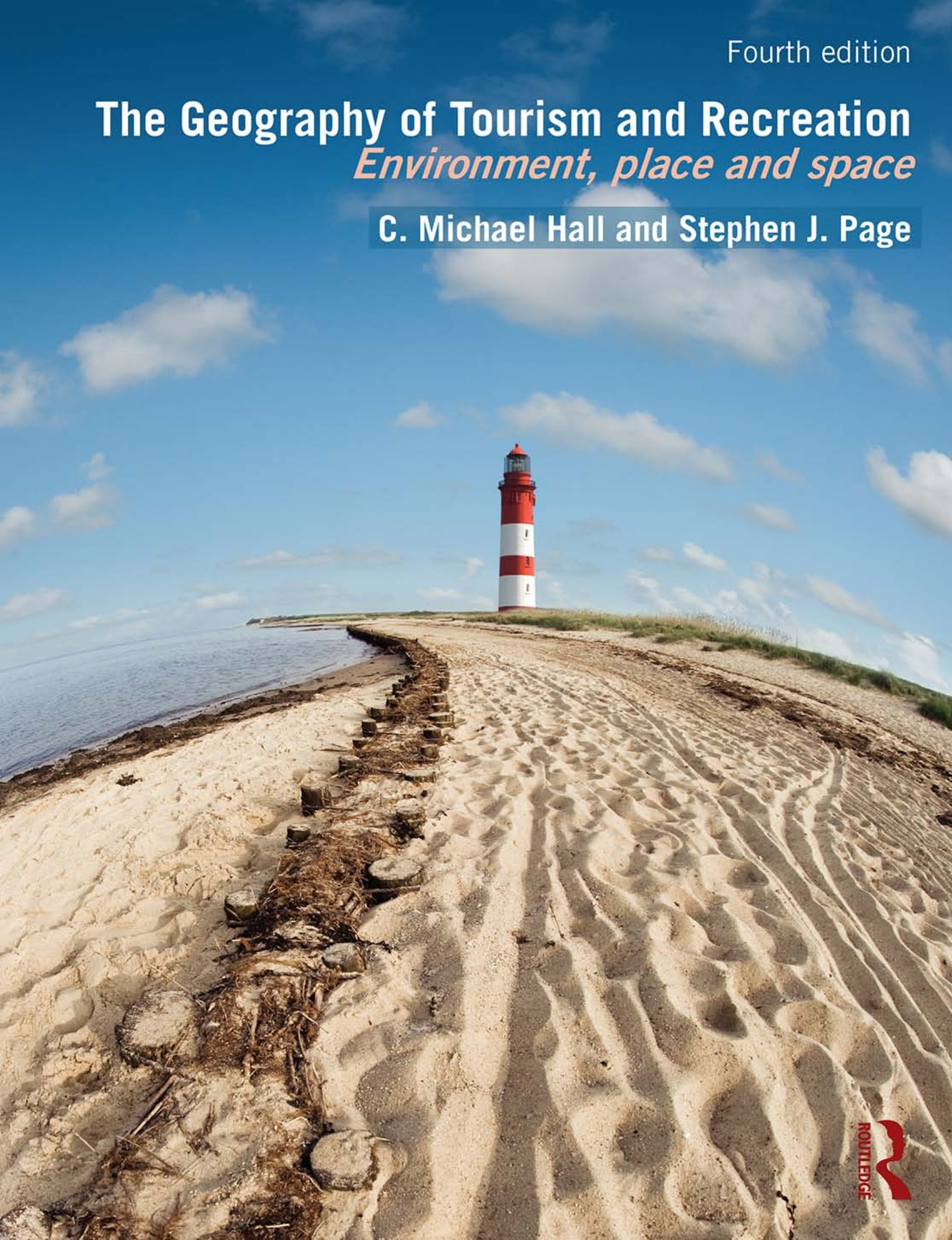
Fourth edition
The Geography of Tourism and Recreation
Environment, place and space
C. Michael Hall and Stephen J. Page
ROUTLEDGE

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.

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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*.

