Australia in Chapter 7).

Pigram and Jenkins (2006) argued that a more strategic approach to recreation planning is needed but much of the existing practice of planning is concerned with geographical issues of the availability of recreational opportunities, the location of services and facilities. Although recreation planning should be a complex process, its application in the public sector often remains a simplistic activity, focused on the provision of specific facilities rather than the wider context of recreation opportunity, desire and provision. Several approaches to planning for leisure can be identified and a number of them utilise spatial principles (Table 9.1). However, it is important to note that

Table 9.1 Approaches to leisure planning

<i>Approach</i>	<i>Content</i>
Standards	Planning based on per capita specifications of levels of provision laid down by some authoritative body. Usually based on demand and demographic estimates.
Gross demand	Estimation of broad demand levels based on existing national or regional participation surveys. This is the most basic of demand estimation approaches but can be varied to consider local socio-demographic conditions.
Spatial approaches	Localised demand estimation, incorporating consideration of facility catchment areas. This extends the gross demand approach when considering the question of facility location. Increasingly similar to retail catchment studies as a result of the marketisation of many leisure services.
Hierarchies of facilities	Recognises that different types and scales of facility have different catchment areas. Especially relevant for planning new communities and for facilities involving spectator audiences.
Grid or matrix approach	Examines impacts of all of an authority's leisure services on all social groups via impact evaluation. Focused on outcomes.
Service quality	Examines perceptions of the consumers of leisure services as to the quality of the services they use or which are available in their area. Focused on perceptions.
Organic approach	Strategy development based on assessment of existing service provision and spatial gaps in demand. It is incremental rather than comprehensive and is common within the private sector.
Community development approach	Planning and policy development based on community consultation. Increasingly being undertaken via online mechanisms.
Issues approach	Plans based on initial identification of 'key issues' rather than comprehensive needs/demand assessment. Most common for ad-hoc, one-off projects.
Strategic approach	An integrative approach that combines a number of other approaches in seeking to identify to match current and future supply capacities with estimates of current and future demand. The approach also serves to identify what authorities can, may and cannot do in the future, and enables them to prioritise services and approaches to their provision.

Sources: after Veal 1994, 2010; Robinson 1999; Pigram and Jenkins 2006.

these approaches have changed over time, with the emphasis depending on the national and regional political and economic context as well as changes in leisure behaviours and demands (Veal 2011) (see Figure 9.1, which outlines shifts in UK focus). The selection and use of a planning approach therefore depend on the definition of the planning problem and the political context. Significantly, some of the main features in such planning shift that appear common to the developed countries are:

- growing marketisation of state leisure and recreation services and the growth of commercial approaches and public-private partnerships in their provision;

- increased use of strategic business planning methods as focus shifts from leisure outcomes (effectiveness and equity) to cost and efficiencies of provision;
- increasing integration of planning for leisure, recreation, tourism, sports, arts and events as authorities seek to gain efficiencies in provision, respond to multiple markets and increase income levels.

The national and local state and its agencies have a wide remit for the management and planning of leisure and outdoor recreation resources given the diversity and extent of recreational environments (Veal 2010). However, the relative priorities of public providers and the role of leisure and outdoor recreation in spatial planning need to be understood within the

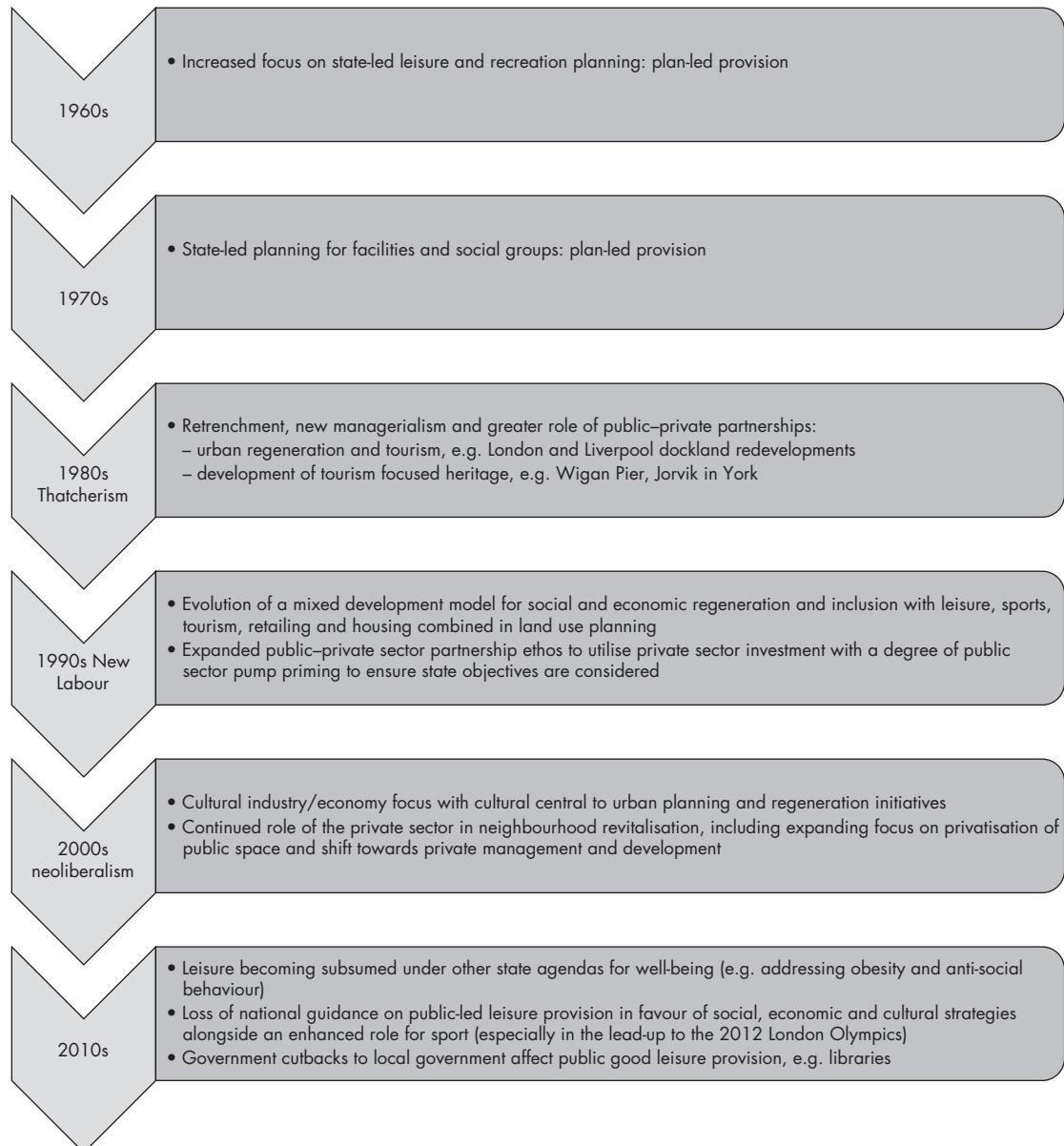


Figure 9.1 Changing state paradigms for leisure and recreation planning in the UK

Source: adapted from Page and Connell 2010.

broader statutory planning framework, which tends to be based on the twin goals of development plans and development control, even if they are part of broader state entrepreneurial objectives (Bounds and Morris 2006; Davidson and McNeill 2012). Over 20 years ago, Ravenscroft (1992) concluded that the whole framework upon which state planning has been predicated has, for the most part, tended to neglect recreation. By largely basing development plans on land use zoning, it has tended to subjugate multiple uses in favour of primary ones. Moreover, this is often done against the backdrop of increased priority being given to private and commercial interests as opposed to public goods and environmental services. This means that in locations where leisure and recreation provision 'is seen as important, such as National Parks, primary uses such as agriculture and forestry still dominate . . . [and] the reactive nature of the planning process means that opportunities to secure recreation provision are not taken up' (Ravenscroft 1992: 135). To a great extent such concerns exist in the present where recreational access has been difficult to achieve in the absence of supportive regulatory and spatial frameworks, for example in countries such as Australia, Canada and New Zealand (McIntyre *et al.* 2001). Indeed, in urban areas the political processes associated with local authority recreation planning and issues such as planning gain are increasingly being used by developers as betterment payments for the right to develop, making recreation and community benefit a tool to exercise leverage on planning applications, while in rural areas provision and access issues remain problematic (Pigram and Jenkins 2006).

Tourism planning and policy

The partially industrialised nature of tourism means that tourism, like the environment, should be regarded as a meta-problem which represents highly interconnected planning and policy 'messes' (Ackoff 1974) which cut across fields of expertise and administrative boundaries and, seemingly, become connected with almost everything else. Tourism, therefore, 'is merely an acute instance of the central problem of

society' (P. Hall 1992: 249), of creating a sense of the whole which can then be effectively planned and managed. Nevertheless, planning for tourism is still regarded as important because its effects are so substantial and potentially longstanding. Indeed, concern with making tourism, along with all development, sustainable has provided an even greater imperative for developing relevant tourism planning frameworks (Hall 2000a, 2008a; Dredge and Jenkins 2007; Hall and Lew 2009). Yet despite increased use by tourism researchers of the evolving network paradigm and governance literature (e.g. Selin 1993; Jamal and Getz 1995; Hall 2008a, 2011a; N. Scott *et al.* 2008) there has been, given the central role of government in tourism promotion and development, surprisingly little reference to the wider planning and public policy literature.

Planning for tourism has traditionally focused on land use zoning, site development, accommodation and building regulations, the density of tourist development, the presentation of cultural, historical and natural tourist features, and the provision of infrastructure, including roads and sewerage (Getz 1987). However, in recent years tourism planning has adapted and expanded to include broader environmental and socio-cultural concerns, and the need to develop and promote economic development strategies at local, regional and national scales, particularly within an increasingly globalised tourism environment (Dredge and Jenkins 2007; Hall 2008a).

The diverse nature of recreation and tourism has meant that the industry is difficult for policy-makers and planners to define and grasp conceptually. This has meant that there have been substantial difficulties for policy-makers in developing appropriate policies, while the co-ordination of the various elements of the recreation and tourism product has been extremely difficult (Hall 1994; Hall and Jenkins 1995). Yet, somewhat paradoxically, it is the very nature of the industry, particularly the way in which local communities, their culture and lifestyles, and the environment are part of the broad leisure tourism product, which makes planning so important (Murphy 1985) and, perhaps, academically appealing (Hall *et al.* 1997; Dredge and Jenkins 2011).

Planning and policy-making are 'filtered through a complex institutional framework' (Brooks 1993: 79). However, the institutional arrangements for tourism have received little attention in the tourism literature (Pearce 1992b; Hall and Jenkins 1995; Hall 2008a, 2011h). Institutions may be thought of as a set of rules, which may be explicit and formalised (e.g. constitutions, statutes and regulations) or implicit and informal (e.g. organisational culture, rules governing personal networks and family relationships). Thus institutions order interrelationships between individuals or groups of individuals by influencing their behaviour. The role of institutional structures has also been increasingly seen as significant in affecting the directions that policy can take as they can serve to exclude some policy alternatives that may be regarded as not fitting into policy norms. This may be extremely important when it comes to the process of policy learning and the development of post-carbon tourism strategies to respond to climate and environmental change (Hall 2011f, 2013e; Gössling *et al.* 2012a).

As a concept and as an aspect of tourism policy-making, institutions cast a wide net; they are extensive and pervasive forces in the tourism policy system (Jenkins 2000; Beaumont and Dredge 2010). In a broad context, O'Riordan observed that

One of the least touched upon, but possibly one of the most fundamental, research needs in resource management [and indeed, tourism management] is the analysis of how institutional arrangements are formed, and how they evolve in response to changing needs and the existence of internal and external stress. There is growing evidence to suggest that the form, structure and operational guidelines by which resource management institutions are formed and evolve clearly affect the implementation of resource policy, both as to the range of choice adopted and the decision attitudes of the personnel involved.

(O'Riordan 1971: 135)

Institutions therefore 'place constraints on decision-makers and help shape outcomes . . . by making some solutions harder, rather than by suggesting positive

alternatives' (Simeon 1976: 574). As the number of checkpoints for policy increase, so too does the potential for bargaining and negotiation. In the longer term, 'institutional arrangements may themselves be seen as policies which, by building in to the decision process the need to consult particular groups and follow particular procedures, increase the likelihood of some kinds of decisions and reduce that of others' (Simeon 1976: 575). For example, new government departments may be established as part of the growth in the activity and influence of government, particularly as new demands, such as concerns over sustainability and environmental change, reach a high priority on the political agenda:

The setting up of entirely new government departments, advisory bodies or sections within the existing administration is a well established strategy on the part of governments for demonstrating loudly and clearly that 'something positive is being done' with respect to a given problem. Moreover, because public service bureaucracies are inherently conservative in terms of their approach to problem delineation and favoured mode of functioning . . . administrative restructuring, together with the associated legislation, is almost always a significant indicator of public pressure for action and change.

(Mercer 1979b: 107)

The implications of the structure and nature of the tourist industry are not merely academic, as it is difficult for government to develop policies and design institutions for a policy area that is hard to determine (Jenkins 1993; Williams and Balaz 2000). Indeed, quality information concerning the tourist industry is relatively limited when compared to the collection of information on other industries and sectors of the economy. Hall and Jenkins (1995) even hypothesise that there is an element of inexperience in tourism policy formulation and implementation, as much government activity in the tourist industry is relatively recent when compared with other traditional concerns of government, such as economics, manufacturing and social welfare, and suggests that tourism

public policies are therefore likely to be ad hoc and incremental. Indeed, Hall (2000a), in a review of the role of government in New Zealand tourism, identified three government agencies with primary responsibilities with respect to tourism policy and over 30 agencies with secondary responsibilities, with there typically being very little formal tourism policy co-ordination between the various agencies. Such a situation, though, should not be surprising, since the nature of tourism means that it cuts across a range of government responsibilities which make policy and planning co-ordination inherently difficult unless a lead agency is clearly identified.

What is tourism planning?

What is planning? ‘Planning is a process, a process of human thought and action based upon that thought – in point of fact, forethought, thought for the future – nothing more or less than this is planning, which is a very general human activity’ (Chadwick 1971: 24). Similarly, according to P. Hall (1982a: 303), planning ‘should aim to provide a resource for democratic and informed decision-making. This is all planning can legitimately do, and all it can pretend to do. Properly understood, this is the real message of the systems revolution in planning and its aftermath’. P. Hall’s (1982a) observation reflects Johnston’s (1991: 209) comment that underlying the geographer’s involvement in planning and policy is ‘the basic thesis that geographers should be much more involved in the creation and monitoring of policies’, yet, as he went on to note, ‘what sort of involvement?’, a point discussed in Chapter 1.

As a general field of research, geographically informed tourism planning has mirrored broader trends within the urban and regional planning traditions (e.g. Getz 1986a, 1987; Hall 2008a) primarily because, as a field of study, it has primarily been focused on destination planning rather than individual tourism business planning. Moreover, planning for tourism tends to reflect the economic, environmental and social goals of government and, increasingly, industry interests, at whichever level the planning

process is being carried out (Hall *et al.* 1997; Dredge and Jenkins 2011). However, it is worth noting that as part of research on tourism entrepreneurship and innovation, as well as networks in a regional and destination context, tourism geographers have also been paying increasing attention to the strategies of individual businesses (Hall and Williams 2008; Ateljevic and Page 2009), including in relation to public policy (Hall 2009c; Weidenfeld and Hall 2014).

