

1 Introduction: Mass Tourism in a Small World

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The Emergence of Mass Tourism

Large-scale tourism is not an entirely new phenomenon: its antecedents can be found in the large-scale festivals and games of ancient Egypt, Greece and Rome, in pilgrimage, which has long been a feature of the major world religions, and in spa tourism, which pre-dates Roman times and has long been established in many regions in Europe and North America (Towner, 1996: 53–95; van Tubergen and van der Linden, 2002). The Grand Tour of Europe, popular over much the same period, involved relatively few travellers but nevertheless had a lasting impact on places visited by tourists, on the travellers themselves, and on the culture of their home societies (Hibbert, 1987; Black, 1992; Towner, 1996: 96–138).

However, consistent large-scale, systematic and regular travel for leisure purposes really only emerged in the second half of the 18th century. Impetus came in the mid-1700s from Dr Richard Russell and other physicians who popularized the medical benefits of sea bathing (Gilbert, 1954: 56–86), thus providing an alternative to inland spas, but it was the railways, from the mid-1800s, that established mass tourism in the UK and elsewhere (Towner, 1996: 167–216) and which enabled Thomas Cook, almost by accident, to develop (though not start) package tours, later taking tourists overseas (Pimlott,

1947: 91, 168–169, 191–194; Buzard, 1993: 45–65). Increasingly, for nearly a century, holidaymakers in the developed world went on holiday en masse and small coastal communities accessible to metropolitan centres themselves became urbanized. The prominence of such resorts as Blackpool and Brighton in the UK, for instance, dates back to this time, and others soon followed, in the UK (Pimlott, 1947; Gilbert, 1954; Walton, 1978), in other parts of Europe (Corbin, 1994: 255–281) and also in the USA, as seen in the growth in the early 1800s of Atlantic City on the New Jersey coast and resorts on the California coast (Jakle, 1985: 56–62).

Road improvements and technical advances in transport led to other developments. In the late 1800s, increasing numbers of enthusiasts took up cycling, though it remained popular for much longer in Europe than in the USA (Lofgren, 1999: 69). Better road surfaces, improved technology in automobile production and decreasing prices opened up the countryside to motorized transport, especially after the motor car began to be mass produced. As Jakle (1985: 270) notes, in the USA during the period between the two world wars 'automobiling was embraced by and dominated by the masses', leading to the transformation of the countryside, not least by increasing numbers of camping sites and motels that catered to these new

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tourists, while national parks such as Yosemite and Yellowstone came under increasing pressure to accommodate visitors (Jakle, 1985: 67–83; Lofgren, 1999: 56–64).

For more than a century, then, coastal resorts and other destinations in the UK, mainland Europe and the USA catered for the leisure and entertainment needs of vast numbers of their increasingly affluent but highly differentiated populations (Pimlott, 1947; Jakle, 1985; Soane, 1993). It was undoubtedly mass tourism, but it occurred largely within national boundaries. Later, the first shoots of mass international tourism appeared in the 1920s and 1930s, some of which were state sponsored (Baranowski, 2005: 130; Dann and Parrinello, 2009: 26–30), but it was only after 1945, as Europe reaped the dividends arising from peace, increased prosperity, a widespread rise in disposable income, good communications and improvements in aircraft technology, that international leisure travel developed rapidly on a mass scale.

Modern Mass Tourism: the General Pattern

In 1950, when little more than 25 million international tourist arrivals were recorded, most international trips were almost exclusively to

Europe (66%) and North America (30%), usually within the same region. By 1990, although arrivals to all regions had substantially increased, totalling nearly 440 million, the market shares of Europe and North America were 64% and 20%, respectively (Harrison, 1992a: 5; Harrison, 2001: 11). If we then fast forward to 2014, it is clear that while both international arrivals and receipts from international tourism had increased, as indicated in Table 1.1, destinations in other parts of the world had grown in importance. As economic development has occurred elsewhere, Europe’s share of international tourist arrivals of 1.133 billion has been reduced to less than 52%, that of the Americas to about 16%, while that of Asia and the Pacific (of negligible importance in 1950) is now more than 23%, and accounts for more than 30% of international tourism receipts (UNWTO, 2015: 4–5).

