WHOLE TOURISM SYSTEMS

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1992

WHOLE TOURISM SYSTEMS:

INTERDISCIPLINARY PERSPECTIVES ON STRUCTURES,

FUNCTIONS, ENVIRONMENTAL ISSUES AND MANAGEMENT

Submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements
for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

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1992

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ABSTRACT

This study's two aims were to refine a model of tourism systems and to demonstrate the utility of interdisciplinary research based around that model. Tourism has been described and defined as a form of human behaviour, a market, an industry, a sector of the economy, and a system. The first concept in that list may be the most useful basis for scholarship on tourism; the others are associated phenomena. Tourism gives rise to whole tourism systems, arrangements of people (tourists), places (in their itineraries) and enterprising or service organisations (in the travel and tourism industry). Each whole system has an indeterminate number of sub-systems. Models of whole systems can be used as a higher order concept at the centre of interdisciplinary research into tourism, giving cohesion to what would otherwise be fragmented studies into facets of the field. This approach is applied, in the present study, to a range of topics.

The concepts of business and industry were reviewed, and applications in tourism investigated empirically. An organisation can be in a certain line of business but remain outside, or on the fringes of, the corresponding industry. Research supports the hypothesis that tourism tends to be partially industrialized, referring to a condition where only a portion of the organisations directly supplying tourists are in that specific industry. The partial industrialization of whole tourism systems has several implications that remain hidden by the conventional idea of assuming every tourist-supplier to be in that industry.

A second topic was people as tourists. The model of whole tourism systems is useful for researching links between tourism, leisure and gambling.

A third topic presents a new statistical technique. The main destination ratio integrates data collected at two points in each whole tourism system: at the departure point from a traveller generating country and at arrival gateways in each destination country.

Japanese tourism is a topic that has been widely discussed elsewhere: its place in the present project was to demonstrate how a whole systems approach provides a means for a broad-based discussion on a given category of tourism.

Attractions seem synonymous with tourism, yet the topic has been under-researched to date. Attraction systems can be studied as a vital sub-system in all whole tourism systems.

A vast literature is available on the environmental impacts of tourism. Almost all of it is concerned with impacts on the environments of places visited by tourists. A wider perspective is provided by considering whole systems in their environmental settings.

Complexities in managing a tourism system can be understood by contrasting two conditions, high and low levels of industrialization, and considering the impact of this variable on certain management issues in tourism. The issues discussed are seasonal variations, proliferating variety, marketing management's use of feedback, the adoption of a marketing concept.

This project adds to the belief that an interdisciplinary approach is useful for broad-based research on tourism. It may add credibility to the opinion that a distinct discipline, an organised body of knowledge, can be developed, to stand in the centre of mono-disciplinary methods for particular issues. Finally, a number of ideas for future research arose from this project, from each of its topics.

CHAPTER 1 : INTRODUCTION

BACKGROUND

Central to theoretical research is the development of models which represent the topic being studied. Research on tourism has involved models which may be divided into two broad categories. First, there are many models which represent some facet of tourism; usually these are expressed in terms of particular disciplines pertinent to the facet being studied. Second, there are models which attempt to represent the totality of the subject and which are expressed in systematic form. These may be described as general models of tourism or, in Getz' (1986) term, whole systems models of tourism, an example of which was set out by Leiper (1979,1980,1981). In those studies, many topics and issues were recognized as related to tourism, but four broad threads were singled out as elementary. The four threads were, firstly, people in roles as tourists; secondly, places in roles in tourists' itineraries, thirdly, organisations involved in supplying goods and services; and fourth, environmental factors where causes and effects of the activity could be identified.

Seminal works informing Leiper's research included Cuervo (1967), Peters (1969), Gunn (1972), Burkart and Medlik (1974), Ritchie (1974), Wahab (1975), Turner and Ash (1975), MacCannell (1976), Matley (1976), Jafari (1977), McIntosh (1977), Pigram and Cooper (1977), Pizam (1978), Buck (1978), and Valene Smith (1978). These represented several different disciplinary perspectives on tourism: geography, economics, anthropology, sociology, psychology, history, management, landscape architecture and others.