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

THE GEOGRAPHY OF TOURISM AND RECREATION

Environment, place and space

Fourth edition

C. Michael Hall and Stephen J. Page

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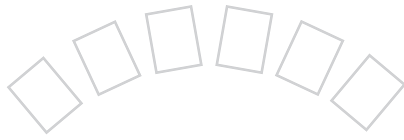

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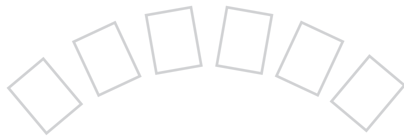

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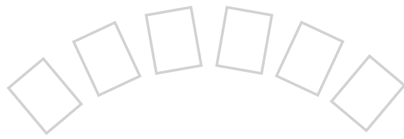

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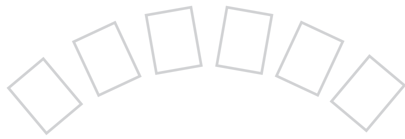

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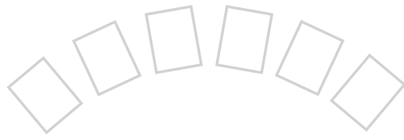

Acknowledgements

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 Aignier, 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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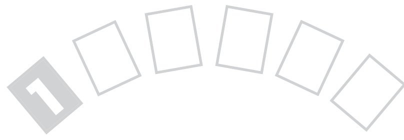


Introduction

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 subdisciplines (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

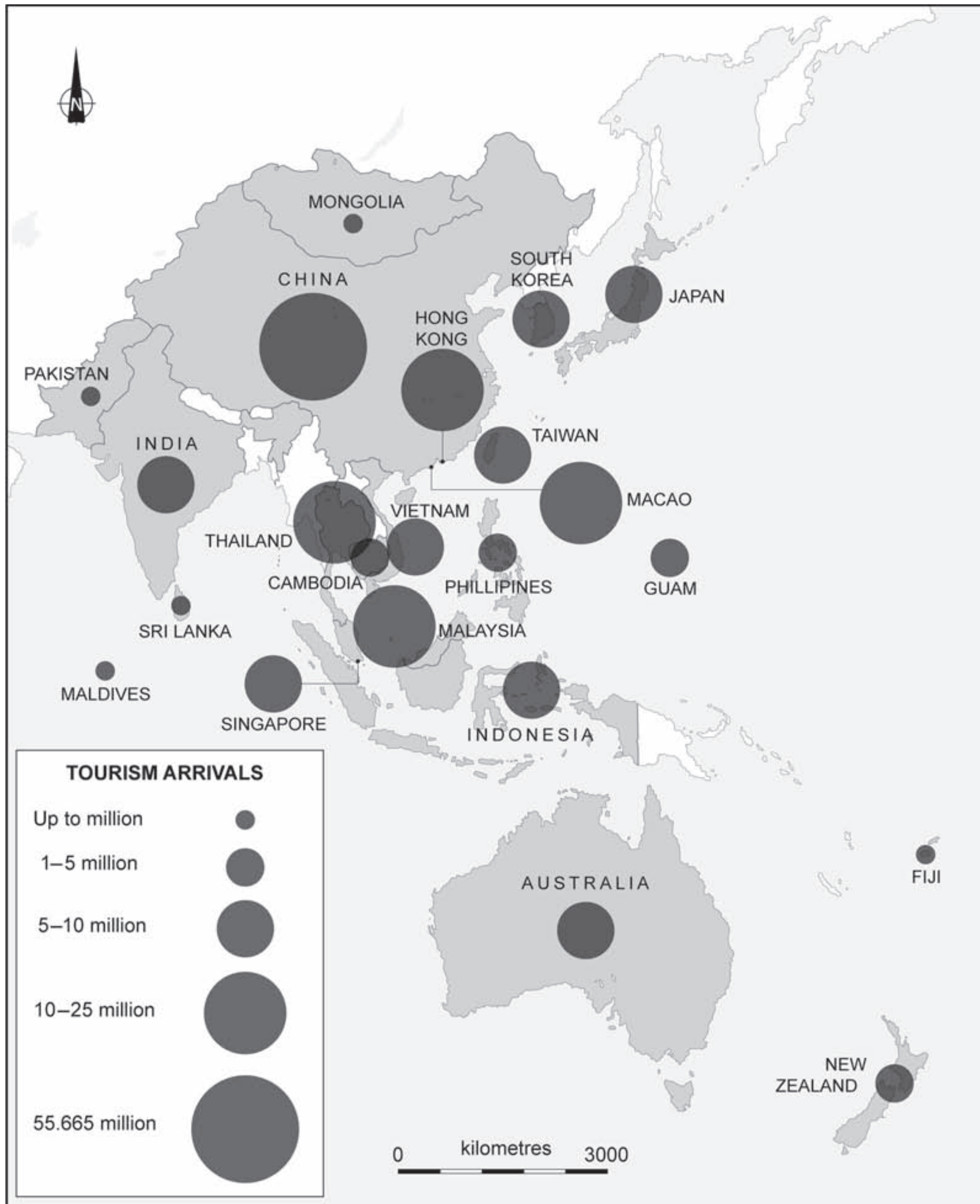


Figure 1.1 Tourism in Asia

Source: Developed from UNWTO data.