Planning for tourism occurs in a number of forms (development, infrastructure, promotion and marketing), structures (different government and non-government organisations), scales (international, national, regional, local and sectoral) and times (different time scales for development, implementation and evaluation) (Hall 2008a). However, public planning is rarely exclusively devoted to tourism per se. Instead, it has long been recognised that planning for tourism tends to be an amalgam of more generic economic, social and environmental considerations which reflect the diversity of the factors which influence tourism development (Heeley 1981). In contrast, as noted on p. 319, recreational planning has historically assumed a more integrated form, being an integral part of most local public sector planning schemes alongside other fundamental themes such as housing (Lavery 1971c; Patmore 1973, 1983). As Chapter 5 demonstrates, this was very evident in urban areas. In this respect, recreation is often a local need-based activity or a regional planning function to deal with the impacts, needs and effects of visitors on the host community (also see Chapters 4 and 7, which note the contribution of geographers to natural area and wilderness planning activities). However, as noted on pp. 317–318, the distinction between public leisure and tourism planning that once existed has been substantially eroded by shifts in government policy and the marketisation of what was formerly state leisure and outdoor recreation policies focused on the public good. Furthermore, much of what is considered as tourism outside urban areas also subsumes recreational activity in natural and wilderness areas (see Chapter 7).

Tourism planning does not just refer specifically to tourism development and promotion, although these

are certainly important. The focus and methods of tourism planning have evolved to meet the demands which have been placed on government with respect to tourism. For example, international tourism policies among the developed nations may be divided into four distinct phases (Table 9.2). Of particular importance has been the increased direct involvement of government in regional development, environmental regulation and the marketing of tourism, although more recently there has been reduced direct government involvement in the supply of tourism infrastructure, greater emphasis on the development of public–private partnerships and industry self-regulation.

The attention of government to the potential economic benefits of tourism and recreation has long provided the main proactive driving force for tourism planning (Richards 1995; Charlton and Essex 1996; Dredge and Jenkins 2007), while the environmental dimensions of tourism planning have tended to be more reactive. The result has often been ‘top-down planning and promotion that leaves destination communities with little input or control over their own destinies’ (Murphy 1985: 153). However, attention is gradually becoming focused on the need to integrate social and environmental concerns into the economic

thrust of much tourism development (Timothy 2002). Tourism must be integrated within the wider planning processes in order to promote certain goals of economic, social and environmental enhancement or maximisation that may be achieved through appropriate tourism development and governance (Hall 2008a). As Murphy (1985: 156) observed, ‘planning is concerned with anticipating and regulating change in a system, to promote orderly development so as to increase the social, economic, and environmental benefits of the development process’. Therefore, tourism planning must be ‘a process, based on research and evaluation, which seeks to optimize the potential contribution of tourism to human welfare and environmental quality’ (Getz 1987: 3).

Approaches to tourism planning

Getz (1987) identified four broad traditions or approaches to tourism planning: ‘boosterism’, an economic, industry-oriented approach, a physical/spatial approach, and a community-oriented approach which emphasises the role the destination community plays in the tourism experience. The four traditions are neither ‘mutually exclusive, nor are they necessarily sequential’ (Getz 1987: 5). Nevertheless, it is a

Table 9.2 International tourism policies, 1945 to the present

Phase	Characteristics
1945–55	Dismantling and streamlining of the police, customs, currency and health regulations that had been put in place following the Second World War.
1955–70	Greater government involvement in destination marketing in order to increase tourism earning potential.
1970–85	Government involvement in the supply of tourism infrastructure and in the use of tourism as a tool of regional economic development. Continued government funding of destination marketing.
1985–2000	Continued use of tourism as a tool for regional development, increased focus on environmental issues, reduced direct government involvement in the supply of tourism infrastructure, greater emphasis on the development of public–private partnerships and industry self-regulation, and the development of tourism business networks to meet policy goals.
2000 to present	Same as 1985–2000 but increasing growth of tourism as an intermestic political issue with a focus by many sub-national governments on place-marketing and the creation of networks. Increased integration of cultural, event, regeneration and tourism policies. Emergence of global environmental change, including climate change and biodiversity conservation as policy issues. Security policy developments also affect tourism.

Source: after Hall 1994, 2000a, 2005a, 2008a.

convenient categorisation for examining the different approaches to tourism planning, and the research and planning methods primarily associated with each. To these four approaches, Hall (1995) added a fifth approach, that of sustainable tourism planning, and an extension of that approach via the notion of steady-state tourism grounded in ecological economics and degrowth (Hall 2009e, 2010l), and which is also related to concepts of sustainable consumption. Table 9.3 provides a detailed overview of the components of each tourism planning approach. Different planning approaches, while not mutually exclusive, conceptualise tourism planning in distinct ways. Each perspective differs in its underlying assumptions about planning, problem definition, the appropriate level of analysis and research methods. Researchers therefore choose their perspective(s) according to their profession, education, values, the organisational context within which they work and the nature of the planning problem.

Boosterism is the simplistic attitude that tourism development is inherently good and of automatic benefit to the hosts (Woods 2011). Residents of tourist destinations are not involved in the decision-making, planning and policy processes surrounding tourism development. According to Getz,

Boosterism is still practised, and always will be, by two groups of people: politicians who philosophically or pragmatically believe that economic growth is always to be promoted, and by others who will gain financially by tourism. They will go on promoting it until the evidence mounts that they have run out of resources to exploit, that the real or opportunity costs are too high, or that political opposition to growth can no longer be countered. By then the real damage has usually been done.

(Getz 1987: 10)

In contrast, an economic planning approach towards tourism aims to promote growth and development in specific areas. The planning emphasis is on the economic impacts of tourism and its most efficient use to create income and employment benefits for regions or

communities. Since 2000 the economic approach has also focused more on notions of destination competitiveness (Hall 2007b).

One of the main areas to which geographers have contributed is the physical/spatial approach, under which tourism is regarded as having an ecological base with a resultant need for development to be based upon certain spatial patterns, capacities or thresholds that would minimise the negative impacts of tourism on the physical environment (Getz 1983, 1987). Indeed, much of the concern with the physical and behavioural carrying capacities of specific locations discussed in Chapter 8 falls into this particular approach. Research by Page and Thorn (1997) in New Zealand reviewed the impact of a market-led approach to tourism planning at the national level, where a lack of rational national policy or planning advice has significant implications for national conservation estate management (Kane 2013) as well as local areas that are required to deal with the micro-scale issues (Hall and Wilson 2011). Similarly, as Blowers (1997: 36) noted in the case of the United Kingdom, 'the long period of privatisation, deregulation, cuts in public expenditure and attacks on local government have resulted in a "democratic deficit" – a dispersal of power to unelected quangos and business interests – and have led to unsustainable developments'. An arguably more preferable focus for local areas is the contribution which a community approach can make (Timothy 2002).

A community approach emphasises the social and political context within which tourism occurs and advocates greater local control over the development process. Geographers have also been active in this area, as it builds upon a strong urban and regional planning tradition that is concerned with being relevant to community needs. The best-known exemplar of this approach is the work of Murphy (1985, 1988; Murphy and Murphy 2004), although a community development approach is also influential in developing country destinations as well as in the developed world (Singh *et al.* 2003).

A community approach to tourism planning is an attempt to formulate a 'bottom-up' form of planning, which emphasises development *in* the community

Table 9.3 Tourism planning approaches: assumptions, problem definition, methods and models

Planning tradition	Underlying assumptions and related attitudes	Definition of the tourism planning problem	Examples of related methods	Examples of related models
Boosterism	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • tourism is inherently good • tourism should be developed • cultural and natural resources should be exploited • industry as expert • development defined in business/corporate terms 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • how many tourists can be attracted and accommodated? • how can obstacles be overcome? • convincing hosts to be good to tourists • improving destination/product competitiveness • can tourism be used as a growth pole? • maximisation of income and employment multipliers • influencing consumer choice • providing economic values for externalities and environmental services • physical carrying capacity • manipulating travel patterns and visitor flows • visitor management • concentration or dispersal of visitors • environmental perception • wilderness and national park management 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • promotion • public relations • advertising • growth targets 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • demand forecasting models
Economic	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • tourism equal to other industries as a form of economic development • use tourism to create employment, earn foreign revenue and improve terms of trade, encourage regional development, overcome regional economic disparities • development defined in economic terms • superiority of economic analysis in planning process to other forms of planning arguments • tourism as a resource user • ecological basis to development • tourism as a spatial and regional phenomenon • environmental conservation • development defined in environmental terms • conservation of biological diversity • designation of environmentally sensitive areas • conservation of heritage and management of built environment • need for local control • search for balanced development strategies between different community stakeholders • search for alternatives to mass tourism development • planner as facilitator rather than expert • development defined in socio-cultural terms • retaining cultural authenticity and integrity 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • supply–demand analysis • benefit–cost analysis • product–market matching • development incentives • market segmentation • hedonistic pricing 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • management processes • tourism master plans • nudging • economic impact • economic multipliers 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • spatial patterns and processes • physical impacts • resort morphology • LAC (limits of acceptable change) • ROS (recreational opportunity spectrum) • destination life cycles
Physical/spatial	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • concentration or dispersal of visitors • environmental perception • wilderness and national park management 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • ecological studies • environmental impact assessment • regional and urban planning • perceptual studies 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • ecological studies • environmental impact assessment • regional and urban planning • perceptual studies 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • ecological view of community • awareness and education • attitudinal surveys • social impact assessment • understanding the impacts of tourism on a community • moderating social impact
Community	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • how to foster community control? • understanding community attitudes towards tourism • understanding the impacts of tourism on a community • moderating social impact 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • community development • awareness and education • attitudinal surveys • social impact assessment 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • ecological view of community • social/perceptual carrying capacity • attitudinal change • social multiplier 	

Table 9.3 (Continued)

<i>Planning tradition</i>	<i>Underlying assumptions and related attitudes</i>	<i>Definition of the tourism planning problem</i>	<i>Examples of related methods</i>	<i>Examples of related models</i>
Sustainable	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • finding a balance between economic, environmental and social dimensions of development • integration of economic, environmental and socio-cultural values • tourism planning integrated with other planning processes • holistic planning • preserving inter- and intra-generational equity • creating and maintaining networks • planning and implementation as two sides of the same coin 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • understanding the tourism system • setting goals, objectives and priorities • policy co-ordination • co-operative and integrated control systems • stakeholder input • aspirations analysis • environmental analysis and audit 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • strategic planning to supersede conventional • raising producer awareness • raising consumer awareness • stakeholder input • environmental analysis 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • systems models • integrated models • resources as culturally determined • learning organisations • social marketing • sustainable culinary systems
Steady-state	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • development must be understood in relation to the limits of natural capital • development as a qualitative measure • relation of the marginal benefit of economic growth to costs • the implications of tourism's embeddedness in contemporary capitalism • growth does not equal development • conservation of natural capital, biodiversity and ecological processes • tourism needs to be more localised • use of all four modes of tourism governance 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • tourism must reduce its emissions and environmental impacts in absolute terms • cradle-to-cradle design • implementing the 4Rs: reduce, reuse, recycle and regulate • encouraging sustainable consumption via efficiency- and sufficiency-based approaches • polluter pays • reducing hypermobility 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • transition management • post-carbon tourism • degrowth • slow tourism • life cycle analysis 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • ecological economics • behaviour change • voluntary simplicity • slow tourism • ethical and sustainable consumption • staycations and local tourism

Sources: after Getz 1987; Hall *et al.* 1997; Hall 2008a, 2009e, 2010l.

rather than development *of* the community. Under this approach, residents, not tourists, are regarded as the focal point of tourism planning and decision-making, and the community, which is often equated with a region of local government, is usually used as the basic planning unit. Nevertheless, substantial difficulties will arise in attempting to implement the concept of community planning in tourist destinations. Research into community attitudes towards tourists and tourism development is well developed, although effective incorporation of such views into the planning process so that it influences future patterns of tourism development is less common. J. Jenkins' (1993) list of seven impediments to incorporating public participation in tourism planning still holds to the present:

- the public generally has difficulty in comprehending complex and technical planning issues;
- the public is not always aware of or understands the decision-making process;
- the difficulty in attaining and maintaining representativeness in the decision-making process;
- the apathy of citizens;
- the increased costs in terms of staff and money;
- the prolonging of the decision-making process;
- adverse effects on the efficiency of decision-making.

As the above discussion indicates, one of the major difficulties in implementing a community approach to tourism planning is the political nature of the planning process. Community planning implies a high degree of public participation in the planning process. However, public participation implies that the local community will have a degree of control over the planning and decision-making process. Therefore, a community approach to tourism planning implies that there will be a need for partnership in, or community control of, the tourism development process.

Yet power is not evenly distributed within a community, and some groups and individuals will therefore have the ability to exert greater influence over the planning process than others (Hall and Jenkins 1995).

Therefore, in some circumstances, the level of public involvement in tourism planning may be more accurately described as a form of tokenism in which decisions or the direction of decisions have already been prescribed by government. Communities rarely have the opportunity to say 'no' (Hall 2008a). Nevertheless, as Murphy (1985: 153) argued, 'If tourism is to become the successful and self-perpetuating industry many have advocated, it needs to be planned and managed as a renewable resource industry, based on local capacities and community decision making', with an increased emphasis being given to the interrelated and evolutionary nature of tourist development. Yet despite such a clear statement of planning goals, since then tourism, while growing, has only further run down natural and social capital in many destinations, raising further questions about how sustainable it is in the long term.

Since the late 1990s, geographers have become concerned with the development of sustainable approaches towards tourism (Hall and Lew 1998, 2009; Bianchi 2002; Mercer 2004; Weaver 2004; Gössling *et al.* 2009b; Lew *et al.* 2011). Sustainable tourism planning is an integrative form of tourism planning, which bears much similarity to the many traditionally applied concerns of the geographer as resource manager (Mitchell 1979). Sustainable tourism planning seeks to provide lasting and secure livelihoods with minimal resource depletion, environmental degradation, cultural disruption and social instability. The approach therefore tends to integrate features of the economic, physical/spatial and community traditions.

The concern for equity, in terms of both intra- and intergenerational equity, in sustainable development means that there is concern for the maintenance and enhancement of 'environmental capital' (Jacobs 1991) and social capital (Healey 1997), as well as economic capital. The focus on equity also suggests the use of appropriate policies and programmes of social equality and political participation (Blowers 1997). Such an approach has considerable implications for the structure of tourism planning and policy-making, as decision-making processes should be more inclusive of the full range of values, opinions and interests that

surround tourism developments and tourism's overall contribution to development, and provide a clearer space for public argument and debate (Smyth 1994; Dredge and Jenkins 2007, 2011). As B. Evans (1997: 8) argued, 'if environmental planning for sustainability . . . is to be anywhere near effective, the political processes of public debate and controversy, both formal and informal, will need to play a much more significant role than has hitherto been the case'. However, Hall (2011f) has suggested that this has not occurred because policy learning in tourism has tended to be incremental rather than accommodating substantial policy shifts that would incorporate the values of sustainability into the tourism policy process.