The problem of how to combine diverse ideas into a coherent model was addressed by drawing on general system theory. Key references here included Bertalanffy (1972) and several contributors in collections edited by Emery (1969) and Klir (1972). A model of "tourism systems" was proposed. Its geographical elements stemmed from a simple geographical construct about tourism proposed by Mariot (cited by Matley 1976). The new model represented a slight revision to Mariot's construct, superimposed human and industrial elements, expressed the arrangement in systemic form, and indicated the open attribute by identifying a number of environmental factors. The utility of general systems theory was that it provided a means for rendering simple what is otherwise a complex phenomena, permitting an integrated holistic perspective of tourism-related issues.

Three fundamental concepts in the model were identified, related but distinct: "tourist", "tourism", and "tourism industry". "Tourism" was conceptualized as a system, defined in terms of its constituent elements (Leiper 1979). Five elements were identified as present in every whole tourism system:

(i) a human element, at least one person in a tourist role;

(ii) three geographical elements, at least three places in three roles: one tourist generating region, at least one transit route, and at least one tourist destination region;

(iii) an industrial element, the tourism industry, comprising a collection of organisations in the business of tourism.

In Chapter 2 of the present study, this systemic model is described by means of diagrams. Tourism systems are generally quite open in their interaction with environments, which are identified as technological, physical, economic, socio-cultural and political. A suggestion will be advanced that tourism systems tend to be partially-industrialized, meaning that the tourism industry represents only part of the total resources supplying goods, services and facilities used by tourists.

Leiper's (1979) model is one of several in the literature referring to tourism systems. Cuevo (1967), Gunn (1972) and Marriot (cited by Matley 1976) presented earlier models; Mill and Morrison (1985) and Jafari (1987) offered later versions. All share similarities, and each has distinct features. Leiper's (1979) model emerged from an interdisciplinary holistic approach, and thus may facilitate multidisciplinary or interdisciplinary research on virtually any aspect of tourism, on theoretical or applied topics. The range of writers who have adopted Leiper's (1979) model and its associated concepts for studies on various topics relating to tourism support that contention. For instance Henshall and Roberts (1985) used the model as a framework for studying how New Zealand is promoted internationally as a tourist destination; Towner (1985) used it in historical research on the Grand Tour; Boniface and Cooper (1987) structured the first half of a book on modern European tourism around the systems model; van Doorn (1982) adapted it for research on policy; Hodgson (1983) applied it in a consultancy study on tourism in Palmerston North. Educational applications of the work occurred first where the research had been conducted, in Sydney, as discussed by Stear (1981). Certain aspects of the model and its implications have been criticized by Stephen Smith (1988), notably its departure from the idea that sees tourism as an industry.

Putting aside that issue for now (Smith's criticisms are taken up in Chapter 3) axiomatically there is no such thing as a perfect model. Thus the original formulation of the model, and its foundation concepts, offer scope for revision. There is also scope for applying the model and its component concepts to various topics dealing with aspects of tourism systems. These are the broad themes of the present work.

THE NEED FOR THE RESEARCH

Three needs were behind research in the present work. One was a need to revise a model of whole tourism systems, rendering it potentially more useful. Another need was to investigate certain topics and issues which are relatively ignored in the academic literature. A third need involves the question of how tourism might be researched. These three needs are discussed below.

A need existed to review the model and associated concepts of tourism systems set out in Leiper (1979,1980,1981,1985). The manner in which the fundamental concepts (tourist, tourism, tourism system, tourism industry) were expressed left various issues unclear. Is defining tourism as "a system" realistic and useful, or does it miss the mark? What are the most appropriate ways for conceptualizing "tourist"? What is a "tourism(t) industry"? Is there such an industry? What is meant by being "in the business of tourism"? Is this synonymous with being in a tourism industry? Do these questions have practical significance for business organisations and their management, and for governmental agencies interested in tourism policy?

The second need referred to the relative lack of academic research on tourism. Given the size and recent growth rates of tourism generally, the environmental issues it involves, and its suitability as a subject for research in several social science and business disciplines, one might assume tourism was a well-established subject in academic research.