The emergence of China as both a destination and a source of tourists is especially noteworthy. In 1978, the year it opened out to the West, it received 229,600 foreign (i.e. non-Chinese) tourists (Guangrui and Lew, 2003: 16). In 2015, 20.3 million arrived, along with 27.1 million and 4.7 million from Hong and Macau, respectively, and a further 4.8 million from Taiwan (Travel China Guide, 2016). China is now one of the world’s top destinations, attaining fourth place in the United Nations World Tourism Organization’s (UNWTO) league tables of international arrivals and third place in

Table 1.1. International tourism arrivals and receipts: selected years, 1950–2014. (Compiled by the authors from UNWTO data.)

Year	Arrivals (million)	Receipts (US\$ billion)	Year	Arrivals (million)	Receipts (US\$ billion)
1950	25.3	2.1	1999	639.6	464.5
1960	69.3	6.9	2000	687.0	481.6
1965	112.9	11.6	2001	686.7	469.9
1970	165.8	17.9	2002	707.0	488.2
1975	222.3	40.7	2003	694.6	534.6
1980	278.1	104.4	2004	765.1	634.7
1985	320.1	119.1	2005	806.6	682.7
1990	439.5	270.2	2006	847.0	742.0
1991	442.5	283.4	2007	903.0	856.0
1992	479.8	326.6	2008	917.0	939.0
1993	495.7	332.6	2009	882.0	851.0
1994	519.8	362.1	2010	940.0	927.0
1995	540.6	410.7	2011	995.0	1042.0
1996	575.0	446.0	2012	1035.0	1075.0
1997	598.6	450.4	2013	1087.0	1159.0
1998	616.7	451.4	2014	1133.0	1245.0

that of international tourism receipts (UNWTO, 2015: 6). It is also the world's fastest growing source of tourists: since 2012 its citizens have spent more than those of any other nation, in 2014 accounting for more than 13% of global tourism receipts (UNWTO, 2015: 13), in the process changing and increasing the tourism profile of several destinations visited by Chinese tourists. Currently, Hong Kong, Macau, South Korea, Thailand, Singapore, Malaysia, the USA, Vietnam, Japan and France are preferred destinations, though the Chinese are targeted worldwide as tourists. Moreover, as only about 5% of Chinese citizens possessed a passport in 2014 (Arlt, 2016: 5), at the time of writing all the evidence points to the continuation of these trends in the foreseeable future, a situation which has attracted increasing academic attention, from within and outside China, over the last decade (Harrison, 2017). Indeed, the UNWTO estimates that, more generally, by 2030 international arrivals will amount to some 1.8 billion, with tourism in emerging nations growing at twice the rate of that in advanced economies, by which time the former will have 57% of the market share of international arrivals (UNWTO, 2015: 2).

Finally, it is worth noting that while international mass tourism has increased remarkably since the 1950s, so too has domestic tourism, building on a much wider base since the mid-19th century. Currently, domestic trips are reported by UNWTO to number between 5 billion and 6 billion a year (UNWTO, 2015: 3), a margin of difference that suggests hugely unreliable statistics (Ghimire, 2001: 11–15; UNWTO, 2013: 13–14). Nevertheless, globally domestic tourism is of major economic importance, including in many developing countries where domestic arrivals sometimes amount to more than five times those of international tourists (Ghimire, 2001; UNWTO, 2013; Harrison, 2017). Indeed, as Ryan notes in Chapter 13, this volume, in 2015 the Chinese undertook around 4 billion domestic tourism trips.

Scholarly Approaches to Mass Tourism

Historians have carried out considerable research on mass tourism. Its development has

been traced generally by Boyer (2007) while others have charted the more specific history of holidaymaking in English resorts (Pimlott, 1947; Gilbert, 1954; Walton, 1978, 2000; Travis, 1993) and elsewhere (Black, 1992; Hudson, 1993; Towner, 1996). There have also been important comparative studies of resort development in France, the USA and Germany (Soane, 1993; Berghoff *et al.*, 2002; Borsay and Walton, 2011) while other historians and some social scientists have focused more thematically on the sea or the role of the beach – especially as a liminal, pleasure periphery – in popular culture (Shields, 1991: 73–116; Corbin, 1994; Lencek and Bosker, 1999; Urbain, 2003).