Dutton and Hall (1989; see also Page and Thorn 1997; Ruhanen 2004; Pigram and Jenkins 2006) identified five key elements of sustainable tourism planning: co-operative and integrated control systems, development of industry co-ordination mechanisms, raising consumer awareness, raising producer awareness and strategic planning to supersede conventional approaches.

Co-operative and integrated control systems

In a typical planning process, stakeholders are consulted minimally, near the end of the process, and often via formal public meetings. An integrative planning approach to tourism planning and management at all levels (from the regional plan to individual resort projects) would assist in the more equitable distribution of the benefits and costs of tourism development, while focusing on improved relationships and understanding between stakeholders may also assist in agreement on planning directions and goals. However, co-operation alone will not foster commitment to sustainable development without the incentive of increased mutual benefits (Hall 2008a).

One of the most important aspects of co-operative and integrated control systems is the selection of indicators of sustainability. The role of an indicator is to make complex systems understandable. An effective indicator or set of indicators helps a destination,

community or organisation determine where it is, where it is going and how far it is from chosen goals. Sustainability indicators provide a measure of the long-term viability of a destination or community based on the degree to which its economic, environmental and social systems are efficient and integrated (Gill and Williams 1994; Hall and Lew 2009). However, indicators are useful only in the context of appropriately framed questions (Hall and McArthur 1998). In choosing indicators, one must have a clear understanding of planning goals and objectives. For example, a typology of indicators might include:

- economic, environmental and social indicators (measuring changes in the state of the economy, environment and society);
- sustainability indicators (measuring the distance between that change and a sustainable state of the environment);
- sustainable development indicators (measuring progress to the broader goal of sustainable development in a national context).

There has been a tendency to pick indicators that are easiest to measure and reflect most visible change; therefore important concerns from a holistic perspective of tourism development, such as the social and cultural impacts of tourism, may be dropped. In addition, appropriate indicators may not be selected because organisations might not want to be held accountable for the results of evaluations (Hall and McArthur 1998; Dredge and Jenkins 2011). Indicators to reflect desired conditions and use should (Wight 1998; Choi and Sirakaya 2006):

- be directly observable;
- be relatively easy to measure;
- reflect understanding that some change is normal, particularly in ecological systems, and be sensitive to changing use conditions;
- reflect appropriate scales (spatial and temporal);
- have ecological, not just institutional or administrative boundaries;
- encompass relevant structural, functional and compositional attributes of the ecosystem;

- include social, cultural, economic and ecological components;
- reflect understanding of indicator function/type (e.g. baseline/reference, stress, impact, management, system diagnostic);
- relate to the vision, goals and objectives for the destination region;
- be amenable to management.

Development of industry co-ordination mechanisms

While a range of formal and informal tourism industry bodies exist in almost every country in the world, few of these address such complex issues as sustainable development. The support by industry groups for environmental codes is perhaps indicative of possible

BOX 9.1 TOURISM INTEREST GROUPS AND THE PUBLIC INTEREST

One of the great problems in examining the role of interest groups in the tourism policy-making process is deciding what the appropriate relationship between an interest group and government should be (Hall and Jenkins 1995; Bramwell 2004; Bramwell and Meyer 2007; Anastasiadou 2008; Thomas 2011), given that governments are meant to be governing in the public interest (Hall 2008a). At what point does tourism industry membership of government advisory committees or of a national, regional or local tourism agency represent a 'closing up' of the policy process to other interest groups rather than an exercise in consultation, co-ordination, partnership or collaboration? This question has long been an issue in political science. As Deutsch recognised:

this co-operation between groups and bureaucrats can sometimes be a good thing. But it may sometimes be a very bad thing. These groups, used to each other's needs, may become increasingly preoccupied with each other, insensitive to the needs of outsiders, and impervious to new recruitment and to new ideas. Or the members of the various interest group elites may identify more and more with each other and less and less with the interests of the groups they represent.

(Deutsch 1970: 56)

The relationship between the tourism industry and government tourism agencies clearly raises questions about the extent to which established policy processes lead to outcomes which are in the 'public interest' and which contribute to sustainability rather than meeting just narrow sectoral interests. Mucciaroni (1991: 474) noted that 'client politics is typical of policies with diffuse costs and concentrated benefits. An identifiable group benefits from a policy, but the costs are paid by everybody or at least a large part of society.' Several authors (e.g. Hall and Jenkins 1995; Dredge and Jenkins 2007; Hall 2008a) have stressed that tourism policy is one such area, particularly in terms of the direct and indirect costs of tourism promotion and marketing. However, the implications of this situation also affect the overall sustainability of tourism and of communities and who pays, for example, for the environmental and social costs of tourism (Hall 2011f). In reviewing the tourism and collaboration literature Hall (1999) concluded that the present focus by government tourism agencies on partnership and collaboration is laudable:

But the linguistic niceties of partnership and collaboration need to be challenged by focusing on who is involved in tourism planning and policy processes and who is left out . . . Unless there are attempts to

provide equity of access to all stakeholders then collaboration will be one more approach consigned to the lexicon of tourism planning clichés.

(Hall 1999: 285–6)

Indeed, more than a decade later, when seeking to explain why sustainability thinking had not led to real policy change, he suggested, 'Far too much attention has been given to the assumption that a well-designed institution is "good" because it facilitates cooperation and network development rather than a focus on norms and institutionalisation as first and necessary steps in the assessment of what kind of changes institutional arrangements are promoting and their potential outcomes' (Hall 2011f: 665). Therefore, the policy arguments surrounding networks and collaboration need to be examined within broader ideas of the appropriate role of government and changing relationships and expectations between government and communities.

directions if common needs can be agreed upon. However, for such guidelines to be effective, it must be ensured that they do not constitute a 'lowest common denominator' approach to development and implementation (Hall 1999). Therefore, government and public interest groups tend to use their influence to encourage greater industry co-ordination on planning issues by creating structures and processes which enable stakeholders to talk to each other and create effective relationships and partnerships. In many ways such measures are easier to achieve at a local level because the range of stakeholders which need to be incorporated into co-ordinating bodies will be narrower. In addition, contact at the local level provides a greater capacity for face-to-face contact to occur and therefore trust-building to develop (Hall 2000a; Bramwell 2004).

Co-ordination refers to formal institutionalised relationships among existing networks of organisations, interests and/or individuals, while co-operation is 'characterized by informal trade-offs and by attempts to establish reciprocity in the absence of rules' (Mulford and Rogers 1982: 13). Often, the problem of developing co-ordinated approaches towards tourism planning and policy problems, such as the meta-problem of sustainability, is identified in organisational terms (e.g. the creation of new organisations or the allocation of new responsibilities

to existing ones). However, such a response does not by itself solve the problem of bringing various stakeholders and interests together, which is an issue of establishing collaborative processes. Instead, by recognising the level of interdependence that exists within the tourism system (Dredge and Jenkins 2007; Hall 2008a), it may be possible for 'separate, partisan interests to discover a common or public interest' (Friedmann 1973: 350). Notions of collaboration, co-ordination and partnership are separate, though closely related, ideas within the emerging network paradigm. Networks refer to the development of linkages between actors (organisations and individuals) where linkages become more formalised towards maintaining mutual interests. The nature of such linkages exists on a continuum ranging from 'loose' linkages to coalitions and more lasting structural arrangements and relationships. Mandell (1999) identifies a continuum of such collaborative efforts, as follows:

- linkages or interactive contacts between two or more actors;
- intermittent co-ordination or mutual adjustment of the policies and procedures of two or more actors to accomplish some objective;
- ad-hoc or temporary task force activity among actors to accomplish a purpose or purposes;

- permanent and/or regular co-ordination between two or more actors through a formal arrangement (e.g. a council or partnership) to engage in limited activity to achieve a purpose or purposes;
- a coalition where interdependent and strategic actions are taken, but where purposes are narrow in scope and all actions occur within the participant actors themselves or involve the mutually sequential or simultaneous activity of the participant actors;
- a collective or network structure where there is a broad mission and joint and strategically interdependent action; such structural arrangements take on broad tasks that reach beyond the simultaneous actions of independently operating actors.

However, the caution of Mandell has perhaps not been given sufficient heed in the enthusiasm for network development in tourism:

we often look for prescriptions or answers as to how to solve ongoing dilemmas . . . it is tempting for both academics and practitioners to try to develop a model of success that will fit this complex world. In this regard, the concepts of networks and network structures can easily become the next in line for those in the field to 'latch onto' and use wholesale. Although it may be tempting to do so, this 'one size fits all' type of modelling does not take into consideration the myriad of factors and events that must be understood before these concepts can be of much use in the 'real world'.

(Mandell 1999: 8)

Raising consumer awareness

One of the hallmarks of tourism, and other industries, in recent years has been a perceived increase in consumer demand for 'green' or 'environmentally friendly' products (Hjalager 2000; Budeanu 2007); such demand is often related to increased consumer awareness of environmental and social issues associated with trade and tourism. However, in many cases, the difference between a sustainable and

non-sustainable tourism operation may be difficult for consumers to detect, particularly if the greening of tourism is regarded more as a branding device than as a fundamental change in product development.

One development which is usually regarded as an indicator of increased consumer awareness is the development of tourist codes of behaviour in order to minimise the negative impacts of tourists on the social and physical environment (Valentine 1992; Techera and Klein 2013). However, as Hall (2014) highlighted, awareness of the environmental implications of tourism does not necessarily lead to changes in behaviour, particularly as individual tourists may not believe that their individual consumption is sufficient cause for concern. Although consumer awareness is important and may result in marginal shifts in tourism product, particularly if one believes the old adage that the consumer is king, fundamental changes are also required on the supply side of the tourism equation.

Raising producer awareness

As with the raising of consumer awareness, much attention has been given to the production of environmental codes of conduct or practice for tourism associations (Hall and McArthur 1998). For example, extensive guidelines have been developed for tourism operators in the polar regions (Hall and Johnston 1995; Hall and Saarinen 2010; Lück *et al.* 2010). However, such guidelines, while undoubtedly influencing the actions of some tourism operators, may need to be backed up by government regulation and environmental planning legislation if they are to have any overall effect on development practices. For example, where such codes of conduct are voluntary, what practical measures exist to punish operators who do not subscribe to them?

Strategic planning to supersede conventional approaches

Strategic tourism planning aims to be proactive, responsive to community needs, to incorporate implementation within a single planning process, and be

BOX 9.2 CRUISE CODES OF CONDUCT AND ARCTIC BIOSECURITY

The introduction of alien species into polar regions affected by climate change has become a major issue in the management of polar tourism. This is because tourism transport, especially cruise ships, and tourists are potential vectors for macro and micro fauna and flora that may establish themselves in locations where ice is no longer permanent, or may outcompete existing species or introduce new diseases to animal and plant populations. In the case of the Arctic, cruise ships, as well as other forms of tourist transport, pose a significant biosecurity threat not only because they are starting to visit previously little or unvisited areas but also because the frequency of visits is increasing. Biosecurity and environmental management strategies that may have been suitable even a decade previously may therefore become significantly challenged, as – in contrast to the Antarctic – the Arctic biosecurity regime is extremely piecemeal, with regulations or guidelines primarily concentrated on national parks and reserves.

The Association of Arctic Expedition Cruise Operators (AECO), which has developed guidelines for expedition and cruise operations in the Arctic, was founded in 2003. As of June 2010, the AECO had 14 member companies operating within AECO's geographical range of Svalbard, Jan Mayen and Greenland, with craft sizes ranging from small sailing yachts to expedition cruise ships with up to 320 passengers. AECO has produced guidelines both for members (AECO 2007) and for visitors (AECO n.d.), the guidelines for visitors being 'a few basic rules' selected from the more comprehensive guidelines for members. Although the visitor guidelines do not specifically focus on biosecurity, they do note the importance of 'leaving no lasting signs of your visit', no souveniring of natural material, including flowers, and no disturbance of animals and birds (AECO n.d.).

The AECO members' guidelines do not have a specific biosecurity section. However, they do provide a clear set of guidelines with respect to the environment. Particularly relevant is the statement that 'Even if different parts of the area in question have different legal protection status through national and local legislation, it is the policy of AECO to regard all land and marine areas as protected and act according to the highest protection status, which includes':

- Do not remove anything. The regulations are relatively complex on what can be removed and where (plants, bones, driftwood, dead animals/skeletons, fossils, stones, bones, etc.). The expedition staff must know the regulation. Visitors or staff from AECO ships should, however, not move or remove any objects that are not clearly garbage, and thus avoid degradation of the landing sites and their wilderness value.
- Do not allow cairn-building, graffiti creation of any kind or other such disturbances to the physical environment.
- Ensure that visitors, staff or crew do not leave anything behind onshore (or in the water).
- Make every effort to remove garbage found on the shores (and support the 'Clean up Svalbard' project).
- Be considerate to other people or activities: avoid landings near camps, trappers or others unless contact is established and the landing is agreed to (AECO 2007: 8).

Furthermore, visitors are informed about environmental impacts as part of the pre-landing information. Such guidelines 'are in addition to company policy and internal routines. The guidelines are directed to operational staff and to some extent the ship's crew' (AECO 2007: 7). In addition, 'Preparation for cruise

operations must include the following steps . . . Communicate relevant AECO policy and guidelines to visitors, agents and the market place, as well as to authorities, Arctic research communities and the interested general public' (AECO 2007: 6). However, the problem with such voluntary measures is that AECO members are not the only cruise ship operators in high latitude waters. In fact more than half of the expedition and cruise ship operators identified by Hall *et al.* (2010) operating in the high Arctic in 2009–10 were non-AECO.

ongoing (Ruhanen 2004, 2010; Soteriou and Coccossis 2010). A 'strategy' is a means to achieve a desired end. Strategic planning is the process by which an organisation effectively adapts to its management environment over time by integrating planning and management in a single process. The strategic plan is the document which is the output of a strategic planning process; it is the template by which progress is measured and which serves to guide future directions, activities, programmes and actions. The outcome of the strategic planning process is the impact the process has on the organisation and its activities. Such impacts are then monitored and evaluated through the selection of appropriate indicators as part of the ongoing revision and readjustment of the organisation to its environment. Strategic planning therefore emphasises the process of continuous improvement as a cornerstone of organisational activity in which strategic planning is linked to management and operational decision-making. According to Hall and McArthur (1998) there are three key mechanisms to achieving strategic planning which differentiate it from conventional planning approaches:

- a planning framework which extends beyond organisational boundaries and focuses on strategic decisions concerning stakeholders and resources;
- a planning process that stimulates entrepreneurial and innovative thinking;
- an organisational values system that reinforces managers and staff commitment to the organisational strategy.

Effective strategic planning for sustainable tourism recognises the importance of factors that affect the

broad framework within which strategies are generated, such as institutional arrangements, institutional culture and stakeholder values and attitudes. These factors are significant because it is important to recognise that strategic plans must be in line with the legislative powers and organisational structures of the implementing organisation(s) and the political goals of government (Soteriou and Coccossis 2010). However, it may also be the case that once the strategic planning process is underway, goals and objectives formulated and the process evaluated, the institutional arrangements may be recognised as being inadequate for the successful achievement of sustainable goals and objectives. In addition, it must be recognised that in order to be effective the strategic planning process needs to be integrated with the development of appropriate organisational values (Hall and Jenkins 1995; Dredge and Jenkins 2007). Indeed, with respect to the significance of values it may be noted that the strategic planning process is as important as its output, i.e. a plan. By having an inclusive planning process by which those responsible for implementing the plan are also those who helped formulate it, the likelihood of 'ownership' of the plan and, hence, effective implementation will be dramatically increased (Heath and Wall 1992; Hall and McArthur 1996).