Data on inbound international tourist flows to New Zealand shows that between 1975 and 1989 annual arrivals of international visitors increased every year, from 361,194 to 867,563 with the average annual growth rate over the fourteen years being 6.5% (Department of Statistics, annuals). That rate of growth in arrivals was

accompanied by similar growth in annual sums of expenditure by those tourists: a bulletin entitled <u>New Zealand Tourism Facts</u> published by the New Zealand Tourism Department in 1990 reported that the international inbound tourism's contribution to GDP had increased from $350 million, representing 1.102% of GDP in 1983-4, to $1,084 million, representing 1.700%, in 1988-9.

Correspondingly, as a source of foreign exchange, inbound tourism has been increasing in absolute and relative terms in recent years, such that in 1988 it overtook meat to become the largest item earning foreign exchange for New Zealand, according to official data assembled by the New Zealand Tourist Industry Federation (1990). Using reports from the Department of Statistics and from Air New Zealand, the N.Z.T.I.F. was able to point out that the leading items for the year to March 1989 were tourism ($2,277 millions), meat ($2,195 millions), dairy products ($1,793 millions), raw wool ($1,811 millions), agriculture manufacturing ($1,256 millions) and other manufacturing ($1,733 millions). Besides those economic benefits, tourism tends to create a mix of impacts (beneficial and damaging) which may be observable in many kinds of environments: economic, social, physical (Mathieson and Wall 1982).

All this might suggest that considerable academic research was being focussed on tourism. This is not so. Before 1990, only two doctoral theses specifically dealing with tourism have been presented in Massey University. However those twin studies mean this University has been relatively prolific by international standards. Jafari and Aaser (1988) catalogued the doctoral theses dealing specifically with any aspect of tourism presented in accredited universities in the U.S.A. and Canada between 1951 and 1987. They discovered only 157 theses over those twenty seven years. In only four years were ten or more theses presented: in 1975 (10), in 1980 (10) in 1984 (11) and in 1986 (15), although they admit their data for 1987 were probably incomplete. Jafari and Aaser analyzed the 157 theses in several ways, including apparent main disciplines as reflected by the university department where each degree was awarded. "The largest number of dissertations on tourism was in the field of economics (40), followed by anthropology (25), geography (24) and recreation (23)" (ibid:413). Among the 45 remaining from the 157 in total, business had 11, education had nine, and seven were in sociology. No comparable survey is known relating to New Zealand; C.M.Hall's investigations on the issue in Australia found only three doctoral theses on tourism prior to 1988 (pers. comm.).

One possible reason for the small quantity of doctoral theses focussing on tourism is that there is not much which remains unknown on the subject. One authority rejects this: "What is known about tourism is limited to some fragmented studies ..." (Jafari 1987:151). What all this fundamentally leads to is a realization that there is scope for a great deal more academic research into many aspects of tourism. Several topics forming central themes in several chapters of the present study are relatively rare in the literature. Specific remarks supporting that assertion are offered later in this Chapter, where the topics are described.

Accordingly, further academic work on tourism is needed because the subject represents a large phenomenon which has not been extensively researched, and within which certain topics appear to have been overlooked to date by academic researchers.

A third need has been identified from considering how tourism is studied. The growing academic interest in tourism has come from several faculties and within faculties, there are usually multiple disciplines and sub-disciplines employed. A review of this issue identified sixteen disciplines that "lend their theories and techniques to the study of tourism" (Jafari and Ritchie 1981:20). The sixteen were anthropology, agriculture, business, economics, ecology, education, geography, hotel and restaurant administration, law, marketing, parks and recreation, political science, psychology, sociology, transportation, urban and regional planning.