Interestingly, numerous historical records exist of reactions to tourists. These include: (i) Seneca's condemnation of drunks in the 1st century AD at Baiae (Casson, 1974: 143); (ii) disagreements over the value of the Grand Tour (Hibbert, 1987: 235–248; Black, 1992: 315–337; Towner, 1996: 96–138); (iii) the Reverend Francis Kilvert's 1870 characterization of English tourists as 'vulgar, illbred, offensive and loathsome' (Plomer, 1992: 25); and (iv) Wordsworth's objections that 'his' English Lake District was being threatened by excursionists from the industrial towns of Lancashire and Yorkshire, who wanted 'wrestling matches, horses and boat races without number' (Ousby, 1990: 192). Anticipating many modern criticisms of tourists, too, residents of late 19th-century Brighton blamed tourism for drunkenness, licentious behaviour and prostitution, asserting that working-class visitors, in particular, were of little economic benefit to the town because they carried their own food and drink with them (Gilbert, 1954: 193–196, 204–206). Criticisms of tourists in other parts of Europe took a similar (and equally modern) tone (Buzard, 1993: 37–40).

Arguably, though, there has been little cross-fertilization across the boundary between historians of tourism and social scientists operating within the field of tourism studies. As Walton (2005: 2) suggests, this might be the result of stylistic and methodological differences, but other factors are also at work. For example, blessed with the benefit of hindsight, historians have generally adopted a largely neutral position, whereas non-historians considering modern tourism and its immediate impacts, especially in developing societies, have often been more judgemental (and

possibly more anxious to distance themselves from other visitors). This was certainly evident in the 1970s when MacCannell, whose pioneering study set the standard for so much of what was to follow, once referred to tourists as 'an expeditionary force without guns' (1999: xxiv). Similarly, Krippendorf, an economist and environmentalist, depicted modern tourists as vainly trying to escape alienation from industrial and differentiated society, adding that while their 'carefree and ignorant' behaviour (1987: 43) brought them little benefit, it did great damage to their destinations, creating 'a new and devious form of colonialism' (Krippendorf, 1987: 56).

Over the last three decades, however, scholarly attitudes towards tourism have reportedly shifted. According to Jafari (1989), they have moved from acceptance, through caution and adaptation, to a more 'knowledge-based' approach. Though somewhat simplistic – Jafari himself accepts none of these 'platforms' have been superseded – the knowledge-based approach frames our understanding of tourism in 'developed' societies. This seems evident when comparing the work of sociologists and anthropologists in the 1970s and 1980s with later studies of developed country destinations, especially in the Mediterranean. Much of the latter centred on mass tourism's economic impacts (Segreto *et al.*, 2009), its social and cultural features for both tourists (Andrews, 2011) and residents (Waldren, 1996; O'Reilly, 2000), and its relationship to modernity, such as in the case of Cyprus (Sharpley, 2003). Others examined the interactional spaces created by tourism (Obrador Pons *et al.*, 2009) and how residents have reacted and adapted to mass tourism more generally (Boissevain, 1996), while McGibbon has carried out similar research on tourism's impacts on an Austrian Alpine village (2000). Importantly, too, there have been serious efforts to address the need to manage the impact of tourism in coastal resorts in Southern Europe (Bramwell, 2004) and – of especial value, because of its comparative approach – to analyse tourism's problematic impacts in coastal resorts across the world (Agarwal and Shaw, 2007).

Over recent decades, the growth of mass tourism in European cities, some already established as destinations for centuries, has been phenomenal (Berger, 2015), bringing many undoubted economic benefits (Ashworth and

Tunbridge, 1990: 260). Rapid expansion in city tourism is also occurring elsewhere: Dubai, for instance, is expecting 20 million visitors by 2020, of which it hopes some 500,000 will be medical tourists (eTurboNews, 2015). Inevitably, problems have emerged, especially in some European capitals (Ashworth and Tunbridge, 1990: 254–265; Dumbrovská and Fialova, 2014; Settis, 2016), sometimes leading to a resident backlash (Keeley, 2014; Tjolle, 2014; Jones, 2016).

More generally, there are clearly concerns about tourism's environmental impacts and its contribution to climate change (Croall, 1995; Holden, 2007; Becken, 2013). For some time, there have been increasingly urgent warnings about the impacts of uncontrolled mass tourism in Venice (Settis, 2016), and Barcelona is now imposing restrictions on further tourism development, instigating a moratorium on new accommodation facilities and diverting income from taxes raised from tourism away from marketing the city to social and environmental improvement programmes (Blanchar, 2015). However, generally tourism in developed countries is considered to be an economic – even social – necessity: the Lake District welcomes visitors, Brighton is now a highly popular city, and cities across the developed world compete for international tourists. Despite numerous reservations, no one seems to be advocating that London, Paris, Rome, Prague or Budapest – or even Venice and Barcelona – cease being tourist attractions. Instead, one country after another, developed or developing, competes to attract yet more tourists, especially (in view of the economic upsurge of East Asia) the Chinese. Indeed, in France, one of their preferred European destinations, it has been suggested that only tourism has the ability to save the national economy (Dedieu and Mathieu, 2015), while the UK government's 2015 *Five Point Plan* also makes a special point of attracting more Chinese visitors (Department for Culture, Media and Sport, 2015: 5). This is not to suggest that mass tourism does not raise serious concerns; however, rather than appealing for tourism to be abolished, the common reaction is to call for controls and more effective planning of tourist numbers.