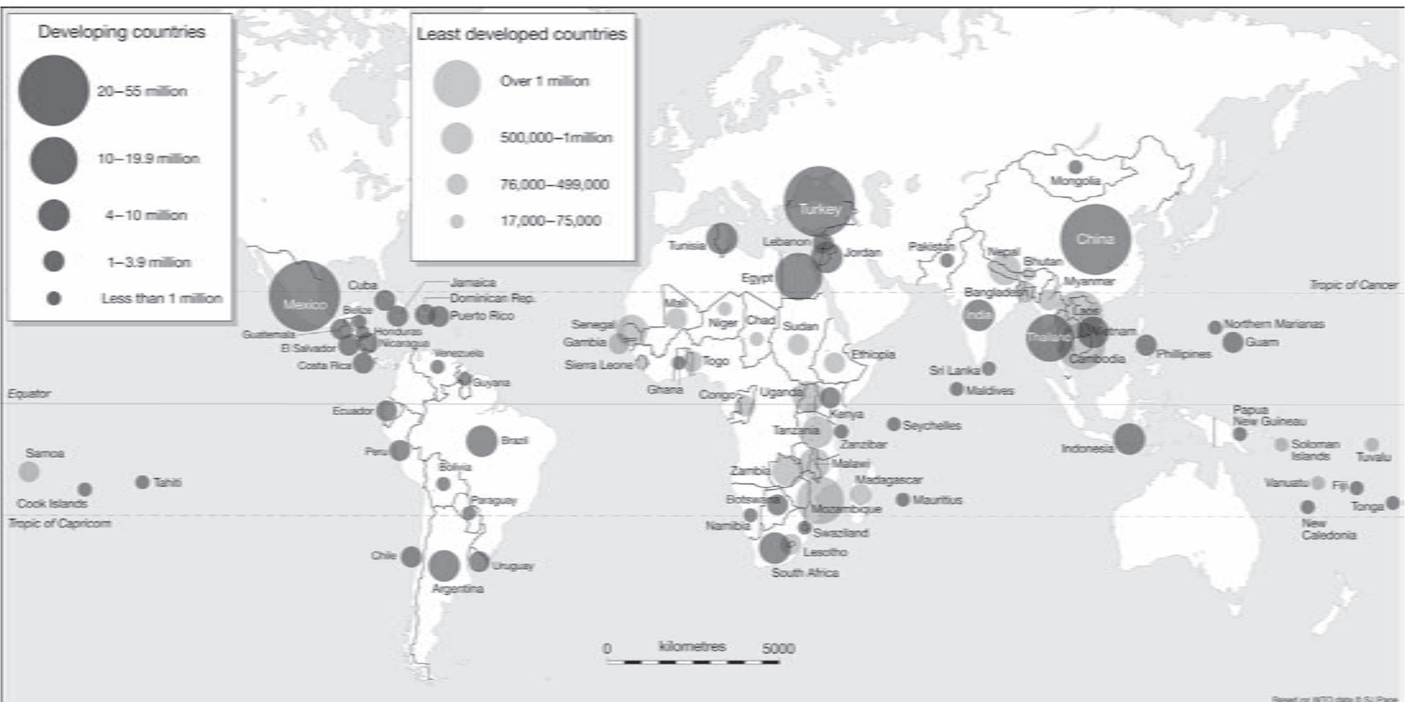


Figure 1.2 Tourism in the developing world

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 (Çalıskan 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