In that review, Jafari and Ritchie saw tourism as a subject for attention by a diverse range of academic sources, with contributions stemming from different individuals using different disciplines. But, as they implied, the process is fragmented, for they saw no discipline as central, none having a coordinating function and they remarked that, in an educational setting, "multidisciplinary programs, by their nature, require the student to carry out the integration" (ibid:24). Bodewes (1981) has also reviewed the question of disciplines; he remarked that an impediment for tourism studies in the scientific community of universities is that it "is not one academic discipline but the object of many" (ibid:39). From this he concluded "there is a sound case for a multidisciplinary study of tourism" but he observed problems because this suggests a treatment that is "broad, a bit of everything, no depth whatsoever" (ibid). Another review of the same issue led to similar findings, but offered a solution:

...unless some linking discipline provides a synthesis, a multidisciplinary approach to a complex theme remains fragmented...(and) there is the risk, not unique to tourism scholarship, that the contributions drawn from particular disciplines will be overemphasized, diluted, or distorted, rendering a valid synthesis impossible (Leiper 1981:71).

These three reviews, by Jafari and Ritchie (1981), Bodewes (1981), and Leiper (1981) focussed on educational courses dealing with tourism, but the same problems have been demonstrated in academic research. Iso-Ahola's (1982) striking criticism of Dann's (1981) work on tourist motivation is an example; Iso-Ahola showed that the disciplines Dann had drawn on in a very extensive literature review omitted those with major relevance to his subject matter, resulting in a deficient appreciation of the topic. Many researchers are conscious of this problem and acknowledge the limits of the discipline(s) they have used. Sauran's (1978) research into demand for overseas holidays is an example. He pointed out that his discipline, economics, did not illuminate all aspects of his topic, and expressed caution about his conclusions. Medawar's comment on the relationship between particular disciplines and the growth of knowledge clarifies the issue from another point of view:

We are mistaking the direction of the flow of knowledge when we speak of analyzing or reducing a phenomenon to physics or chemistry. What we endeavour to do is the very opposite: to assemble, integrate or piece together our conception of the phenomenon from our particular knowledge of its constituent parts (Medawar 1969:34).

The apparent need for, and the resulting problems of a multidisciplinary approach are not unique to tourism. Argyris (1989) discussed impediments to an integration of disciplines in studying management. He used Kuhn's (1970) conclusions about the social sciences, besides empirical investigations amongst management academics. Kuhn showed that each discipline tends to develop within a distinct community of scholars, and showed that each community tends to develop its own norms which are "inherently conservative. They do not encourage co-operation with and integration of several different disciplines; indeed, they discourage these activities" (Argyris 1989:9). Discussing higher education generally, Barnett (1990) asserted that fragmented multidisciplinary approaches

leave much to be desired. He argued in favour of a "critical interdisciplinary" approach.

In tourism education, the sorts of multidisciplinary programs reviewed by Jafari and Ritchie (1981), Bodewes (1981) and Leiper (1981) are common, despite alleged deficiencies identified by the three reviews a decade ago. All three indicated a need to develop methods for integrating the multidiscipline curriculum, as a way of combating fragmentation problems. Bodewes indicated one approach being explored in the Netherlands Institute for Tourism and Leisure Studies. It is to treat tourism as a sub-set of leisure, and place leisure studies at the core of the multidisciplinary curriculum. Leiper suggested developing a distinct discipline of tourism studies to become the central core of an interdisciplinary program. The distinction between multidisciplinary and interdisciplinary methods was described as follows:

Multidisciplinary simply implies that more than one discipline is brought to bear on a topic. Interdisciplinary implies something extra, that the methodology involves working between the disciplines, blending various philosophies and techniques so that the particular disciplines do not stand apart but are brought together intentionally and explicitly to seek a synthesis (Leiper 1981:72).

The blending device was to be an embryonic discipline of tourism studies, where the core concepts are expressed in general systems terms. Thus, while Bodewes (1981) suggested resolving the problems associated with multiple disciplines by treating tourism as a sub-set of leisure, Leiper (1981) suggested developing a new discipline of tourism based on a model expressed in interdisciplinary systemic terms. This might be receptive to ideas from the diverse range of other disciplines relating to aspects of tourism.