Arguably, tourism in the developing world has attracted much greater criticism. Again, numerous balanced studies exist, including work in Indonesia by anthropologists such as Picard

(1996) and Cole (2008) and on tourism's role in poverty reduction (for example, Mitchell and Mann, 2010). Nevertheless, in the mid-1970s, tourism was branded 'a corrupter of innocence' in the South Pacific, while in Kenya it allegedly perpetuated 'the myth of the white hunter' and reinforced 'colonial values' (Turner and Ash, 1975: 165, 175). Contributors to important early volumes edited by Smith (1977) and de Kadt (1979) were clearly sceptical about tourism's benefits, though some modified their objections over time (Smith and Brent, 2001: 7). Indeed, while local residents were largely appreciative, Smith herself was horrified when the island of Borocay in the Philippines became a tourist resort (Smith, 1992: 143–152) and later developments did little to change her opinion (Smith, 2001: 147–148).

Others, following development theory, have depicted changes in theoretical orientation from modernization to dependency, neo-liberalism to alternative development and, most recently, to sustainability (Sharpley, 2009; Telfer, 2015; Harrison, 2015). Again, such chronologies can be misleading and apparently dated perceptions of tourism continue to coexist in repackaged form: modernization merged into neo-liberalism and the advocacy of trade liberalization, while dependency theory, along with its critique of capitalist (under) development (Harrison, 2014: 146–148), has contributed to environmentalism and the advocacy of sustainability and 'alternative' tourism.

Critics of mass tourism's impacts in developing societies (but not, it would seem, in most developed societies) point to a series of destructive features: (i) commoditization undercuts tradition and leads to inauthenticity; (ii) jobs in tourism are unskilled and demeaning; (iii) income from large-scale (and highly capitalistic) tourism is frequently reduced by damaging 'leakages'; and (iv) family structures and local economies are unbalanced by the search for the tourist dollar. Such criticisms can be countered (MacNaught, 1982; Harrison, 1992b: 18–31), but the focus on underdevelopment and advocacy of sustainable tourism development in developing societies remains. As an example, the popular text by Mowforth and Munt on tourism and sustainability in what they continue to refer to as 'The Third World,' ends with the somewhat gloomy prediction that, in a world dominated by

capitalism and unequal power relations, change is unlikely to occur. There might be some local improvements, but all we can expect is 'more of the same' (Mowforth and Munt, 2016: 404).

The dominance of sustainability perspectives in the study of tourism is, in itself, evidence of major dissatisfaction – at least in academic circles, but less so among practitioners – with mass tourism (which is frequently regarded as synonymous with modern tourism). Emphasis on the desirability of and benefits from 'alternative' tourism (in its many forms), along with sustainable tourism development, really *presupposes* the validity of the critique of mass tourism. Nevertheless, the usefulness of such notions as 'sustainable tourism development' and 'alternative' tourism has not gone uncontested. Some time ago, for example, Butler (1992: 44) argued mass tourism was with us to stay and that 'alternative tourism' was less of a panacea than often claimed, while Lanfant (1992: 112) suggested alternative tourism had 'not broken radically with the "other tourism"' and, for Cohen (1992: 275), 'criticism of established mass tourism appears too radical'. In fact, there is little academic consensus on the meaning of sustainable tourism development and little empirical evidence that such a concept can be usefully applied (Sharpley, 2009: 175), as revealed when focusing on social structures and cultures (Harrison, 1996: 76–82; Harrison, 2014: 148). This has not prevented Weaver from suggesting, in this book (see Chapter 6, this volume) and elsewhere (2012, 2013), that any conceptualization of sustainable tourism development must include the possibility that, along with sustainable alternative tourism, there must be a willingness to bring about sustainable mass tourism.

At the same time, powerful defences of mass tourism have also emerged, including from two contributors to the present volume. Butcher (2003) has challenged portrayals of 'the new tourist' as morally superior to the mass tourist, arguing instead that 'guilt-free' mass tourism brings genuine development and opportunities to developing societies (Butcher, 2003: 134), while Aramberri makes a similar claim, provocatively asserting that, through liberal capitalism, 'mass societies have generally put more cash in their members' pockets, henceforth creating, among other things, an impressive growth in MMT [Modern Mass Tourism]' (Aramberri, 2010: 7).