A strategic planning process may be initiated for a number of reasons (Hall and McArthur 1998):

- *stakeholder demands*: demand for the undertaking of a strategic plan may come from the pressure of stakeholders (e.g. environmental conservation groups or government);
- *perceived need*: the lack of appropriate information by which to make decisions or an appropriate

framework with which to implement legislative requirements may give rise to a perception that new management and planning approaches are required;

- *response to crisis*: the undertaking of strategic planning exercises is often the result of a crisis in the sense that the management and planning system has failed to adapt to aspects of the management environment (e.g. failure to conserve the values of an environmentally significant site from visitor pressures);
- *best practice*: visitor managers can be proactive with respect to the adoption of new ideas and techniques. Therefore, a strategic planning process can become a way of doing things better;
- *adaptation, innovation and the diffusion of ideas*: individuals within an organisation can encourage strategic planning processes as part of the diffusion of ideas within and between responsible management agencies.

Strategic planning is rarely initiated for a single reason. However, it is important to understand as much as possible why a particular planning process is being initiated, as this helps the participants understand the expectations which have been created (Ruhanen 2004). Once underway, strategic planning is designed to be iterative. In other words, planning systems are meant to be able to adapt and change; they learn how to be effective in terms of the most appropriate set of goals, objectives, actions, indicators, institutional arrangements and practices. Through such measures they may therefore become potentially more resilient to change within and external to the destination (Milman and Short 2008).

Tourism policy

As with planning, geographers have long held interests in policy-making, although it is only since the early 1990s that such concerns have found substantial expression in the tourism sphere (e.g. Fagence 1990, 1991; Pearce 1992a, 1992b; Hall and Jenkins 1995). Public policy is the focal point of government

activity. In its simplest form public policy 'is whatever governments choose to do or not to do' (Dye 1992: 2). This definition covers government action, inaction, decisions and non-decisions as it implies a deliberate choice between alternatives. For a policy to be regarded as public policy, at the very least it must have been processed, even if only authorised or ratified, by public agencies. Public policy-making, including tourism policy-making, is first and foremost a political activity. Public policy is influenced by the economic, social and cultural characteristics of society, as well as by the formal structures of government and other features of the political system. Policy is therefore a consequence of the political environment, values and ideologies, the distribution of power, institutional frameworks and of decision-making processes (Hall and Jenkins 1995; Hall *et al.* 1997; Dredge and Jenkins 2007).

Tourism public policy is therefore whatever governments choose to do or not to do with respect to tourism (Hall and Jenkins 1995). However, as a number of studies by geographers have indicated (e.g. McKercher 1993c, 1997; Jenkins 1997; Dredge and Jenkins 2011), pressure groups (e.g. tourism industry associations, conservation groups, community groups), community leaders and significant individuals (e.g. local government councillors), members of the bureaucracy (e.g. employees within tourism commissions or regional development agencies) and others (e.g. academics and consultants) influence and perceive public policies in significant and often markedly different ways (Anastasiadou 2008).

Research on tourism policy can be broadly divided into two main theoretical approaches: that which adopts prescriptive models and that which adopts descriptive models (Hall 1994; Hall and Jenkins 1995). 'Prescriptive or normative models seek to demonstrate how [planning and] policy making should occur relative to pre-established standards', whereas 'descriptive models document the way in which the policy process actually occurs' (B. Mitchell 1989: 264). Prescriptive (normative) models suggest how tourism policy- and decision-making should occur relative to pre-established standards. The prescriptive-rational approach assumes that a dichotomy exists

between the policy-making process and administration and the existence of 'Economic Man [sic]', whereby individuals can 'identify and rank goals, values and objectives', and 'can choose consistently among them after having collected all the necessary data and systematically evaluated them' (L.S. Mitchell 1979: 236). However, such models do not provide detailed insights into the real world of planning and its associated set of values, power and interests. Instead, approaches, methods and techniques need to be evaluated within the context of the goals, objectives and outcomes of tourism planning and development (Hall and Jenkins 1995; Dredge and Jenkins 2007; Hall 2008a).

Descriptive approaches give rise to explanations about what happened during the decision-making, planning and policy-making processes. Case studies are an important component of descriptive tourism research as they help understand the effects that such factors as choice, power, perception, values and process have on tourism planning and policy-making in particular contexts. The main criticism of the case study method is its historical-descriptive chronology; the potential lack of consistency in scope, context and conceptual cohesiveness; and its representativeness (Beeton 2005). However, although a single case study is rarely sufficient for a full inquiry, the duplication of studies may well suggest fundamental relationships and generalisations (L.S. Mitchell 1979; Beeton 2005). This attitude is reflected in the recreation research of La Page (cited in Mercer 1973: 42): 'For sound research planning, I would gladly swap all the "highly significant" correlation coefficients of the past 10 years for a couple of good case studies that yielded some solid conceptual insight to build on.'

Under a descriptive approach, emphasis is therefore placed on understanding the various elements of the policy process and how it arrives at certain outputs and outcomes. Therefore, an understanding of the way in which government utilises tourism as a policy mechanism may be extremely valuable not only in terms of improving the policy-making and planning process, but also in terms of improving the conditions of the people who are affected by such policies.

For example, tourism as a policy response to the economic problems of rural and peripheral areas in

developed countries has changed over time (Jenkins *et al.* 1998; Müller and Jansson 2006). Until the mid-1980s rural tourism was primarily concerned with commercial opportunities, multiplier effects and employment creation (e.g. Canadian Council on Rural Development 1975). In the late 1980s policy guidance shifted to the message that the environment is a key component of the tourism industry. Under this notion, 'tourism is an additive rather than extractive force for rural communities' (Curry 1994: 146). From the late 1980s and early 1990s to the present day, an additional layer to the policy responses of government to tourism and regional development has been added which returns to the earlier economic concerns. This is the perception of rural tourism as a major mechanism for arresting the decline of agricultural employment and therefore as a mechanism for agricultural diversification (Rural Development Commission 1991; Butler *et al.* 1998). Yet despite government enthusiasm for tourism as a mechanism to counter problems arising out of rural restructuring and depopulation, these policies have been only marginally successful, with the greatest growth from tourism- and recreation-related industries occurring in the larger rural service centres and the rural-urban fringe, arguably those areas which least need the benefits that tourism can bring (Butler *et al.* 1998; Jenkins *et al.* 1998). Why has this occurred?

To a great extent it relates to a failure by government to understand the nature of tourism and its relationship with other sectors of the economy and the policy and planning process itself. First, all the dimensions of development need to be considered. Second, it highlights the need for awareness of the various linkages that exist between the elements of development. Third, it also implies that 'successful' regional development will require co-ordination and, at times, intervention, in order to achieve desired outcomes. Fourth, it also means that tourism should not be seen as the be-all and end-all of regional development, but instead should be utilised as an appropriate response to the real needs of regions (Cater 2000). Furthermore, the role of growth coalitions and the distribution of power in a community have enormous implications for the tourism policy and planning

process and its outcomes (Morgan and Pritchard 1999; Church and Reid 2000; Schollmann *et al.* 2001; Bianchi 2002; Church and Coles 2007).

Depending on the parameters used, government involvement in utilising tourism for regional development purposes is therefore often quite unsuccessful (Hall and Jenkins 1998; Dredge and Jenkins 2007). The reason for such failures lies in a lack of understanding of policy processes (Hall and Jenkins 1995; Jenkins 2001; Michael 2001; Dredge and Jenkins 2011). Furthermore, while tourism development goals may be fairly clear at the regional level, little research has been conducted on the most appropriate policy mix to achieve such objectives and there is often minimal monitoring and evaluation of policy measures (Hall and Jenkins 1998; Hall 2008a). As a result of such issues there has been a shift of focus in tourism policy studies to contextualise tourism studies within broader issues of governance.

Governance

Governance is the act of governing. However, there is no single accepted definition of governance. This is reflected in Kooiman's (2003: 4) concept of

governance as 'the totality of theoretical conceptions on governing'. Definitions tend to suggest a recognition of a change in political practices, involving, amongst other things, increasing globalisation, the rise of networks that cross the public-private divide, the marketisation of the state, and increasing institutional fragmentation. Nevertheless, two broad meanings of governance can be recognised. First, it describes contemporary state adaptation to its economic and political environment. This is often referred to as 'new governance'. Yee (2004: 487) provided a very basic definition of this approach by describing new modes of governance as 'new governing activities that do not occur solely through governments'. Some of these elements are outlined in Table 9.4. Although, as Treib *et al.* (2007: 16) observe, it is not really 'appropriate to use the labels of "old" and "new" modes of governance for classificatory purposes. What is new in one area could be rather old in another field of study, which makes these labels inadequate as analytical categories.'

The second broad meaning of governance is that it is used to denote a conceptual and theoretical representation of the role of the state in the co-ordination of socio-economic systems. However, it should be noted that the two approaches are not mutually

Table 9.4 The characteristics of 'new' modes of governance

Elements	Characteristics
Participation and power sharing	Policy-making is not regarded as the sole domain of regulators, but private and public stakeholders from different levels are meant to participate in the policy process as part of public-private partnership
Multi-level integration	Co-ordination between different levels of government needs to occur both horizontally and vertically and should involve private actors
Diversity and decentralisation	Rather than a standard legislative or regulatory approach, a diverse range of co-ordinated approaches is instead encouraged
Deliberation	Greater deliberation is encouraged between public and private stakeholders so as to improve the democratic legitimisation of policy-making processes
Flexibility and revisability	Soft law measures are often applied that rely on flexible guidelines and open-ended standards that are implemented voluntarily and may be revised as policy circumstances change
Experimentation and knowledge creation	Greater encouragement of local experimentation in governance measures as well as knowledge creation and sharing in connection with multilateral surveillance, benchmarking and the exchange of results and best practice

Source: Hall 2011a: 441.

exclusive, as the use of the term 'governance' as a form of shorthand for new forms of governance in western societies is itself predicated on particular conceptions of what the role of the state should be in contemporary society and the desirability and nature of state intervention. This second meaning can, in turn, be divided into two further categories (Pierre and Peters 2000). The first focuses on state capacity to 'steer' the socio-economic system and therefore the relationships between the state and other policy actors. The second focuses on co-ordination and self-government, especially with respect to network relationships and public-private partnerships (Hall 2011a).

Understanding how the institutional arrangements of governance are conceptualised is important as it affects the way in which the state acts in the tourism policy arena and therefore selects instruments and indicators that are used to achieve policy goals (Beaumont and Dredge 2010). The focus of most discussions on policy instruments in tourism is on their utilisation or their effects rather than on the understandings of governance that led such instruments to be selected. However, Hall (2011a, 2013e) emphasises that the application of instruments must be seen within the broader understanding of governance, and

its associated assumptions, ideologies and values, that governments have.

Hall (2011a) identifies four conceptualisations of governance structures that are related to the use of particular sets of policy instruments (Figure 9.2 and Table 9.5). Given the artificiality of any policy-action divide (Barrett and Fudge 1981), these instruments and modes of governance can also be connected to different conceptual approaches to implementation (Hall 2009g). Critical to the value of the different modes of governance are the relationships that exist between public and private policy actors and the steering modes, ranging from hierarchical top-down steering to non-hierarchical approaches.

Although much contemporary governance literature in tourism stresses public-private relationships (Bramwell 2005; Dredge and Jenkins 2007), hierarchical governance remains significant because of the continued role of the state in international relations, the development of institutions that enforce international and supranational law, and the ongoing importance of legislation and regulation as part of the exercise of state control. Although the use of markets as a governance mechanism has been very much in

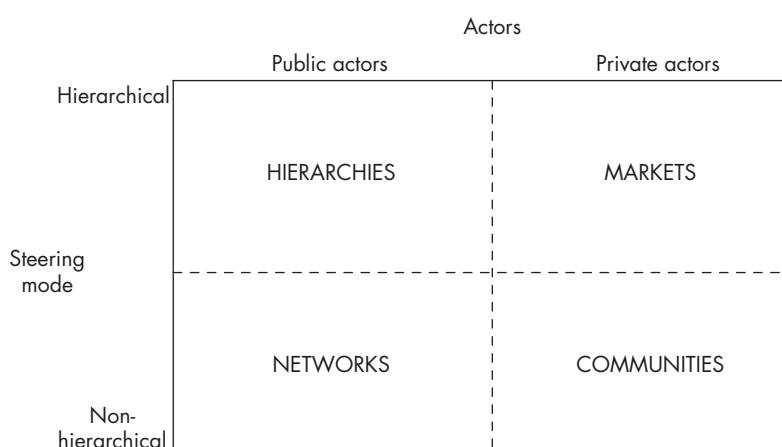


Figure 9.2 Frameworks of governance typology

Source: Hall 2011a: 443.

Table 9.5 Frameworks of governance and their characteristics

	Hierarchies	Communities	Networks	Markets
Classificatory type characteristics	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - idealised model of democratic government and public administration as the enabler of public good - distinguishes between public and private policy space - focus on public or common good - command and control (i.e. 'top-down' decision-making) - hierarchical relations between different levels of the state 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - notion that communities should resolve their common problems with minimum of state involvement - builds on a consensual image of community and the positive involvement of its members in collective concerns - governance without government - fostering of civic spirit 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - facilitate co-ordination of public and private interests and resource allocation and therefore enhance efficiency of policy implementation - range from coherent policy communities/policy triangles through to single-issue coalitions - regulate and co-ordinate policy areas according to the preferences of network actors rather than public policy considerations - mutual dependence between network and state networks, multi-level governance, steering, bargaining, exchange and negotiation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - belief in the market as the most efficient and just resource allocative mechanism - belief in the empowerment of citizens via their role as consumers - employment of monetary and economic criteria to measure efficiency - policy arena for economic actors where they co-operate to resolve common problems - markets, bargaining, exchange and negotiation
Governance/policy themes	hierarchy, control, compliance	complexity, local autonomy, devolved power, decentralised problem-solving	bottom: implementers, 'street-level bureaucrats' and local officials participatory	where negotiation and bargaining take place
Policy standpoint	top: policy-makers; legislators; central government	meritocracy	hybrid/stakeholder, significant role given to interest groups bargained interplay between goals set centrally and actor (often local) innovations and constraints	where bargaining takes place between consumers and producers
Underlying model of democracy	meritocracy	effectiveness: to what extent are policy goals actually met?	tries to account for the behaviour of all those who interact in the development and implementation of policy	consumer determined; citizen empowerment efficiency: markets will provide the most efficient outcome
Primary focus	passive agents or potential impediments	potentially policy innovators or problem shooters	blurred distinction: policy is often made and then re-made by individual and institutional policy actors	market participants are best suited to 'solve' policy problems
View of non-central (initiating) actors			achievement of actor (often local) goals	policy-action continuum: policy-making and implementation seen as a series of intentions around which bargaining takes place
Distinction between policy formulation and implementation	actually and conceptually distinct; policy is made by the top and implemented by the bottom			difficult to assess objectively, success depends on actor perspectives
Criterion of success	when outputs/outcomes are consistent with a priori objectives			market efficiency