Jafari and Ritchie (1981) offered a different solution. Reviewing the remarks of Bodewes and Leiper and drawing on Meeth's (1978) work on epistemology, they suggested a transdisciplinary approach would be most beneficial for studying tourism. Like an interdisciplinary approach, it involves starting with the issue or problem, not the discipline, and bringing to bear the knowledge of those disciplines that contribute to a resolution. It still leaves unresolved the question of how to blend and integrate the diverse disciplines that might seem relevant to the issue.
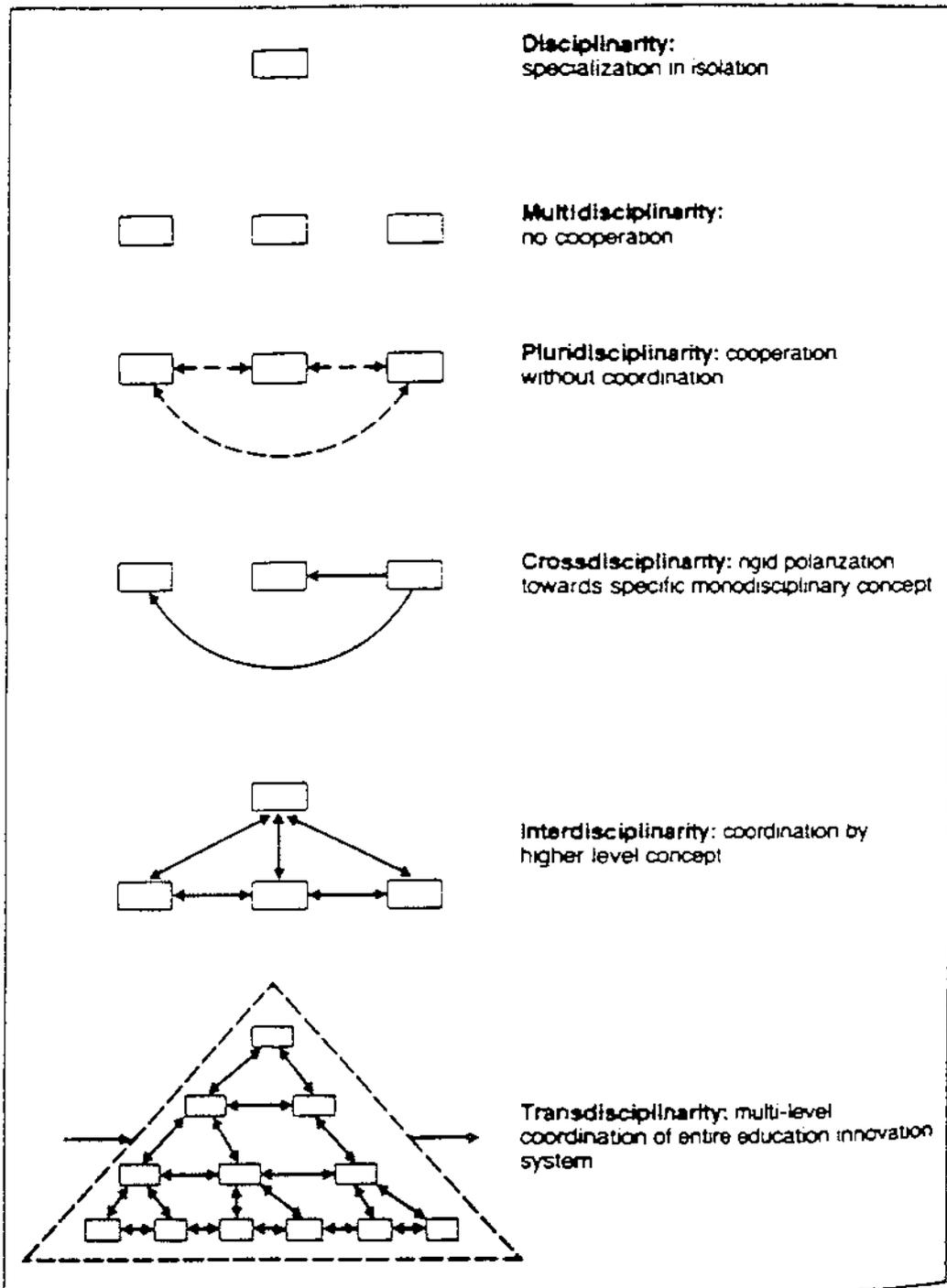
Figure 1.1 : Approaches to coordinating disciplines in research
(From Mitchell 1989, after Jantsch 1972).