The role of such writers in urging the need to address the issues of mass tourism, rather than simply subjecting it to blanket criticism, is acknowledged, as are efforts of those who have tried to create typologies of tourists. Special mention should be made here of Cohen's (1972) categorization of tourists as 'institutionalized' or 'non-institutionalized', according to the extent they rely on others to plan their trips, and his later continuum of tourist experience, ranging from secular hedonism to the search for ultimate meaning (Cohen, 1979). His and other key contributions have been summarized by Ryan (2003: 73–88), Smith (2000) and Chen (2015), who show that tourists can be defined, *inter alia*, by their motivation for travel, their interests and personality types, their age or position in the life cycle, their interests, and the economic, social, cultural and environmental impacts on the places they visit. By contrast, like MacCannell (1999) and Krippendorf (1987), others have seen tourism's changing features as a reflection of their home societies, relating 'new tourism' to 'the burgeoning new middle classes of the First World' and 'new middle classes from the Third World, most particularly from South East Asia' (Mowforth and Munt, 2016: 152).

Towards an Ideal Type of Mass Tourism

Too often, tourism academics, non-government agencies and, in particular, aid agencies have ignored the 'elephant in the room' and focused on small-scale, 'sustainable' projects. As argued elsewhere (Harrison, 2015: 65–71), however, this position is untenable: (i) capitalism and international tourism are likely to continue into the foreseeable future; (ii) mass tourism will continue to be the norm; and (iii) virtually all forms of 'alternative' tourism will remain linked to and dependent on mass tourism, and none of them will replace it.

We live in a globalized world. Correspondingly, the overall unit of analysis is a global, capitalist system involving mass production and mass consumption, within which, as the pattern of international tourist movements indicates, national, regional and international boundaries are continuously criss-crossed, for most of the time as a matter of course. As in any system,

what happens in one part has knock-on effects on others. The 1920s' fashion for a sun tan led relatively wealthy Northern Europeans to seek the sun in the Mediterranean; later, after the Second World War, surplus aircraft, improved technology and increased disposable incomes prompted many more holidaymakers from the colder parts of Europe to leave their traditional seaside resorts (and their unpredictable weather), in favour of (cheap) sun, sea and sand in the Southern Mediterranean. In short, the rise of the Mediterranean resorts led *directly* to the decline of such UK resorts as Blackpool, Eastbourne and Brighton. More recent examples include the impact on tourist demand of terrorist attacks on such popular destinations as Bali and Tunisia, and the general impact of the global financial crisis of 2008–2010.

A further example of globalization is the post-Second World War spread of the transnational tourist corporation (TTC), especially hospitality chains and tour operators. As Bianchi (2015: 328) has observed, 'an increasingly complex and differentiated geography of tourism production, distribution and exchange has emerged, underwritten by the forces of economic globalization and market liberalization'. More recently, the influence of TTCs has spread to China, whose renminbi is sought by destinations in developed and developing countries alike. It is but one example of the fact that, irrespective of their rankings in World Bank income tables, nearly all nation states seek tourists, frequently competing with one another for visitors from both old and new markets. Indeed, with the spread of TTCs and the emergence of East and South-east Asia as sources and destinations of international tourists, it no longer makes sense to distinguish artificially between 'development' in the West and elsewhere. Rather, it is imperative they are seen as component and intrinsic parts of a global system (Harrison, 2015).

It then follows that the continuing failure to compare historical studies of Western tourism with studies of tourism development in today's developed and developing countries cannot be justified. As pointed out elsewhere, 'nearly 150 years after the introduction of package tours for large numbers of people in Europe, the debates it engendered and the processes it involved continue to be relevant' (Harrison, 2001: 3). In particular, the increased purchasing power

of a growing middle class, along with improvements in transport and communications, which characterized the emergence of large-scale tourism in the 19th and 20th centuries in Europe and the Americas, are similarly influential in the growth of modern tourism from and to East Asia and the Pacific. New tourism centres and peripheries are undoubtedly being formed, but the *processes* underlying their formation are not new (Harrison, 2017).

