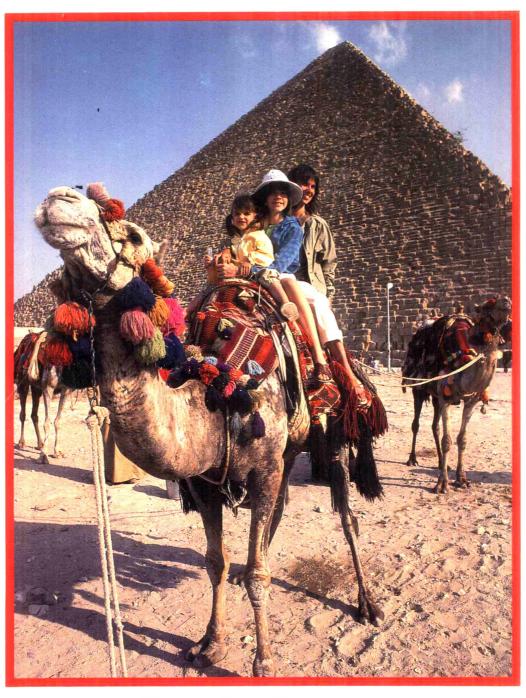
TOURISM TODAY

A geographical analysis



Douglas Pearce

Tourism Today: a geographical analysis

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For Chantal

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Introduction

Tourism is essentially about people and places, the places one group of people leave, visit and pass through, the other groups who make their trip possible and those they encounter along the way. In a more technical sense, tourism may be thought of as the relationships and phenomena arising out of the journeys and temporary stays of people travelling primarily for leisure or recreational purposes. While writers differ on the degree to which other forms of travel (e.g. for business, for health or educational purposes) should be included under tourism, there is a growing recognition that tourism constitutes one end of a broad leisure spectrum. In a geographical sense, a basic distinction between tourism and other forms of leisure, such as that practised in the home (e.g. watching television) or within the urban area (e.g. going to the local swimming pool), is the travel component. Some writers employ a minimum trip distance criterion but generally tourism is taken to include at least a one-night stay away from the place of permanent residence. These travel and stay attributes of tourism in turn give rise to various service demands which may be provided by different sectors of the tourist industry so that in an economic and commercial sense tourism might also be distinguished from other types of leisure activity.

The spatial interaction arising out of the tourist's movement from origin to destination has not been examined explicitly in much of the geographical literature on tourism. The majority

of geographical, and other, studies have been concerned with only one part of the system, usually with the destination, as typified by the many ideographic studies which have appeared since the 1960s. A sense of this interaction and a more general spatial structure does, however, emerge from some of the earlier studies. In his seminal work on second homes in Ontario, for instance, Wolfe (1951: 28) observes: 'In ecological terms we have added segments of two zones to the city of Toronto: a buffer zone 50 miles wide, a recreation bridge to cross . . . and a summer dormitory zone seventy miles wide'. In a similar vein Defert (1966), one of the first French geographers to make a substantial contribution to the geography of tourism, writes of an espace distance which separates the permanent residence from the seasonal one and of an espace milieu where the tourist enjoys his holiday. A decade later, Miossec (1976) speaks of l'espace touristique as being both an espace parcouru and as an espace occupé involving a lieu de déplacement and a lieu de séjour. Miossec notes, however, that few studies have explicitly attempted to bring together the generating regions (origins), receiving regions (destinations) and the associated linkages.

The aim of this book is to analyse in a systematic and comprehensive manner the geographical dimensions of tourism, not only to increase our understanding of this important and growing industry but also to show how a geographical perspective can contribute to its planning, development and management. The basic framework used is an origin-linkage-destination system of the type outlined above as this provides an effective integrative device for investigating what is inherently a very geographical phenomenon. Geographic scale is a second major organizational feature, with the focus changing from the international to the national, regional and local scales. The links between these scales are also emphasized.

While this book stresses geographical methods of analysis and draws predominantly, but by no means exclusively, on the works of geographers, it is addressed to a much wider audience. An appreciation of the geographical dimensions of tourism and the adoption of a spatial perspective can provide valuable insights into this phenomenon for researchers in allied disciplines - economics, sociology, anthropology, resource management, business administration - as well as for those involved in the planning, development and management of the tourist industry at different levels. At present it appears many organizations responsible for collecting tourismrelated data do not exploit them fully or in some cases at all. The effort appears to go into compilation rather than analysis. The examples given here show the wide variety of uses to which this information can be put. It is hoped that these will not only stimulate the relevant organizations to make better use of the material that is available but encourage others to extend or modify their data collection procedures.

Chapter 1 provides a theoretical base and reviews a variety of different concepts and models which give weight to different aspects of the origin-linkage-destination system. Chapter 2 concentrates on demand and motivation and considers what underlies people's desire to leave their home area to visit other places. Selected tourist flows at various scales - international, intra-national and domestic - are examined in Chapters 3 to 6. The focus then shifts to destination areas, with Chapter 7 being devoted to a review of ways of measuring spatial variations in tourism. Subsequent chapters then consider the spatial structure of tourism at various scales, at a national and regional level in Chapter 8, on islands in Chapter 9 and in coastal resorts and urban areas in Chapter 10. Finally, Chapter 11 reviews two major and recurring themes concentration and spatial interaction - and considers the significance of these. Examples are also given of how geographical techniques and a spatial perspective can be applied in planning, development, marketing and the assessment of the impact of tourism. Conclusions are then drawn.