That question is discussed in a study of geography and resource analysis by Mitchell (1989). He noted how the complexity of the subject indicated the desirability of using more than one discipline, and recognized that focussing on a problem (not any particular discipline) means an interdisciplinary or transdisciplinary approach is desirable. Mitchell endorsed Jantsch's (1972) suggestion that either of those two approaches are generally superior to multi, pluri or cross disciplinary methods. The differences are described in Figure 1.1. Unfortunately, Mitchell and Jantsch do not give concrete suggestions for coordinating a transdisciplinary approach; this is left to a "group effort, a team in which each member has a specific role relative to the problem under analysis" (Mitchell 1989:308).

Thus an interdisciplinary approach, where "coordination by a higher level concept" (see Figure 1.1) is sought, may be the optimum approach for researching complex subjects such as those indicated by the present work. All this points to another need for this study: no substantial and multi-topical studies on tourism are known that have consciously pursued an interdisciplinary approach.

AIMS OF THE RESEARCH

This project has two linked aims, stemming from the needs described above.

Aim #1: A model of whole tourism systems

One aim of the present study is to refine a model of whole tourism systems and review definitions of core concepts in that model: tourist, tourism, tourism system, tourist(m) industry. The objective is a model which may be applied in wide-ranging research, on many topics related to tourism.

Aim #2: An Interdisciplinary method

Research for the present study began in each of its topics rather than particular disciplines. In other words the approach has not begun by assuming that studying tourism means studying "the geography of tourism", "the psychology of tourism", "the management of tourism" and so on. Thus the study's second aim is to attempt to show how tourism can be studied as an interdisciplinary subject. The implications of this aim, and the kind of approach it involves, are discussed below.

THE APPROACH FOLLOWED

The broad approach followed can be described as multi-topical, interdisciplinary and systemic. It is "multi-topical" in that a series of topics relating to tourism are discussed, following a general model and without reliance on any particular discipline. The topics are described in the last part of this Chapter; they were selected because in combination they suited the aims of applying a general model of whole tourism systems to a series of topics using an interdisciplinary method. The meaning of "interdisciplinary", for the purpose of this study, has been set out above; "systemic" is discussed below. Specific approaches used in researching the topics in each of the chapters are described separately. Although several primary sources have been crucial, this study has been based largely on secondary research sources.

Primary Sources

Primary sources used in this study can be divided into general and specific kinds. Field observations have been conducted by this writer during 1987-1990, the period when this study was prepared, in various parts of New Zealand, Australia, Greece and Cyprus. Methods used for that research include observations of tourists engaged in many sorts of activities and discussions with employees and proprietors of organisations supplying goods and services to tourists and with officials of community and governmental tourism organisations. Similar field observations and discussions in several other countries, visited between 1972 and 1987, have also informed the research.

Specific primary research for this study included several case studies of organisations providing goods or services to tourists. Those cases are discussed in Chapter 4. Two surveys were employed, one of a population and the other of a sample. The former was a survey of the proprietors of all six farm stay businesses in the Palmerston North district, using a questionnaire designed to investigate business and management policies besides various qualitative research methods. It is described in Chapter 4. The latter was a survey of 142 residents within Palmerston North, chosen by a quasi-random sample of households. A questionnaire with nine items about travel was used, two items being pertinent to research into measuring aspects of the tourist market for casinos, discussed in

Chapter 6, and other items relevant to a study of the industrialization of a traveller generating region, discussed as one of the cases in Chapter 4..

Secondary Sources

Secondary sources included a wide range of literature on various aspects of tourism, irrespective of discipline. The main journals consulted in this respect were Annals of Tourism Research, Tourism Management and Journal of Travel Research. Other journals, representing several business themes and social science issues, were used extensively, not so much for their occasional article on some tourism-related theme but to develop understanding of background theories pertaining to the topics investigated. Thus research into the business and industry of tourism required extensive desk research on theories of business and industry in periodicals such as the Journal of Industrial Economics, Academy of Management Review, Journal of Marketing, Administrative Science Quarterly, California Management Review, Sloan Management Review and Harvard Business Review.