With the above axioms in mind, we move to our analysis of mass tourism. Following Weber, we define it by noting the presence of major features which, taken together, form an ideal type, an heuristic device which facilitates comparison of social phenomena with one another and against a constant yardstick (Weber, 1949: 90–104). We consider the following features of mass tourism to be critical, though not all need be (or are likely to be) found in any one example of mass tourism; rather, in every case, there will be more or less conformity to the ideal type.

1. There is a regular and systematic movement, involving many industries, of large numbers of people away from their normal places of residence, primarily for holiday purposes.
2. Tourist numbers at destinations are concentrated and seasonal.
3. The major stakeholders in mass tourism – governments and providers of transport, accommodation and attractions – operate in order to make a profit and may benefit from economies of scale.
4. Travel, accommodation and attractions, designed for large numbers of people, are structured and organized by specialist organizations, often with strong links across national boundaries, and often in packages.
5. Control of key elements of the tourism industry rests outside the destinations, possibly with transnational companies.
6. There is concern about the economic, social, cultural or environmental consequences of tourism, which may include commoditization and standardization of production, changing social structures, loss of ‘authenticity’ and environmental degradation.
7. National and international institutions have emerged to support or oppose tourism and respond to its consequences.
8. Impacts are contingent not only on absolute numbers of tourists, but also on the nature of

the destination population, its prior experience of tourism, and cultural and other differences between tourist and destination resident.

9. Interaction between tourist and resident is fleeting and superficial and restricted to commercial contexts involving the provider and recipient of services.

10. Where there are marked economic, cultural or social inequalities between tourist and resident, social interaction might be underpinned by stereotypes and/or power disparities.

11. Distinctions might be made: (i) between tourists who focus primarily on ‘nature’ (admittedly a broad term) and those whose activities occur predominantly within an urban environment; and (ii) between those interested primarily in hedonistic pursuits and others involved in ‘higher’ or more ‘spiritual’ activities. Nevertheless variations may well occur through what Pearce has described as the travel career ladder (TCL), and tourists’ motivation can be analysed across many typologies (and combinations of motivation and tourist types) (Pearce, 2005: 50–85).

In portraying these ideal typical features as continua (Table 1.2), first, it should be noted that we have not further specified types of tourist, though other criteria are clearly possible. Indeed, the term ‘mass tourism’ covers a wide variety of travel contexts, including: (i) travellers’ motivations; (ii) the organization and underlying process of their journey; (iii) their choice of destination; and (iv) the activities they pursue on arrival. However, in some sense, tourists in virtually every typology produced by tourism scholars can be regarded as mass tourists, participating within an overall system designed to move people, en masse, cheaply, safely and quickly from one part of the globe to another.

Secondly, it is recognized that several features of the ideal type might also be applied to other travellers, including the military, traders and pilgrims. Writing at a time when there is a mass movement of displaced people from the war zones of the Middle East and Africa, it should be evident that other forms of ‘mobility’ often overlap with tourism. Indeed, despite the often tragic differences, economic migrants and refugees have much in common with recreational tourists (Hannam, 2009; Amin, 2016; Pechlaner and Nordhorn, 2016).

Table 1.2. Mass tourism: ideal type continua.

LOW	Numbers of tourists and ratios to resident population	HIGH
LOW	Physical concentration of tourist accommodation	HIGH
LOW	Levels of seasonality	HIGH
LOW	Extent tourism is established in the region	HIGH
LOW	Extent tourism is for profit	HIGH
LOW	Local control of tourism sector	HIGH
LOW	Level of formal organization of tourism sector	HIGH
LOW	Economic impacts	HIGH
LOW	Social impacts	HIGH
LOW	Environmental impacts	HIGH
LOW	Opposition to tourism	HIGH
LOW	Intensity of tourist–local interaction	HIGH
LOW	Levels of social inequality between tourists and residents	HIGH
LOW	Extent to which interaction of tourists and locals is mediated by others (e.g. guides)	HIGH
LOW	Nature–urbanization	HIGH
LOW	Spirituality–hedonism	HIGH

Thirdly, although not addressed in this foray into mass tourism, if tourism development is to be genuinely comparative across time as well as place, research methods need to be considerably refined and expanded. Tools developed by macro-economists to assess economic processes underlying modern tourism development have been well honed (Dwyer *et al.*, 2010) but are difficult to apply to tourism development in earlier periods. Doxey's (1975) Irritation Index, too, is perhaps less appealing or appropriate when used to assess (if indeed it were possible) local reactions to tourism over, say, even a 50-year period. Butler's model of the Tourism Area Life Cycle (TALC) (1980) has proved more versatile, having been used extensively to assess the social impact of increasing tourist numbers across a wide range of destinations in both developed and developing societies (Butler, 2006a, b) and, in at least one instance, has been applied to more distant historical material (Weaver, 2006). More complex concepts do exist, for example 'carrying capacity' and its more recent variant 'limits of acceptable change,' or the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development's (OECD) core indicators for environmental performance, as applied to a Spanish mass tourism resort (Robello and Baidal, 2003). However, these are hard to apply in modern mass tourism destinations, and even more so to historical or current destinations at earlier stages of development.