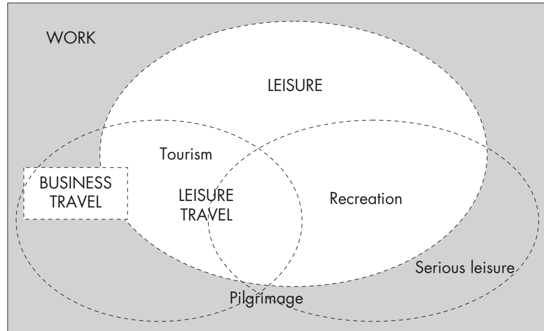


Figure 1.3 Relationships between leisure, recreation and tourism

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 Vilhelmson 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, performity, 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 (Coccossis 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 undoubted 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 positionality 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 'backstage' 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 of demand Geography of resorts Tourist movements and flows Impact of tourism Models of tourist space	Spatial patterns Tourism in developing countries Evolution of tourism Impacts of tourism Tourism research methods Planning and development Coastal tourism Tourism accommodation Resort cycles Tourism concepts Tourism destinations	Environmental considerations Regional considerations Spatial considerations Evolutionary considerations	Tourism models Demand for tourist travel International tourism patterns Intra-national travel patterns Domestic tourist flows Spatial variations in tourism National and regional structures of tourism Spatial structure of tourism on islands Coastal resorts Urban areas	Environmental considerations Regional considerations Spatial considerations Evolutionary considerations Tourism planning Urban tourism Modernisation and development Gender and identity Place-marketing and promotion Globalisation and economic and cultural change Sustainable development