Each of these topics is examined systematically, with the emphasis being on identifying general patterns and processes and on distinguishing the general from the specific. In order to understand better the processes involved, an attempt is made to examine the evolution of flow patterns and the changing distribution of tourists and facilities over time. Discussion of patterns and processes, and particularly their evolution, cannot, however. be separated from questions of data and methodology. The weight given to these matters varies from topic to topic depending on the extent and nature of the related literature. As recent reviews have pointed out, the coverage of topics is far from uniform and the literature on the geography of tourism is still very fragmented (Pearce 1979a; Barbier and Pearce 1984; Duffield 1984; Lundgren 1984; Mitchell 1984; Pearce and Mings 1984). In some cases, as with domestic tourist studies at the local level (Ch. 6) or the morphology of coastal resorts (Ch. 10), it is possible to review a wide range of related research results. In other instances, more attention must be given to the availability and reliability of the data, as with international tourist flows (Ch. 3) or methodological issues, for instance measuring intra-national tourist flows (Ch. 4) or analysing domestic tourist travel at the national level (Ch. 6). Given the diversity of data and techniques used in measuring spatial variations in tourism, it is appropriate to review and evaluate these in one chapter (Ch. 7) so as to allow a more fluid discussion of patterns in subsequent chapters. In topic areas which have hitherto attracted little attention, existing studies are complemented by original material or new treatment, such as the discussions of an integrated approach to international travel (Ch. 5), national patterns of tourism (Ch. 8), tourism on islands (Ch. 9) and tourism in urban areas (Ch. 10). Avenues for future research are also identified.

Given the nature of tourism, particularly international tourism, as well as the aim of identifying general patterns and processes, it is appropriate to draw on examples from many parts of the globe. Recent national reviews indicate that the coverage of topics varies considerably from country to country (Barbier and Pearce 1984; Benthien 1984; Duffield 1984; Lichtenberger 1984; Lundgren 1984; Mitchell 1984; Pearce and Mings 1984; Takeuchi 1984). Factors accounting for this uneven treatment include differences in the type of tourism practised, variations in available data, broader disciplinary traditions and emphases

(regional studies in France and quantitative analysis in North America) and the interests of individual researchers. Drawing on a geographically diverse range of examples allows the generality of ideas and patterns to be examined in those topic areas which have attracted relatively more attention and enables the evaluation of a wider range of techniques and data sources with reference to those problems which are only just being explored. Inevitably the material

selected has been biased by the author's own experiences, contacts and limited access to certain foreign language material. Any generalizations made have therefore to be seen in the light of the examples used. It is hoped nevertheless that the systematic approach adopted will readily enable other researchers to put their own results alongside the patterns and trends identified in this book and to compare and evaluate their techniques and methods with those discussed here.



Tourism models

The geography of tourism is not yet underpinned by a strong conceptual and theoretical base. To some extent this is due to the relative recency of tourism as a field of study. Although geographers were first interested in the topic over fifty years ago, it was not until the early 1960s in Europe and later in North America and elsewhere that geographical studies of tourism start to appear frequently in the literature (Pearce 1979a). Moreover there has been an absence of sustained research effort in this field, with much of the published work being carried out by those with only a transient interest in tourism, producing one or two usually ideographic papers before returning to their more established and accepted branch of the discipline or moving on to pastures new. Mitchell (1984: 6) speaks of a 'proclivity to "selectively mine" pristine tourism topics and to neglect the "mass mining" of more normal or mundane subjects or areas . . . The stock pile of research findings do not advance systematically but rather progress spasmodically and in a seemingly random fashion.' In the absence of unifying concepts and theories which are slow to develop in such a context, much research continues to lack direction and the cycle goes largely unbroken.

Nevertheless, since the late 1960s a number of models dealing with various aspects of the spatial structure of tourism have started to emerge. As in other areas of the geography of tourism, these models appear to have been developed independently of one another, with little or no recognition of or attempt to build on previous efforts. Perhaps this is not too surprising given that models have been developed by those working in Europe, North America, Australasia and Japan. This chapter reviews and evaluates these models with the aim of providing a theoretical and conceptual base and general frameworks for examining the spatial dynamics of tourism and analysing and interpreting material in subsequent chapters.

As noted in the Introduction, a few early writers such as Wolfe (1951) and Defert (1966) outlined fundamental aspects of the patterns and processes of spatial interaction inherent in all forms of tourism. Later researchers have attempted to express these relationships more explicitly and to derive increasingly complex models of tourist space. The basis of most of these models remains an origin–linkage–destination system, with various writers giving different emphasis to these three elements and expressing them in different terms. Four basic groups of models might be identified: those emphasizing the travel or linkage component, origin–destination models, structural models and evolutionary models.

Models of tourist travel

The emphasis in the early explicit models of tourist systems tends to be on the linkage or