In addition, statistical techniques used to measure the impacts of large numbers of tourists are quite crude. Several measures used to compare concentrations of tourists at different

destinations, for example the Tourist Intensity Rate, Tourist Penetration Rate and Tourism Density Ratio (Harrison, 1992a: 12; Dumbrovská and Fialova, 2014; McElroy, 2015), provide only a rough indication of impact. Their use is neither standardized nor widespread; they rarely distinguish between high and low seasons; and they cannot take into account the many historical and cultural factors that affect the social and economic impacts of tourism on destinations.

In the end, numbers are not the only factor: large numbers of tourists may be absorbed relatively comfortably, as in world cities with a long history of receiving visitors, whereas even a few visitors to destinations unaccustomed to tourists, *especially* those who want to understand local culture and meet local people, may be highly disruptive. We have thus refrained from polarizing small- and large-scale tourism, recognizing that 'sustainability' (in so far as it can be defined) is not automatically in an inverse relationship to scale: 'large' does not automatically mean 'ugly', any more than 'small' is necessarily 'beautiful' (Harrison, 2012).

About this Book: a Preview

In this book, we have endeavoured to balance theoretical perspectives, historical approaches and case studies of specific regions. Following this introduction, the six chapters in Section 2 present a range of theoretical approaches, in which several established scholars of mass tourism build on their previous work. Aramberri (Chapter 2) and

Butcher (Chapter 3) focus on general features of mass tourism, with the former arguing that while tourism's global growth has been uneven, it has benefited countries and regions with a comparative advantage in tourism resources. For Aramberri, mass tourism is here to stay and, rather than continually arguing about its impacts, the priority is to understand what is going on. By contrast, Butcher challenges the moral superiority often claimed by advocates of 'alternative' or 'ethical' forms of tourism, and argues mass tourism should be celebrated not only for the economic benefits it brings, but also for its role in democratizing travel and contributing to the self-fulfilment, empowerment and 'moral autonomy' of increasing numbers of traveller.

Bianchi (Chapter 4) adopts a Marxist political economy approach. He situates mass tourism, especially in the Southern Mediterranean, in a global economic system dominated by neo-liberal free market ideology, where the dynamics of capital accumulation and forces of production and reproduction – the 'logics' of capitalism – are reflected in the differential articulation of international tourism corporations with national and local capitals and played out through political-institutional arrangements in different societies. By contrast, Savelli and Manella (Chapter 5) summarize the emergence of Italian tourism and discuss how social scientists have analysed tourism's impacts, its technologies and forms of organization, new and (especially) urban destinations, and the regionalization of tourism and its governance that have accompanied globalization. They note that perceptions and practices of travel and tourism have changed: tourism may be a form of nomadism, an escape from self, a base for constructing new identities, a mode of self-fulfilment, and an indicator of well-being.

The last two chapters in Section 2 focus more on the issue of sustainability. Weaver (Chapter 6) suggests 'mass' and 'alternative' tourism can merge in forms of enlightened or sustainable mass tourism, where economies of scale and competitively driven innovation are combined with more sensitive and ethical features of alternative tourism, and he uses evidence of best practice from protected national parks and urban beach resorts to demonstrate that mass tourism can indeed incorporate elements of sustainability. By contrast, Holden (Chapter 7) notes the problematic reciprocal relationship of

tourism with climate change, the impacts of mass tourism on ecosystems and natural habitats, and the need for governments and planners to counter tourism's negative consequences and promote pro-environment behaviour among tourists. Perhaps less of an optimist than Weaver, he asks how far such individual or collective tourist behaviour will occur voluntarily.