(Continued)

Table 9.5 (Continued)

	<i>Hierarchies</i>	<i>Communities</i>	<i>Networks</i>	<i>Markets</i>
Implementation gaps/deficits	occur when outputs/outcomes fall short of a priori objectives	'deficits' are a sign of policy change, not failure; they are inevitable	all policies are modified as a result of negotiation (there is no benchmark)	occur when markers are not able to function
Reason for good ideas poorly executed	good ideas faithfully executed	bad ideas faithfully executed	'deficits' are inevitable as abstract policy ideas are made more concrete	market failure; inappropriate indicator selection
Solution to implementation gaps/deficits	simplify the implementation structure; apply inducements and sanctions	'deficits' are inevitable	'deficits' are inevitable	increase the capacity of the market
Primary Policy instruments	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - law - regulation - clear allocation and transfers of power between different levels of the state - development of a clear set of institutional arrangements - licensing, permits, consents and standards - removal of property rights - development guidelines and strategies that reinforce planning law 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - self-regulation - public meetings/town hall meetings - public participation - non-intervention - voluntary instruments - information and education - volunteer associations - direct democracy (citizen-initiated referenda) - community opinion polling - capacity building of social capital 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - self-regulation and co-ordination - accreditation schemes - codes of practice - industry associations - non-government organisations - use of pricing, subsidies and tax incentives to encourage desired behaviours - use of regulatory and legal instruments to encourage market efficiencies - voluntary instruments - non-intervention - education and training to influence behaviour 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - corporatisation and/or privatisation of state bodies - use of pricing, subsidies and tax incentives to encourage desired behaviours - use of regulatory and legal instruments to encourage market efficiencies - voluntary instruments - non-intervention - education and training to influence behaviour

Source: after Hall 2011a.

political vogue since the mid-1980s (see also Chapters 3 and 5), including with respect to the corporatisation and privatisation of tourism functions that had previously been the domain of the state, the contemporary focus on the role of the market is very much associated with neoliberal political considerations of the appropriate level of state intervention in socio-economic systems (Harvey 2005). The decision by the state to allow the market to act as a form of governance also does not mean that government ceases to influence the market. Rather, instead of using imposed regulatory mechanisms, government may seek to use other forms of intervention, such as financial incentives, education and even the potential for future intervention, to encourage the tourism industry to move in particular directions, often via 'nudging', social marketing and self-regulation (Dredge and Jenkins 2007; Hall 2013e, 2014).

The concept of networks, and public–private partnerships in particular, has received considerable attention in tourism policy and planning because of the way in which they may facilitate co-ordination of public and private interests and resources (N. Scott *et al.* 2008; Beaumont and Dredge 2010) and act as a 'middle way' between hierarchical and market approaches (Hall 2011a). The communities approach is very much influenced by communitarianism and demands for more direct citizen involvement in governance (Etzioni 1998). However, in addition to the communitarian focus on the development of more appropriate scales of governance, the communities framework also builds on traditions of deliberative and direct democracy (Hall 2011a). As noted on pp. 326–327, community governance in tourism planning has been a significant theme in the tourism literature since the early 1980s and is also a part of the sustainable and evolving steady-state approaches. Although the framework has been criticised as being overly idealistic and exaggerating the benefits of perceived consensus (Hall 2008a), community participation and even control over planning and decision-making remain an important issue in tourism planning and policy-making (Dredge and Jenkins 2007), and has become fundamental to much thinking about local governance with respect to, for

example, the management of conservation and pro-poor tourism initiatives in less developed countries (Zapata *et al.* 2011).

Nevertheless, the selection of the most appropriate measure – or, more likely, a range of measures – is dependent on the particular circumstances of each region as well as the philosophical perspectives of different governments. There is no universal 'best way'; each region or locale needs to select the appropriate policy mix for its own development requirements (Sharpley and Telfer 2002; Dredge and Jenkins 2007; Hall 2008a). However, this does not mean that the policy and planning process occurs in a vacuum. Rather, the attention to policy and planning processes has the intention of making such processes as overt as possible, so that the values, influence and interests of various stakeholders are relatively transparent. There is no perfect planning or policy process, yet we can, through the geographer's contribution, help make it more relevant to the people who are affected by tourism development and continually strive for improvement.

Conclusion

This chapter has provided a broad overview of the tourism and recreation planning and policy process. It has noted the various strands of tourism planning and governance, and emphasised the particular contribution of geographers to the physical/spatial, community and sustainable approaches to tourism planning.

The reasons for focusing on tourism which is not as well developed or articulated in local, regional and national development plans beyond statements and broad objectives contrasts with recreational planning, which has a much longer history of development and application. In fact if the experience of urban areas is considered, one can see the emergence of recreational planning in the nineteenth century in the UK with the role of the public sector in park development, the provision of libraries and other items to meet the wider public good (see also Chapter 5). What geographers have contributed to recreational planning is the

synthesis and analysis of good practice, rather than being actively involved as academics, beyond a research role, to assist public and private sector bodies in locational analysis and land use planning. This chapter has therefore placed a great deal of emphasis on the importance of policy analysis, especially from a descriptive approach. This does not mean that prescription is without value; rather, it argues that prescription must be seen in context, with particular reference to those who are in any way affected by policy statements.

In looking at the application of policy analysis to tourism issues we have therefore almost come full circle. The interests which have long concerned tourism and recreation geographers that are applied and relevant to the needs of the subjects of our research remain, and it is to these issues that we will return in the final chapter (Chapter 10).

Further reading

There are several classic works that relate to tourism and recreation planning. In particular, see Gunn (2002), Ravenscroft (1992) and Murphy (1985). Dredge and Jenkins (2007) and Hall (2008a) are theoretically informed comprehensive tourism planning works which attempt to integrate planning and policy concerns at different scales of analysis, while planning is discussed more specifically in relation to impacts in Hall and Lew (2009). See also the planning and policy chapters in more general texts such as Page and Connell (2014) and Cooper and Hall (2013). An example of strategic planning principles applied to tourism destinations is:

Murphy, P.E. and Murphy, A.E. (2004) *Strategic Management for Tourism Communities: Bridging the Gaps*, Clevedon: Channel View.

On community development, see:

Singh, S., Timothy, D. and Dowling, R. (eds) (2003) *Tourism in Destination Communities*, Wallingford: CAB International.

On leisure and recreation planning, see:

Page, S.J. and Connell, J. (2010) *Leisure: An Introduction*, Harlow: Prentice Hall.

Pigram, J.J. and Jenkins, J. (2006) *Outdoor Recreation Management*, 2nd edn, London: Routledge.

On implementation and policy processes, see:

Anastasiadou, C. (2008) 'Tourism interest groups in the EU policy arena: characteristics, relationships and challenges', *Current Issues in Tourism*, 11: 24–62.

Beaumont, N. and Dredge, D. (2010) 'Local tourism governance: a comparison of three network approaches', *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*, 18: 7–28.

Hall, C.M. (2009) 'Archetypal approaches to implementation and their implications for tourism policy', *Tourism Recreation Research*, 34: 235–45.

There is surprisingly little useful work on international dimension of tourism policy, although the aftermath of 9/11 has meant a focus on issues of security in particular, while climate change has also become a significant issue. See:

Coles, T.E. and Hall, C.M. (2011) 'Rights and regulation of travel and tourism mobility', *Journal of Policy Research in Tourism, Leisure and Events*, 3(3): 209–23.

Gössling, S., Scott, D. and Hall, C.M. (2013) 'Challenges of tourism in a low-carbon economy', *WIREs Climate Change*, DOI: 10.1002/wcc.243.

Hall, C.M. (2002) 'Travel safety, terrorism and the media: the significance of the issue-attention cycle', *Current Issues in Tourism*, 5(5): 458–66.

Hall, C.M. (2010) 'Tourism and the implementation of the Convention on Biological Diversity', *Journal of Heritage Tourism*, 5: 267–84.

Hall, C.M., Timothy, D. and Duval, D. (2003) 'Security and tourism: towards a new understanding?', *Journal of Travel and Tourism Marketing*, 15(2–3): 1–18.

Hall, C.M., Timothy, D. and Duval, D. (eds) (2004) *Safety and Security in Tourism: Relationships, Management and Marketing*, New York: Haworth Press.

Timothy, D.J. (2001) *Tourism and Political Boundaries*, London: Routledge.

Timothy, D.J. (2004) 'Political boundaries and regional cooperation in tourism', in A. Lew, C.M. Hall and A. Williams (eds) *Companion to Tourism*, Oxford: Blackwell.

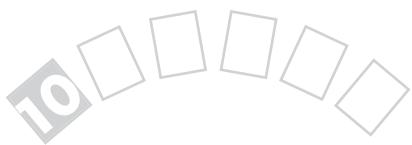
On power in tourism, see:

Church, A. and Coles, T.E. (eds) (2007) *Tourism, Power and Space*, London: Routledge.

Hall, C.M. (2010) 'Power in tourism: tourism in power', in D. Macleod and J. Carrier (eds) *Tourism, Power and Culture: Anthropological Insights*, Bristol: Channel View.

Questions to discuss

- 1 Is there anything that makes planning for tourism distinct from other forms of planning?**
- 2 Why is recreation planning such an integral component of resource management?**
- 3 What are the institutional arrangements for tourism and recreation in your country? Describe them and their interrelationships between the national, regional and local level.**
- 4 What is the appropriate relationship between government and the tourism industry in the formulation of tourism policy?**



The future

If geographical research is to maintain its own distinctiveness, which it surely has to do for the sake of its own survival and respect, it needs to make explicit its sense of what is important. The sheer number of people, the economic value and the significance to people's lives of leisure, recreation and tourism will eventually make even the most doubting sceptic accept that these topics are worthy of study and that [the] battle for acceptance of [leisure, recreation and tourism] as valid areas of research will be won. It would be depressing if geography was not there to claim its unique place and interests.

(Butler 2004: 156)

As the various chapters in this book have indicated, geographers have made substantial contributions to the understanding of tourism and recreation. However, as noted in Chapter 1, the geographers who are working in the field are, increasingly, not based in geography departments but instead are located in departments of tourism and recreation or leisure, environmental studies or business. Such a situation is a reflection of several things: the growth of tourism and recreation as a separate, legitimate area of academic endeavour; the relatively poor standing in which studies of tourism and recreation have generally been held within academic geography; and the applied nature of much work in tourism and recreation geography, which has meant a professional career in the public and private sectors for many geography graduates (Perkins and Thorns 2001).

Such a situation clearly raises substantial questions about what the future of the sub-discipline will be. As Johnston (1991: 2) recognised, 'It is the advancement of knowledge – through the conduct of fundamental research and the publication of its original findings – which identifies an academic discipline; the nature of

its teaching follows from the nature of its research'. As long ago as 1890, Keltie's (1890) *Applied Geography: A Preliminary Sketch* suggested: 'In short one great task of geography in its advanced stages is to investigate the interaction between humanity and its geographical environment' and this remains extremely germane to the study of tourism and recreation by geographers over a 100 years later, particularly at a time of extensive environmental change. The application of geography to the study of what was termed 'commerce' and 'Empire' highlighted the early business application of spatial analysis, whilst almost 80 year later House (1978: preface) noted that 'applied geography has grown as a result, to serve the needs of society, economy and polity', especially in terms of planning. However, Patmore's (1989) discussion of leisure and tourism as important strands of the society and economy made the clear case for a spatially informed analysis of these phenomena within an applied context. But geography has also undergone many profound transformations in the period since Keltie's (1890) treatise and, as discussed in Chapter 1, since 1900 a number of different schools of

geographical thought have evolved from the regional geographies in the late nineteenth century, through to the 1960s, to quantitative geography in the 1960s and 1970s, critical, Marxist, behavioural and humanistic geographies in the 1970s and 1980s, to GIS, political economic geographies, feminist geographies, new regional geographies, postmodern geographies and cultural turns since the 1980s. This plurality is reflected in many of the approaches towards tourism and recreation embodied in this book. These new approaches have spawned new research agendas, critical debate, and often opposing philosophical and methodological positions as each perspective has been informed by the multiplicity of knowledge from each platform of research. Yet critics of this growing diversity of research agendas in human geography have also become alarmed at the lack of coherence and focus in geography as a discipline as geographies have been (re)discovered, (re)invented and (re)imaged. If one of the core strengths of geography is its ability to offer synthesis and a conceptual underpinning based on notions of space, place, people and environment, the geographer faces a growing challenge in synthesising a seemingly exponential growth in 'geographies of leisure, recreation and tourism' within the broader growth in human knowledge (Hall and Page 2009; Wilson 2012; Hall 2013d). As a result of such a situation there are conflicting interpretations of where geography is heading.

Bailey *et al.* (2008) cite the very influential arguments of Martin (2001) that some of the principal problems associated with human geography and its lack of relevancy to modern society relate to:

- a lack of relevancy in much social and cultural geographical research;
- the effect of the postmodern cultural turn on research and teaching;
- the emphasis on sexy theoretical issues;
- a retreat from rigorous and detailed empirical research;
- a reversion of policy studies, mainly because of the perceived unfashionable association with, and loss of independence with, governments that compromises the geographers' impartiality.

This is in direct contrast to the analysis by Warf and Arias (2009) that argued that geography had now become a net exporter of ideas to other fields in science and social science, thereby spatialising their thinking. This may have a more profound effect in the social science so that space becomes every bit as important as the construction of human affairs. It may be a useful perspective, reflecting some of the concerns of Chapter 1, that 'geography matters, not for the simplistic and overly used reason that everything happens in space, but because where things happen is critical to knowing how and why they happen' (Warf and Arias 2009: 1). But it is difficult to see how this revelation is anything different from the 'who gets what, where and how' of classic studies such as Smith's (1974). Moreover, the spatialisation of the social sciences raises the broader issue that if space or geography is everything, then maybe it is nothing.

It is therefore apposite that the final chapter of this new edition will briefly revisit the place of tourism and recreation geography in the applied geography tradition, particularly in the context of declining perceived influence of human geography and internal schisms within the spatial approach to leisure-related phenomenon in spite of recent attempts to refresh thinking on this area (e.g. Stimson and Haynes 2012). It will then discuss the contributions that geography can bring to the study of tourism and recreation and highlight possible futures for the field.

Geography – the discipline: direction and progress

According to R.J. Johnston (1985: 326), 'geographers, especially but not only human geographers, have become parochial and myopic in recent decades' and have been accompanied by a disengagement from close field contact and a global concern with human phenomena. The disengagement from the region has been seen as a mechanism to synthesise systematic investigations. In seeking to advance the discipline, Johnston (1985) argued that geographers need both a theoretical appreciation of the general processes of the capitalist mode of production and an empirical

appreciation of the social formations that result. The discipline versus detachment from the skills of field-work, observation and description debate continues to remain a fundamental weakness, and in many respects the 'core' elements of a geographical education at university level now reflect the often fragmented specialisation that characterises many geography curricula. In fact, geography is a subject in retreat in many contexts, particularly in Australia and New Zealand, where the specialisation function has now led to the dissipation of geography departments and affiliation with more multidisciplinary groupings, such as environmental science. In the UK, the declining enrolments being experienced by many geography departments have been attributed to the rapid growth in tourism and recreation studies with a focus on business, management and vocationalism and a declining interest at the post-16 level in schools and colleges. Geography is perceived as having failed to move with the times to integrate a greater vocationalism and applied focus. Even though the rise of GIS and its application to planning and problem-solving have assisted in real world problem-solving, the main body of the discipline has often not engaged students in fundamental elements of the real world through fieldwork and practical knowledge.