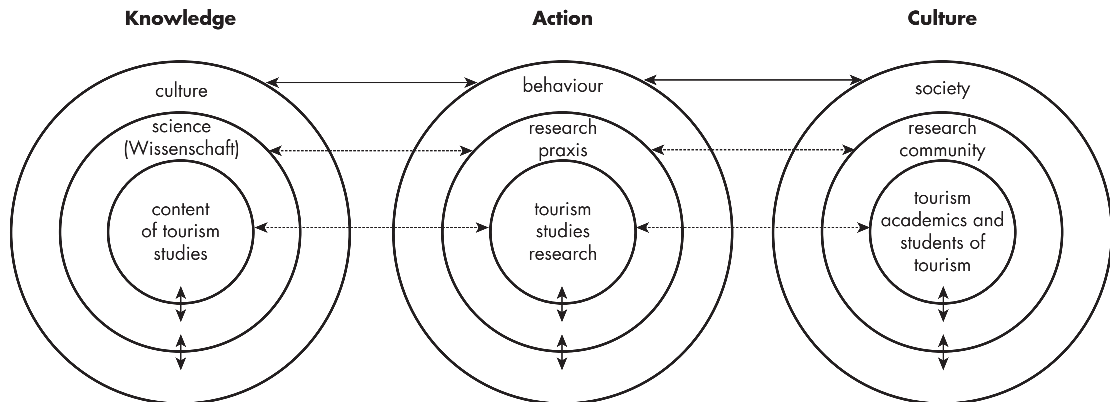


Figure 1.4 The context of tourism studies

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, postcolonialism, 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	• spatial structure: Fesenmaier and Lieber 1987 • spatial analysis: Smith 1983b; Wall *et al*. 1985; Hinch 1990; Ashworth and Dietvorst 1995; Chhetri *et al*. 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 *et al*. 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	• 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 *et al*. 2012c; Hibbert *et al*. 2013 • environmental perception: Wolfe 1970; Kaltenborn *et al*. 2011 • recreational displacement: Anderson and Brown 1984 • social marketing and behaviour change: Barr *et al*. 2011; Hall 2013e, 2014; Truong and Hall 2013
Humanistic geography	Human agency, subjectivity of analysis, hermeneutics, place, landscape, existentialism, phenomenology, ethnography, lifeworld	• 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	• planning: Murphy 1985; Getz 1986a; Dowling 1993, 1997; Hall *et al*. 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 *et al*. 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 *et al*. 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 Mitchell 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*
		• 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 *et al*. 1999; Ateljevic and Doorne 2000; Getz and Carlsen 2000; Getz *et al*. 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 *et al*. 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 *et al*. 2012a, 2012b; Mulligan *et al*. 2012 • resource evaluation: Sæþórsdóttir and Ólafsson 2010a, b.
Emerging approach: sustainability/ integrated resource management	Integrated resource management, sustainable development, sustainable tourism	• 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 *et al*. 2000 • sustainable tourism: Butler 1990, 1991, 1992, 1998; Pigram 1990; Ashworth 1992b; Bramwell and Lane 1993; Cater 1993; Dearden 1993; McKercher 1993a, 1993b; Cater and Lowman 1994; Murphy 1994; Mowforth and Munt 1998; Hall and Lew 1998; Aronsson 2000; Saarinen 2006; Weaver 2006 • ecotourism: Weiler 1991; Eagles 1992; Cater 1993; Cater 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 *et al*. 1987; Davies 1987; Hall 1992a; McKercher 1993c • weather and climatological information: de Freitas 2003; Scott and Lemieux 2010 • transition management: Gössling *et al*. 2012a • water use: Gössling *et al*. 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	• Global environmental change: Gössling 2002; Gössling and Hall 2006a • Ecological footprint analysis: Gössling *et al*. 2002 • Climate Change: Smith 1990; Wall and Badke 1994; Hall and Higham 2005; Gössling and Hall 2006b; Scott *et al*. 2008, 2012; Steiger 2012; Gössling *et al*. 2013; Tervo-Kankare *et al*. 2013 • Carbon management: Gössling 2011 • Tourism's contribution to change: Peeters *et al*. 2007
'Radical' approaches	Neo-Marxist analysis, role of the state, gender, globalisation, localisation, identity, postcolonialism, postmodernism poststructuralism, role of space	• political economy: Britton 1982; Ley and Olds 1988; Willams 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 *et al*. 1996; Tunbridge and Ashworth 1996
Emerging approach: 'cultural turn'		• cultural identity: Byrne *et al*. 1993; Crouch 1994; Squire 1994 • gender: Adler and Brenner 1992; Kinnaird 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 • performity: Coleman and Crang 2002; Edensor 2007; Molz 2010 • automobility: Edensor 2004 • the body/senses: Obrador 2007; Waitt and Duffy 2010; Barratt 2011 • sexuality: Waitt *et al*. 2008; Qian *et al*. 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 multinational 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 subgroups 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 (Cloke 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 ascendance: 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. Knafou 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, Knafou (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 (Knafou *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 Vilhelmson 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 subdiscipline, 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

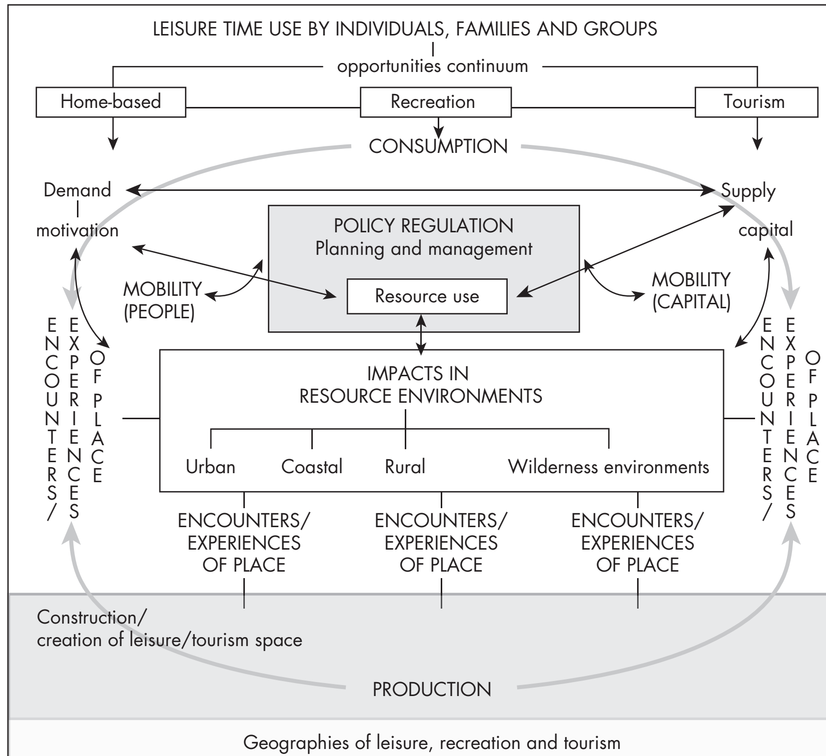


Figure 1.5 Organising framework for the book

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:

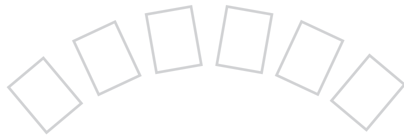
United Nations World Tourism Organization (The UN body responsible for tourism): www.unwto.org/

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.**



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