The authors of the five chapters in Section 3 take a historical approach. Heeley's (Chapter 8) very personal account of tourism development in Britain depicts how public and private capital – local authorities, the aristocracy and 'local grandees', railway companies and an assortment of private entrepreneurs – variously combined to bring about 19th-century urban tourism development. By contrast, Sharpley (Chapter 9) traces the process of 'Butlinization', showing how the operational principles of Billy Butlin, a key player in providing tourism for the masses in British holiday camps, are reflected in more recent forms of all-inclusive tourism, including cruise holidays and all-inclusive beach resorts in the Caribbean. Farr (Chapter 10), too, looks at British tourism, and his wide-ranging account of post-1970s' British seaside resorts, and their depiction in film and print, reveals a narrative and perception of 'declinism' only partly confirmed by the realities. Some resorts clearly survived, with or without efforts to rebrand and re-present them as 'heritage', while others did decline, despite (sometimes half-hearted) political attempts to prioritize British seaside tourism.

Bricker (Chapter 11) and Duval (Chapter 12) shift attention away from the UK. The former reviews mass tourism in protected areas managed by the National Park Service (NPS) in the USA, outlining the emergent role and administration of the NPS, and the extent and economic importance of large-scale tourism (especially through the operation of concessions). She details the continued challenges faced by the NPS in pursuing its twin (and sometimes conflicting) goals of enabling people to enjoy the parks and preserving landscapes in their natural state. By contrast and more generally, Duval addresses the links between transport and tourism, highlighting the continued tension between consumer and commercial interests, between the desire for national sovereignty and free movement, especially in air travel, and the role of international regulation, designed to control and regularize such movement.

In Section 4, there are seven chapters on mass tourism in specific destinations. Ryan (Chapter 13) examines mass tourism in the context of China, by far the most important emerging global destination and a much-valued source of tourists, and the role of government policy in promoting tourism, including mass domestic tourism, as a form of economic development. Cohen (Chapter 14) examines Chinese and Russian visitors in Thailand, noting their different characteristics as sightseers and vacationers, respectively, the destabilizing effect of mass tourism on the image of destinations, and the impact of changing economic conditions on the volume of inbound tourism.

Attention then shifts to Bulgaria and then the Mediterranean, with chapters by Ivanov (Chapter 15), Andrews (Chapter 16) and Jeffrey and Bleasdale (Chapter 17). All discuss destinations where tourism is both seasonal and highly concentrated, and all acknowledge mass tourism has brought considerable economic benefits to resident populations. However, their overall assessments are quite nuanced. For Ivanov, although mass tourism has had negative consequences in Bulgaria, and both the private sector and government could do more to make Bulgarian tourism more sustainable, he considers mass tourism to have been largely beneficial, not only economically but also socially, culturally and environmentally. Andrews is more circumspect: she acknowledges tourism's economic advantages for Mallorca but notes, too, the disruptive impact of in-migration, the environmental degradation, water shortages, and resident and tourist 'enclaves'. That said, she reflects that local authorities are attempting to redress these issues and that mass tourism in the island is likely to continue. A very different situation is found in Tunisia where, as Jeffrey and Bleasdale note, tourism has been promoted as a tool for economic and social development, with an explicit Westernizing ethos (reportedly appreciated by the Tunisian middle class). However, Western

tourism arrivals have plummeted since terrorist attacks and while the authors offer five possible solutions, including targeting tourists from the Middle East and emerging countries, notably China and Russia, any success will ultimately depend on the re-establishment of stability, which is likely to take time.

Finally, there are two chapters on island destinations. In the first, the late Greg Ashworth and John Tunbridge (Chapter 18) describe Malta's efforts to move from mass beach tourism to heritage tourism. However, the promotion seems to have been half-hearted, the 'heritage' market fickle and diverse, often blurring into beach tourism, and the messages of heritage attractions contested, while supplementary but necessary cultural attractions (e.g. gastronomy, shopping and entertainment) are unavailable. In Chapter 19, Wilkinson argues that, while employment benefits might be considerable, the financial returns from Caribbean cruise ship tourism are exaggerated, especially when one considers leakages from imports, the cost of new piers for ever-larger ships, and the use of private islands. His assessment is unequivocal: mass cruise tourism is badly managed by destinations ignorant of its complexity or its costs. It is a mess.

Clearly, our coverage of the global aspects of mass tourism is somewhat uneven and the assessments of mass tourism by contributors to this book are varied. This is no surprise: they approach the issues from different theoretical perspectives and focus on different destinations at different times. Despite the alleged standardization said to characterize mass tourism, it is full of complexities and one size does not fit all. It is hoped, though, that together we have started a wider and more balanced debate about the nature and role of mass tourism in the 'small world' we inhabit, some of us as participants in a continued 'academic romance' (Lodge, 1984) and every one of us as global citizens in a world of increasing inter-dependence, where 'development' is a continuing issue for us all.

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