In the United States the position of geography may be slightly more positive thanks in great part to the growth of government and industry awareness of the value of GIS; nevertheless, as the President of the Association of American Geographers noted, there is only a very limited presence of geography in the elite universities and institutions (Cutter 2000). While the authors may agree with Cutter's (2000: 3) remarks that 'The lack of formal geography (courses, an undergraduate minor, major, or graduate study) in many of the most prestigious universities in the nation is a missed opportunity for these elite institutions of higher education', such a situation makes geography and geographers beholden to more effectively communicate their interests and contributions in a wide range of contemporary issues and subjects, including tourism and recreation, as well as the vagaries of academic conflict for resources.

Although the new synthesis of applied geography (Pacione 1999b) outlines the way in which

some geographers perceive themselves and their contribution to research, this is not being adequately communicated to students, particularly in the marginalisation of applied geography as a hybrid according to concerns purists and qualitative researchers have about social and cultural theory as their analytical framework. Nevertheless, it is important to revisit applied geography and to provide some illustrations of how tourism and recreational geographers make contributions to 'problem-solving', 'policy analysis' and the wider public good. Pacione (1999b), in his protocol for applied geographical analysis (Figure 10.1), outlines the DEEP process – description, explanation, evaluation and prescription – which may be followed by implementation and monitoring.

Revisiting applied geography

Within the literature on the geography of recreation and tourism there have been comparatively few studies which have emphasised how the tourism and recreation geographer has made a valuable contribution to the wider development of 'applied geography'. According to Sant (1982), the scope of applied geography comprises a concern with 'policy-making and the monitoring of problems'. More specifically, it focuses on 'the sense of the problem, the contribution to decision making and policy, the monitoring of actions and the evaluation of plans. But these are common to all applied social sciences' (Sant 1982: 3) and so the geographer must ensure that he or she can make a distinctive contribution through the use of approaches, tools, techniques or skills which other social scientists, consultants and policy-makers do not possess, if it is regarded as important that a geographical approach survives.

Pacione (1999b: 1) argued that 'Applied geography is concerned with the application of geographical knowledge and skills to the resolution of real-world social, economic and environmental problems' such as those associated with recreation and tourism. Pacione also developed the argument of 'useful knowledge', which also raises the inevitable criticisms of what might be non-useful geographical knowledge and useful for whom? As Frazier (1982: 17) observed, 'applied geography uses the principles and methods

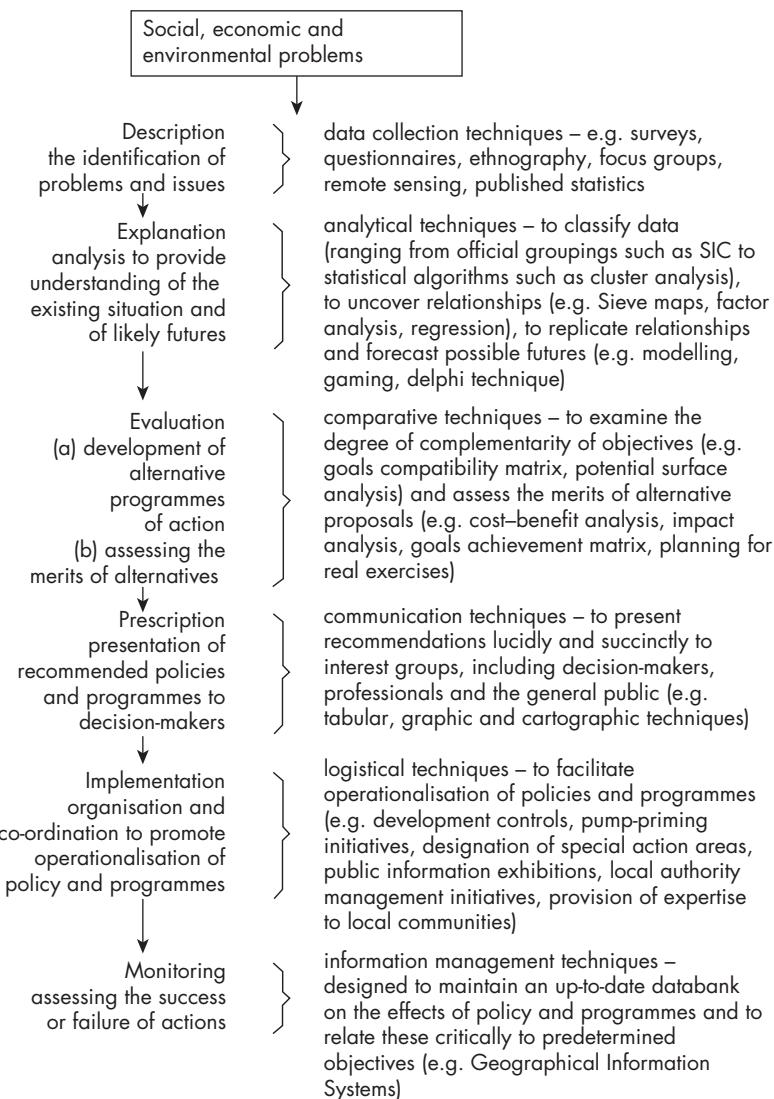


Figure 10.1 The DEEP process for applied geographical analysis

Source: Pacione 1999b.

of pure geography but is different in that it analyses and evaluates real-world action and planning and seeks to implement and manipulate environmental and spatial realities'. Indeed Sant (1982) viewed theory as crucial to applied geography in providing a framework for analysis and a context by which moral

goals could be judged. These arguments were developed by Palm and Brazel (1992: 342) as 'applied research in any discipline is best understood in contrast with basic or pure research'.

In geography, basic research aims to develop new theory and methods that help explain the processes

through which the spatial organisation of physical or human environments evolves. In contrast, applied research uses existing geographic theory or techniques to understand and solve specific empirical problems. In practice, a dichotomy between pure and applied knowledge has been laboured, particularly to question the academic value of applied research, even though it has often had policy or decision-making outcomes that esoteric and seemingly inward-looking pure research can rarely contribute. To the contrary, as Harvey (1984: 7) commented, 'geography is far too important to be left to generals, politicians and corporate chiefs. Notions of applied and relevant geography pose questions of objectives and interests served . . . there is more to geography than the production of knowledge.' By engaging outside the university, applied geography makes a broad contribution to society, even if there are questions about the values and objectives of applied research and its potential uses. Critics of publicly commissioned research may point to the role of studies in validating perspectives on the agenda of the commissioning agency, not seeking critical debate in extreme cases. But any applied geographical researcher with the skills and experience to engage with agencies must also need to recognise the constraints and limits imposed by the private and public may be outweighed by the wider benefits to society. Moreover, applied research need not be research undertaken for development agencies, government or industry and also includes community-based research or research undertaken for public interest and non-government organisations (Hall 2010c). For example, Croy and Hall (2003) described how student research undertaken as part of their degree programme could be used to transfer intellectual capital to rural communities that otherwise did not have the resources to either afford or undertake such research. Such an activity directly connects with the issue of the relevance of research, and, as Hall commented in writing on the issue of reflexivity in qualitative tourism research:

I have great frustration with much of the research and scholarship undertaken in tourism. Often competently done, but without reflexion and thought

as to whose interests are being served – which is normally those from business and government with access to power. For all the talk of sustainable and alternative tourism, few alternatives have really shown up which explore the potential for other spaces and places which reflexivity may provide. In my more sanguine moments I believe that this is because researchers often take the easier path in tourism research because within current academic structures that is what provides the rewards.

(Hall 2004a: 151)

Given the growing marketisation of university and society, in which academic research is driven by evaluations of academic outputs (see Page 2003b; Hall 2010c, 2011e), applied research has, until relatively recently, been downgraded or dismissed. Yet this in itself is self-defeating and inward-looking, missing the wider community service and benefits of the knowledge economy associated with universities and its main clients – the population. In the UK a recent development in the assessment of University Research Outputs (the Research Excellence Framework – REF) has now completely come full circle for applied geography. Now the mantra is all about the 'impact' of the research and its ability to have a wider benefit to society, especially in policy-making and in addressing societal and economic and environmental problems. However, assessing and attributing impact in a simple cause and effect relationship has become extremely problematic as the effects of academic research are often indirect and long term (aside from consultancy projects designed to shape policy). But this does have an additional spin in a UK context: any impact research which universities wish to have considered as case study exemplars of best practice have to be underpinned by high quality academic outputs, which actually places applied geography centre stage in areas such as tourism and leisure, where relevancy and academic quality assume a greater importance than more theoretically oriented research. In other words, the research focus in tourism and leisure research has a greater role to play if underpinned by sound applied geographical training and quality outputs.

These debates have also been aired in a different vein in the Spanish geographical community (e.g. Segrelles-Serrano 2002) and the lack of social awareness in the training and education of geography graduates for professional careers (Naranjo 2001). Indeed, while there is much discussion about knowledge management in tourism, it often tends to be seen just in terms of transferring knowledge to industry rather than all those for whom knowledge, in its various forms, may be relevant.

All too often the application of geographical skills outside the academy in commercial and non-commercial contexts has been poorly expedited. In the post-war period some aspects of geography clearly dissipated to new disciplines such as town planning, while the greater social science involvement and expansion of geographical subject matter saw geographers lose some of their competitive edge which had been gained in the pre-war and inter-war years. In recent times, some geographers have made transitions into the public and private sector, where their skills have been in high demand (e.g. GIS and spatial tracking), and some have made major contributions to public policy formulation and analysis in recreation and tourism (e.g. Patmore 1983). There has been the development of new specialisms which have emerged from a geographical tradition with an explicit public and commercial dimension. Recreation and tourism are two areas which have furnished many opportunities for geographers to apply their skills in a wider context than academia, although this has not always meant that they have been particularly successful in capitalising on such opportunities.

While geographers still make a substantial contribution to planning, this contribution is perhaps not widely acknowledged by society at large. Similarly, GIS and spatial tracking are increasingly being usurped by marketers, while the contribution of geographers to tourism and recreation is now adding far more of an academic base for tourism and recreation studies than it is for geography. Should we care? The answer, we believe, is: 'Yes'. As Harvey commented:

In facing up to a world of uncertainty and risk, the possibility of being quite undone by the

consequences of our own actions weighs heavily upon us, often making us prefer 'those ills we have than flying to others that we know not of'. But Hamlet, beset by angst and doubt and unable to act, brought disaster upon himself and upon his land by the mere fact of his inaction.

(Harvey 2000: 254)

As the book stated at the outset by imitating the title of Massey and Allen's (1984) work *Geography Matters!*, the geography of tourism and recreation also matters. Given increasing demands for the development of sustainable forms of tourism on the one hand and a relevant academic geography on the other, geography and geographers have an important role to play. In some senses many of those geographers who have moved to business schools to pursue their interest in tourism and recreation have at least managed to retain a spatial component to such curricula.

Contributions

According to Stamp (1960: 9), 'the unique contribution of the geographer is the holistic approach in which he sees the relationship between man and his [sic] environment'. This statement is just as relevant to the application of geography to problem-solving today as it was when originally written; indeed, perhaps more so given the size of the environmental, social and economic problems we face. Doornkamp (1982) posed a range of questions related to the role of applied geography, and two of these are of significance to tourism and recreation:

- Is the geographical contribution sufficiently unique to make it worth pursuing?
- How, in the commercial world, can the work of the applied geographer be promoted?

These two questions highlight the need for geographers to assess what inherent skills they have which may be of value in an applied context. While accepting that the nature of geographical training today may be somewhat different from that in the 1970s

and 1980s, Table 10.1 does still provide a useful assessment of how the geographer can contribute to problem-solving. Doornkamp (1982) highlights the need to separate knowledge from the ability to use skills. During a geographical education, exposure to the systematic elements of the discipline in human and physical geography combines with practical and fieldwork in spatial techniques, which, together with regional studies, is where many of the former elements can be synthesised. This continues to provide the core of knowledge for the geographer and more advanced training then focuses on a specialised study in a particular sub-discipline of geography. It is often at this point that the crossover between geography and other social science disciplines occurs when the knowledge base becomes shared. The problem within business schools is that the spatial component is often watered down to an extremely basic conceptualisation of place, space and environment. Indeed, many business schools in the Anglo-American tradition have seemingly come to believe that the economy is virtual or placeless that they have lost traditional courses in business

location, although this is generally not the case in the Nordic countries.

At the same time, the inquisitive nature of geographical research, particularly the interest in human–environment relationships at a variety of spatial scales, often means that the geographer pursues a holistic perspective not often found in other disciplines. Yet conveying this to the new generation of students interested in the business applications of recreation and tourism requires the geographer not only to sell the value of a synthesising holistic approach. Equally, the geographer also has a formidable challenge in convincing colleagues and researchers in mainstream geography of the validity and intellectual rigour associated with research in recreation and tourism.

But harnessing this training and the range of skills acquired in order to apply them in a problem-solving context requires one important prerequisite. According to Doornkamp (1982: 9), this is an ability to see the problem from the point of view of the person who needs a solution. Having convinced this person of their ability to conceptualise the problem in their

Table 10.1 The skills of a geographer

- To think in spatial terms
- To be able to assess the implications of the distribution of any one landscape characteristic
- To be able to think about more than one distribution at a time – and to perceive from this any likely generic links between the items under study
- To be able to change the scale of thinking according to the needs of the phenomena or problems being analysed
- To be able to add the dimension of time as appropriate
- To be able to place phenomena within a 'model' or 'systems' framework
- To be able to comprehend and initiate thinking that links the human and physical systems operating in the landscape
- To 'read' and 'understand' landscape
- To be able to use certain techniques, for example:
 - to acquire information through fieldwork, map analysis or from remote sensing sources – with an emphasis on spatial distributions and relationships
 - to be able to handle and analyse large datasets, incomplete datasets, spatial data or time-based data, through quantitative methods using computer technology
 - to be equally at home in a literary search among archives and historical records
 - to be able to monitor landscape components, and to be able to submit them to further analyses as appropriate
 - to present information with clarity, and especially in map form
 - to utilise technological developments such as GIS to assist in gaining a holistic view of the problem in hand
- To be able to provide a statement of one's findings which integrates one's own knowledge with that of allied disciplines

Source: after Doornkamp 1982: 7.

terms, in order to provide a solution three principal factors need to be considered:

- The research must be framed and reported in a manner which the client requires: it needs to be as concise and as thorough as possible. It is not to be a thesis or academic research paper, otherwise the client will simply not recommend or use the organisation again. This is a principal failing for many academics who are unable to bridge the industry–academic interface.
- Personal relationships of trust and respect need to be built up in a commercial environment, often framed around numerous meetings and regular interfacing, and the work must be professionally presented, being easy to read, targeted at the audience intending to read it, and precise and unambiguous.
- Even where the client is a non-paying customer (i.e. if the research is undertaken as a contribution to the local community or a public interest group), such criteria are equally important. Otherwise, the outside world's image of the geographer will remain one of the ivory tower academic perceived as being distant from the real world and problem-solving contributions they can make. Likewise, academics need to be willing to incorporate changes on drafts and to recognise that in this environment their view is not necessarily without reproach. This is nowhere more the case than in recreation and tourism, where an explicit business dimension is incorporated into such research.

It is fair to agree with Doornkamp's (1982: 26) analogy that practising geographers left the discipline in the immediate post-war period and joined the commercial world, calling themselves planners. A similar move may be occurring in recreation and tourism, with the movement of staff to business schools and specialist tourism and/or recreation departments, either from academic positions in departments of geography or after completion of their graduate studies. The 'professional practice' side of the discipline of geography has continued to lose out to other disciplines even when its skills are more relevant and analytical. Interfacing with the real world has meant that a small proportion of recreation and tourism geographers have made a steady transition to professional practice without compromising their academic integrity and reputation. In summary, it is clear that applied geography problem-solving in recreation and tourism contexts can enhance the geographer's skills and relationship with society. In the longer term, it may help address the public image of the discipline as being of major value to research in applied fields such as tourism. But ultimately the main barrier to geographers using their skills for an applied purpose is their own willingness and ability to interface in commercial and public contexts where they can be heard, listened to, taken seriously and their skills harnessed. In many cases, there is often a belated recognition of the value of such skills when a client uses such a person. Therefore, the public face of geography can be enhanced only if it embraces recreation and tourism as legitimate sub-disciplines of a post-industrial society/geography in both theoretical and various applied contexts.

BOX 10.1 GIS AND TOURISM: A TOOL FOR APPLIED GEOGRAPHIC RESEARCH

GIS, developed by advances in computer hardware and software (such as ArcInfo), incorporates more sophisticated systems to search, query, present and analyse data in a spatial context. It has long been recognised that the functional capabilities of GIS (i.e. data entry, map generation and spatial analysis) and the posing of spatial questions (i.e. related to location, pattern and modelling) enable the examination of who, where, what, why and when related to tourism and leisure (Bahaïre and Elliott-White 1999). However, GIS is important not only because of its capacity to integrate data (Hultman 2007), but also because

of its potential to represent data to users (Forer 1999) and the supply of tourism resources (Connell and Page 2008), including the mobility of tourists (Chen 2007), as well as their impact on the business development (Page *et al.* 1999).

The capacities of GIS as an accessible business and public planning tool have also been greatly advanced by developments in personal computing as well as the availability of GIS platforms on mobile phones and computing devices, which allow members of the public to access maps which may include a variety of different information sources embedded in them to enable improved visitor decision-making (Dye and Shaw 2007). The inclusion of visitor monitoring and survey data into GIS can also allow a thorough analysis of visitor use patterns, perceptions, activities and product usage, which can be extremely important in the management of public use pressures at tourist sites and destinations (Chhetri 2006; Connell and Page 2008), as well as identifying tourism and leisure opportunities (Chhetri and Arrowsmith 2008). Indeed, a significant contemporary development in GIS modelling and mapping is the growth of neogeography (Turner 2006), also referred to as volunteered or user-generated geographic information (Goodchild 2007), and how this can be incorporated into spatial analysis and understandings of tourism behaviour (Elwood 2008). In addition, user-generated content also has potential for inclusion in dynamic maps for mobile tourism applications developed by private and public providers (Schilling *et al.* 2005).

GIS has proven to be valuable for studying the effects of changing land use by virtue of being able not only to record resources within a given region but also to illustrate the effects of developments, such as the construction of new transport networks or resorts, on other elements in the system. For example, Chapter 7 noted the use of GIS in wilderness inventories and management. The dynamic element of GIS also allows future scenarios and forecasts to be spatially visualised. For example, Marshall and Simpson (2009) combined GIS with forecasting methods to explore issues of population sustainability in the Cairngorms and Peak District National Parks.

Simulation has become an increasingly important planning tool for studying the spatial behaviour of tourists and their impacts that has become increasingly integrated with GIS environments (Hunt *et al.* 2010). Information provided by simulations can allow planners to assess the effects of different management strategies. Both probabilistic simulation and agent-based models (ABM) are used in the development of spatial simulation models (Gimblett and Skov-Peterson 2008). Probabilistic models are developed via the collection of data from tourists while undertaking their trips and/or from data gained from observation (Sacchi *et al.* 2001). This approach has been used, for example, with respect to national park and wilderness camping and recreational behaviour (Lawson *et al.* 2003). In contrast, ABM are a collection of autonomous decision-making entities (agents) in which each agent individually assesses its situation and makes decisions on the basis of a set of rules that have been developed from 'real world' data, and which is also used to calibrate and validate spatio-temporal simulation models (O'Connor *et al.* 2005). The repetitive competitive interactions between agents within the system then provide information on behaviour, some of which may have been unanticipated, at different points in time. The benefits of ABM over other modelling techniques are: (1) ABM captures emergent phenomena; (2) ABM provides a natural description of a system; and (3) ABM is flexible. However, it is the ability of ABM to deal with emergent phenomena which drives the other benefits. ABMs are particularly useful for simulating tourism environments in which visitors are restricted to movement on a network such as roads, trails or rivers, and have therefore come to be used in a national park and protected area context (Hunt *et al.* 2010).

In the same way that the advent of the personal computer revolutionised use of GIS from a user perspective, so further revolutions in informational and communication technology provide new opportunities for spatial analysis (Hall 2012a). Paramount among the new developments is the use of GPS devices and cellular phones, which both allow for the tracking of tourists in space–time (Shoval and Isaacson 2007, 2010; Shoval 2008; Chhetri *et al.* 2010; Ahas 2011). The method has a range of applications, including not only improved collection of data over traditional methods such as diaries, but also management, planning and marketing applications. For example, Shoval and Isaacson (2010) highlighted the possibility of using aggregative data obtained from GPS receivers in order to better understand the impact of visitors on destinations, and provided examples from Port Aventura amusement park and the Mini Israel theme park (two enclosed outdoor environments), the Old City of Akko in Israel (a small historic city) and Hong Kong.

Mobile phone technological developments also provide significant opportunities for analysing tourist behaviour over various scales (Asakura and Iryob 2007). Tiru *et al.* (2010) discuss the operation of a mobile-positioning-based online tourism monitoring tool that uses as source data mobile operators' log files, in which the starting locations of foreign roaming clients' call activities have been stored. (The database is anonymous and the identity of phones, phone owners and phone numbers are strictly protected pursuant to EU directives.) Although such approaches have often been incorrectly criticised for being uncritical and untheoretical, it is important to recognise that GIS and other forms of quantitative analysis are increasingly being used in a counter-institutional fashion (Barnes 2009), as Schwanen and Kwan (2009) eloquently put it, 'doing critical geography with numbers'. As Hall concluded,

critical geographies, and critical tourisms, are all the poorer without an understanding of spatial analysis. In the end the problem of being academically critical is not so much an issue of method per se but rather a conscious reflection on the questions, craft, methods, results and arguments of research, and a decision about the interests that are served.

(Hall 2012a: 173)

The role of the geographer in the new millennium: whither tourism and recreation?

The perceived domain of the geographer – the quest for investigations associated with environment, humans, place and space – is not necessarily viewed by other social scientists and non-academics in the same way. Indeed, a multidisciplinary approach to problems underpinned and informed by a spatial analytical approach often provides an understanding beyond that achieved by the geographer working in isolation. One consequence of building multidisciplinary research teams peopled by non-geographers is a potential disciplinary marginalisation by other

geographers and the stated 'gatekeepers' within the sub-discipline. This can impair the wider assimilation of the research area within the sub-discipline and within the wider context of geography as a discipline. This is somewhat ironic at a time when tourism and recreation have experienced rapid growth as activities within global, national and local space economies. There are also growing signs of non-geographical research adopting spatially contingent modes of analysis, as in the example of analysis of the Love Parade disaster in event studies (Helbing and Mukerji 2012), where micro-scale site-level analysis was used to reconstruct the disaster to model and analyse the critical accident sequence in time and space. Consequently, geography does not have a monopoly on

spatial analysis, although the purist might point to the need to understand specific rules and conventions in spatial analysis.

Further, with tourism and recreation comprising major components of the service economies of many countries and regions, it is somewhat surprising that the contribution of geographers to understanding this phenomenon is still constrained by perceptions within the discipline of what it is appropriate to study and research as serious topics of geographical investigation. This is part of a wider poor image of geography as a school-level subject associated with places and maps and not as a useful discipline to assess and problem-solve for organisations with its ability to offer a holistic understanding of issues.

Ironically, both authors of this book are probably viewed as 'outsiders' in the wider geographical domain of consciousness that now besets the discipline, even though there is a growing strength of interest in tourism and recreation. (If some of Butler's (2004) comments regarding the relatively peripheral role of geography in tourism studies generally hold true, then they may also be seen as outsiders in that disciplinary context as well!) The major 'internal' problem facing the discipline of geography is related to the old (false) tension between positivism and humanism/the new cultural geography and social theory. This fragmentation or internal realignment to develop careers related to the latest academic fashion has certainly made a geographical education a less unified and structured process (Barnett 1998). Disciplinary fragmentation within the wider domain of geography creates barriers and constraints to the wider integration of this exciting, dynamic and fast changing area of research. One of the central messages implicit in this book is that it is inappropriate to simply decry previous paradigms as redundant and analytically bankrupt: within tourism and recreation geography, the early studies established many of the central tenets and building blocks of the sub-discipline and, in fact, laid much of the intellectual foundation for current interests in themes such as mobility, the body, performativity and place (Hall 2005a). Indeed, as Livingstone commented,

Fragmentation of knowledge, social differentiation, and the questioning of scientific rationality have all

coalesced to reaffirm the importance of the particular, the specific, the local. And in this social and cognitive environment a geography stressing the salience of place is seen as having great potential.

(Livingstone 1992: 358)

The importance of place and the application of geographical knowledge is reflected in the richness of the literature reviewed throughout the book, and the value it has added to spatial analysis of tourism. The discontinuities between positivism, humanism, critical social theory and Marxism may enrich a geographical awareness of how to interpret the real world, but they need to be fashioned into an integrated whole together with accompanying skill sets.

These constant revolutions in geographical knowledge and thinking pose central questions for the student of tourism and recreation. What is the role of the geographer? Is there a role? How is that role mediated, nurtured and negotiated within the discipline, outside the discipline, and how does the geographer engage political influence to ensure the profile, relevance and continued survival of the subject? One way of engaging in this debate is through introspection and reflexivity – or through a refocusing of attention on the possible contribution which specific approaches to geography may make to problem-solving (i.e. the applied perspective).

These questions and issues are a useful starting point to assess the role of the geographer beyond the synthesising role and integrating ability to harmonise a wide range of social science perspectives. R. Bennett (1985) warned of the dangers of such an approach since it may contribute to a loss of identity among geographical contributions, as other disciplines and their methodologies overtake the spatial focus. What is clear is that the quest for relevance, understanding and explanation cannot solely be achieved from the logical positivist approach to research. It can be as blind as it is revealing: it can obscure understanding and explanation – it is only a partial focus on a problem and its solution. Thus, the non-positivist or humanist perspective needs to be used as a counter-weight to expand, develop, question and reinterpret the positivist paradigm. In this context, Powell (1985) re-examined the four main concerns of the

geographer, which remain as relevant three decades later. These are:

- *Space*: what is the human meaning and experience of space?
- *Place*: as a centre of action and intention in relation to human activity, where perception, human activity and changes in the life course of individuals and groups occur.
- *Time*: how it is fundamental to human activity, action and the interaction with humans and their environment, in terms of resource conflict in outdoor recreation and their use of leisure time.
- *People*: as the fundamental focus in a relevant 'human geography'.

These four central themes characterise the geographer's focus and, even though they are grounded in humanist views of the world, place, space and time, they are also key elements in establishing research questions throughout tourism and recreation geography. At a personal level, the authors recognise the criticisms of applied geography as critiqued and debated by Pacione (1999a, 1999b) and would prefer the following role for the geographer in a wider leisure context: to utilise an applied analytical science with its focus on space, place, time and people with a view to problem-solving, understanding and explanation. Furthermore, to actually improve the human condition (and we remain such unreconstructed children of the Enlightenment that we still see this as a goal of geography and ourselves as academics), one needs to engage and communicate effectively with stakeholders/people/communities, most especially the wider public and those who are affected by our work. This applies regardless of whether one is inspired by older (e.g. Peet 1977a, 1977b; Britton 1991), or more recent (e.g. Debbage and Ioannides 2004; Aitchison 2006; Barnes 2009), critical geographies or engaged in applied tourism and recreation geography.

This means we need to argue and communicate in a manner which can be understood in the public sphere. As one of the authors' experience of working on the education-industry interface, being funded by an enterprise company, suggests, geographers and

other academics who engage with the wider world need to be able to 'talk the talk' of industry and other groups when required to engage them effectively, rather than remain marginalised on the periphery looking in. It is that marginalisation that has continued to dominate the discipline's relationships with the outside world. Being able to engage effectively requires not only a specific skill set to understand the needs and values of such bodies, but also a direct, focused and concise manner of communication. In very simple terms, government, industry and communities pose problems to solve and want a credible, robust and methodologically sound solution, although people may not want to engage with all the complexities of how you arrived at such a solution. They just need to know it has integrity and will stand up to scrutiny. What industry does not want is the ephemeral and somewhat indulgent rhetoric that surrounds many academics when they engage with outside bodies on what they have published recently and how influential it is. External agencies and companies frequently return to a set series of questions:

- Do you have the right skill set for the job?
- Do you have relevant experience and expertise supported by a track record in similar activities (i.e. commercial reports and consultancies rather than academic publications on the topic)?
- Can you deliver a solution on time?
- Is the solution cost-effective and value for money?
- Will the outcomes be capable of being used and solutions implemented in a direct and effective manner?

If the answer to these questions is yes, then it is apparent that individual geographers or groups of geographers rather than geography *per se* can be relevant to society, to the needs of policy-makers, planners, communities, individuals and to the future of the planet. In the tourism-recreation context, the skills of the geographers are increasingly being harnessed, recognised and utilised within academia, frequently in the field of market surveys, position papers and data analysis rather than in the more skilled area of feasibility studies, though examples of the latter do exist. Ironically, it is often when geographers drop the label of 'geography'

and move to an applied academic environment such as a business school or planning department that their skills gain a greater acceptance, legitimacy and validity with political decision-makers.

To the discipline's gatekeepers of knowledge, tourism and recreation will likely continue to remain fringe activities – amorphous and seemingly didactic in their conception of space, place and environment. Yet in a changing postmodern society where consumption is integral to the growth of tourism, leisure and recreation, a discipline which does not embrace this new domain of study is relegating itself to a 'non-relevant', esoteric and increasingly distant position. Recreational activity and tourism per se are now culturally embedded in the lifestyles of much of the world's population. This may be a function of globalisation, westernisation, consumerism, marketisation or other socially contingent processes; if they wish to pursue them, it is a reality. It exists – and poses new research agendas and opportunities for a generation of geographers. Indeed, joining up these interests with other growing agendas on issues such as urbanisation (Burdett and Sudjic 2011) highlights that the evolving city environments of the twenty-first century will lead to major changes in the scale of urban growth, connectivity and spatial form as the dominant mode of living. This will inevitably lead to changes in the nature of tourism and leisure activity, as the scale of the world's urban population is expected to grow by 2 per cent per annum, so that by 2030 the world's urban population will surpass 5 billion (Katz and Wagner 2011) out of a population of between 8 and 9 billion. Consequently, Katz and Wagner (2011) suggest that the speed and velocity of change will

continue to be huge, fuelled by migration and increased mobility of diverse populations, urban expansion creating conurbations of increased complexity with greater social and spatial divisions. In mega-cities, the multi-polar region will dramatically change the spatial nature of leisure and tourism activity in the future. In particular, Katz and Wagner (2011) argue that places will be bound to each other more closely by economic globalisation. From a tourism perspective, this means that flows of professionals, tourists and migrants will be brought about by air travel and other transports in circuits of intercity geographies (Katz and Wagner 2011), with mega-cities becoming the gateways and control points for tourist space, as well as the sites for mega-events and new forms of tourism activity such as medical tourism. This also raises, as Chapter 5, on urban leisure and tourism, highlighted, issues for the balance of public and private space in these new multi-polar regions, and for access to public and privatised leisure and tourism resources, again raising the issue of who gets what, where and why.

The area of leisure and tourism is exciting, ever changing, and socially, economically, politically and environmentally challenging. Understanding the dynamics, processes, elements of change (e.g. see Box 10.2) and wider meaning and value of recreation and tourism in society has opened so many avenues for spatial and multidisciplinary research. For the wider discipline, these opportunities should be fostered, nurtured and encouraged since the area has the potential to engage not only students, but the wider public, decision-makers and politicians. Geographers can make a difference, even if it is in a neoliberal market-driven economy.

BOX 10.2 THE FUTURE: RESPONDING TO CLIMATE CHANGE

In September 2013 the IPCC concluded 'Warming of the climate system is unequivocal, and since the 1950s, many of the observed changes are unprecedented over decades to millennia. The atmosphere and ocean have warmed, the amounts of snow and ice have diminished, sea level has risen, and the concentrations of greenhouse gases have increased' (IPCC 2013: SP3). Such a situation creates a major challenge for the world's tourism industry, which both contributes to and is affected by climate change.

Tourism and travel contribute to climate change through emissions of greenhouse gases (GHGs), including in particular CO₂, as well as methane (CH₄), nitrous oxides (NO_x), hydrofluorocarbons (HFCs), per-fluorocarbons (PFCs) and sulphur hexafluoride (SF₆). There are also various short-lived GHGs that are important in the context of aviation. Tourism transport, accommodation and activities are estimated to have contributed approximately 5 per cent to global anthropogenic emissions of CO₂ in the year 2005 (United Nations World Tourism Organization, United Nations Environment Programme, and World Meteorological Organization (UNWTO–UNEP–WMO) 2008) (Table 10.2). Most CO₂ emissions are associated with transport, with aviation accounting for 40 per cent of tourism's overall carbon footprint, followed by car transport (32 per cent) and accommodation (21 per cent) (UNWTO–UNEP–WMO 2008). Cruise ships are included in 'other transport' and, with an estimated 19.2 Mt CO₂, account for around 1.5 per cent of global tourism emissions (Eijgelaar *et al.* 2010). These independent assessments of the tourism sector's contribution to climate change do not include the impact of non-CO₂ short-lived GHGs. A more accurate assessment of tourism's contribution to global warming can be made on the basis of radiative forcing (RF). With RF considered, it was estimated that tourism contributed 5.2–12.5 per cent of all anthropogenic forcing in 2005, with a best estimate of approximately 8 per cent (Scott *et al.* 2010).

The implications of climate change are substantial, ranging from increased atmospheric and ocean warming, loss of 'permanent' ice cover in high latitudes and alpine areas, sea-level rise, to changes in climate extremes. These also have flow-on effects with respect to ocean acidification and biological processes. A summary of some of the impacts of different levels of climate change are indicated in Table 10.3. However, at the same time that worsening impacts of climate change are forecast, so too is further growth in tourism (see Chapter 1). Yet forecasts suggest a substantial increase in tourism growth well above any forecast or suggested increases in per passenger/tourist efficiency, which are estimated at around 1.5–2 per cent per year. How, then, may the effects of tourism's contributions to climate change be limited. Gössling *et al.* (2013) suggest that no credible plan has yet been offered as to how combinations of technological investment,

Table 10.2 Tourism sector emissions and mitigation targets

Year	Emission estimates and BAU* projections (CO ₂)		Mitigation targets	
	UNWTO–UNEP–WMO (2008)	WEF (2009)	WTTC (2009)**	5% allocation of CO ₂ emissions from a 'below +2°C scenario' to tourism sector***
2005	1.304 Gt	1.476 Gt	–	
2020	2.181 Gt	2.319 Gt	0.978 Gt	1.254 Gt
2035	3.059 Gt	3.164 Gt	0.652 Gt	0.940 Gt

* Business as usual

** WTTC (2009) aspirational emission reduction targets are –25 per cent in 2020 and –50 per cent in 2035 (both from 2005 levels specified in UNWTO–UNEP–WMO 2008)

*** Pathway that limits global average temperature increase to below 2°C; assuming CO₂ continues to represent approximately 57 per cent (IPCC 2007a,b) of the median estimate of 44 Gt CO₂-e total GHG emissions in 2020 and 2035 (Rogelj *et al.* 2011) and the tourism sector continues to represent approximately 5 per cent of global CO₂ emissions (UNWTO–UNEP–WMO 2008; WTTC 2009) over the same time frame (D. Scott *et al.* 2012).

Table 10.3 Likely consequences of climate change

Scenario	Global warming (over pre-industrial average temperature)				Examples of likely consequences for tourism				
	+0.8°C "Already happened"	+1.5°C "Inevitable"	+2°C "Safe limit"	+3–4°C "Tipping point"	+5–6°C "Nightmare"	Environmental	Economic	Social	Political
Sea-level rise by 2100 (relative to 1990 sea level)	0.85 m	1.04 m (Amsterdam flooded)	1.24 m (New York flooded)	1.43 m (Bangkok flooded)	Coastal areas inundated; some coastal ecosystems such as mangroves and tidal marsh will adapt	High adaptation costs for many destinations	Loss of some coastal destination and heritage	Political instability	
Ocean acidification	30% more acidic	Coral stops growing	Coral dissolves	Coral dies	150% more acidic	Serious decline in coral reefs; some coastal areas more vulnerable to erosion and impacts of storms	Negative impacts on reef and dive tourism	Decline in reef tourism dependent communities	Increased competition for marine resources between tourism and other users
Arctic sea- ice annual reduction	15%	30%	45–60%	75%	Extinction of some Arctic species	Increased access to shipping and tourism	Arctic cultural change	Increased competition for Arctic resources	

Table 10.3 (Continued)

Scenario	Global warming (over pre-industrial average temperature)				Examples of likely consequences for tourism			
	+0.8°C "Already happened"	+1.5°C "Inevitable"	+2°C "Safe limit"	+3–4°C "Tipping point"	+5–6°C "Nightmare"	Environmental	Economic	Social
Increased heatwaves	Increasing global heat waves	Every European summer a heatwave	Mediterranean region drier	Unknown	Extinction or decline of some species and ecosystems; increased water scarcity in some destinations	Changes to destination attractiveness and tourism seasonality	Changes in outdoor leisure activities	Difficulty in responding to scale of event
% more heavy rain over land	7%	13%	20–26%	35–42%	Increased flooding	Increased infrastructure and insurance costs	Increased flood threats affect communities	Watershed management conflicts
Hurricane destructiveness	+7.5%	+15%	+22.5–30%	+37.5–45%	Increased damage to coastal environments	Increased damage to tourism infrastructure and resort communities	Increased destination vulnerability	Difficulty in responding to scale of event
Species at risk of extinction	30%	40%	Unknown	Ecosystem change and extinction of some charismatic species	Significant effects for ecotourism dependent communities	Indigenous cultural change	Renewable resource security concerns	

(Continued)

Table 10.3 (Continued)

Scenario	Global warming (over pre-industrial average temperature)				Examples of likely consequences for tourism				
	+0.8°C "Already happened"	+1.5°C "Inevitable"	+2°C "Safe limit"	+3–4°C "Tipping point"	+5–6°C "Nightmare"	Environmental	Economic	Social	Political
'Really scary things'	Last time CO ₂ levels were this high was 15 million years ago	Greenland icesheet starts to disintegrate	Huge amounts of CO ₂ and methane released by melting permafrost in the Arctic and Siberia	Ocean floor methane released. causing runaway climate change; minimum time needed to reabsorb all this CO ₂ from the atmosphere: 300,000 years	Likelihood of mass extinction event	Major economic instability	Massive rapid cultural change	High levels of political instability and increas- ing conflict over scarce resources; 'resource wars'	

Source: Adapted from Gössling and Hall 2006a; IPCC 2007a, 2007b, 2013; UN Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) 2007; Hall and Saarinen 2010; National Intelligence Council 2012; *Guardian* 2012; Scott *et al.* 2012.

management strategies, marketing and consumer behavioural change could achieve the declared tourism sector emission reductions targets of the UNWTO or World Travel and Tourism Council (WTTC). For example, the International Energy Agency (IEA) (2009) suggests that the technical capacity to reduce the energy intensity of new aircraft is equivalent to 0.6–1.0 per cent per year on average, and that the annual historical rate of improvement in load factors (approximately 0.2 per cent per year) could reach close to its upper limit by 2025. The reliance on biofuel as a technological solution remains problematic because of uncertainties over full life cycle emission benefits and land use requirements that put energy and food crops in conflict. As Gössling *et al.* observe, the lack of a credible transformative strategy to achieve emission reduction goals and become a part of the low carbon economy by mid-century raises fundamental questions about the future of global tourism growth projections and whether long-haul SIDS and LDCs should rely on tourism as an economic mainstay for future development (Gössling *et al.* 2013).

Transformations?

As this book has indicated, the geography of tourism and recreation, as with the discipline as a whole, has undergone considerable change since it began in the 1920s. This is to be expected, since geography, as with any discipline, adapts and reacts in relation to the society and culture within which it operates (see Chapter 1). The case for understanding the changing nature of tourism and recreation ‘contextually closely parallels the case made by realists for appreciating all human activity; the operation of human agency must be analysed within the constraining and enabling conditions provided by its environment’ (Johnston 1991: 280). In this sense the environment for the study of tourism and recreation must be positive given the growth of international tourism and the role it now plays within government policy-making. Given the significance of globalisation, mobility, postmodernism, post-Fordism and localisation to contemporary social theory, it should also be no surprise that many human geographers and other social scientists are now discovering tourism and recreation as having some significance for social change. Indeed, the emerging paradigm of mobility which is acting to link research in tourism geography with that of migration, and is also connecting geographers, sociologists and demographers, appears to be a research direction potentially rich in possibilities (see, e.g., Urry 2000; Hall and Williams 2002; Coles *et al.*

2004; Hannam 2008). However, previous work in the area is often ignored, while many authors discussing contemporary tourism phenomena, particularly in an urban or rural setting, seem to think that all tourists and tourism are the same and fail to perceive the complexity of the phenomena they are investigating.

It would also be true to note that many tourism and recreation geographers find the discovery of ‘their’ field by social theory and cultural studies somewhat amusing given that they have been ignored for so long. Others will also find it threatening given that their own work bears all the hallmarks of traditional spatial science, excellent maps, flows and patterns but a limited role for more critical examination of tourism phenomena.

The geography of tourism and recreation therefore bears the hallmarks of much Anglo-North American geography in terms of the tensions that exist between the different approaches within the discipline. Such tensions, if well managed, can be extremely healthy in terms of the debate they generate and the ‘freshness’ of the subject matter (Hall 2013a). However, if they are not well managed and if external influences become too attractive, splits will occur. Research and scholarship in the geography of tourism and recreation are now at this stage. Unless greater links are built between the sub-discipline and the discipline as a whole, potentially much of the field will be swallowed up by the rapidly expanding field of tourism studies, which bears many of the hallmarks of being a discipline in its own right (Hall 2005a). Even if only

in terms of student numbers, such a shift would have substantial implications for geography, as already mentioned above.

The geography of tourism and recreation remains at a crossroads. It is to be hoped that a situation will not develop where those concerned with social theory will stay in geography and those who do not will go to the business and tourism schools. An understanding of social theory by itself will not provide geography graduates or tourism graduates with a career. Of course it should never be just about jobs; we hope it is also about the joy of gaining knowledge for its own sake. However, the integration of some of the central concerns of social theory and the central concerns of the geographer – sites, places, landscapes, regions and national configurations, and the spatial arrangements and relationships that interconnect them – with the subject of tourism and recreation will lead to the development of a more relevant area of geography that can better contribute to all its stakeholders, including its students, who are then exposed to the right range of traditions that have contributed to geographical knowledge and its application. To this end we can only reiterate the words of Gilbert White as a guiding light for a relevant tourism and recreation geography:

Speaking only as one individual, I feel strongly that I should not go into research unless it promises results that would advance the aims of the people affected and unless I am prepared to take all practicable steps to help translate the results into action.

(White 1972: 102)

Further reading

There are a number of edited collections that provide good thematic overviews to various issues and concepts in the geographies of tourism and recreation. See:

Hall, C.M. (ed.) (2011) *Fieldwork in Tourism: Methods, Issues and Reflections*, Abingdon: Routledge (a collection of reflections, essays and reviews on the important fieldwork dimension in tourism and geography).

Lew, A., Hall, C.M. and Williams, A. (eds) (2014) *The Wiley-Blackwell Companion to Tourism*, Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell Publishers (a large collection of essays on various major research themes and traditions in the geography of tourism as well as the wider tourism literature).

Smith, S. (ed.) (2010) *The Discovery of Tourism*, Bingley: Emerald (autobiographical accounts of tourism geographers with a useful overview by the editor).

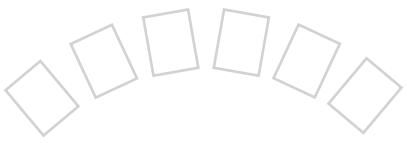
Wilson, J. (ed.) (2012) *The Routledge Handbook of Tourism Geographies*, London: Routledge.

Wilson, J. and Anton Clavé, S. (eds) (2013) *Geographies of Tourism: European Research Perspectives*, London: Emerald.

An interesting exercise in the examination of change in tourism studies and tourism geographies would be to compare Lew *et al.* (2014) with the 2004 version: Lew, A.A., Hall, C.M. and Williams, A. (eds) (2004) *A Companion to Tourism*, Oxford: Blackwell. Similarly, the series of papers by Gibson on geographies of tourism (Gibson, 2008, 2009, 2010) could be usefully compared with the reviews of leisure and recreation by Patmore (1977, 1978, 1979, 1980).

Questions to discuss

- 1 Is geography a relevant subject to study in the twenty-first century as a basis for understanding tourism and recreational phenomena?**
- 2 What is applied geography and how does it relate to tourism and recreation?**
- 3 How has the geographer contributed to the wider public policy and problem-solving approach to tourism and recreation research? Has this been at the expense of academic credibility within the discipline?**
- 4 What is the role of GIS in tourism and recreational research?**



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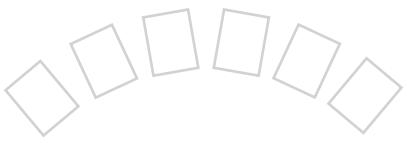
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