A Systems Approach

A systems approach involves a different perspective to the traditional one of the classical sciences, a point expressed succinctly in the authors' Introduction to Management Systems: Conceptual Considerations:

> The main objective of systems thinking is to reverse the subdivision of the sciences into smaller and more highly specialized disciplines through an interdisciplinary synthesis of existing scientific knowledge. By shaping instead a theoretical framework with relatively general applicability, systems thinkers have effectively changed the intellectual climate and have challenged the validity and general applicability of analytical thinking as utilized and perfected by physicists (Schoderbeck et al., 1975:7).

What Schoderbeck and his colleagues referred to as a "theoretical framework" is represented in the present study by the framework of whole tourism systems. A tourism system in this sense is an arrangement of people, places and organisations in certain roles, as indicated earlier.

A systems approach has been used by researchers from a range of university faculties, interested in a great many subjects. The range in collections of essays

edited by Emery (1981) and by Fox and Miles (1987), besides articles in journals such as <u>Behavioural Science</u> (now the organ for the Society for General Systems Research) are evidence. Management works using a systems approach include those by Beer (1959, etc.), Kast and Rosenzweig (1970), Schoderbeck et al. (1975), August Smith (1982), Amey (1986) and Leiper (1989a). And as Fox (1987) showed in an historical review, a systems approach can be identified as a vital (if not always explicit) feature in the works of several major scholars: Ibn Khaldun, Vico, Galileo, Newton, Braudel, and others.

The quotation earlier in this Chapter from Medawar (1969) shows that he is an example of a modern scientist who acknowledges an implicit belief in a systems view. However, from Medawar's comments one can infer that a systems approach on its own would be useless. This is because the function of other disciplines is to provide what he calls "particular knowledge of constituent parts", while the function of a systems overview is to link the complex particulars into a coherent whole. Or, as another writer expressed it, "a good scientific theory is under tension from two opposing forces: the drive for evidence and the drive for system" (Quine 1981:90). Where several disciplines are used to provide evidence, systems theory can convert the complex fragments into a relatively simple and cohesive overview.

Thus a systems approach has particular relevance for interdisciplinary or transdisciplinary research. In fact historically, the origins of systems theory as a recognised field for formal academic work was directly linked with the desire to bridge different disciplines, according to one of the pioneers of general system theory (Bertalanffy 1972:29-32). A review entitled "Main Trends in Interdisciplinary Research" described relational structuralism using a formal systemic approach as "of great interest from our interdisciplinary point of view" (Piaget 1973:22).

Further to these points is a remark that "the integration of two or more different disciplines requires their subordination to a relational idea" (Barnett 1990:178). In terms of the approach followed in the present work, the "relational idea" will be the model of a tourism system. Many academic disciplines may be pertinent to the subject, but for the present study they will be subordinate to that model.

AN OVERVIEW OF THE THESIS

This section describes the theme of each chapter. Chapter 1 has discussed the background, need, aims and approach of the study. Two interwoven aims have been set out. Research methods involving a mix of primary and secondary sources have been described. The point has been made that this thesis is a series of linked studies on aspects of tourism, sharing a common approach based on a systemic model.

Chapter 2, "Tourism and Tourism Systems", pursues the first aim of the study. A theoretical discussion is set out concerning foundations for a general study, leading to a model of whole tourism systems. The discussion is intended to contribute to the literature by revising earlier publications on what can be described as the fundamentals of tourism, a theme which is under-explored and about which uncertainties remain apparent. Getz (1986) observed, in a review of the literature, that very few theoretical studies of whole tourism systems have appeared. What is tourism? Who or what are tourists? Many academic studies about tourism grapple with those sorts of basic questions very briefly, before passing on to some applied theme. The present work will not follow that pattern, but will give extra focus to fundamental concepts.

One of the elements in the model of whole tourism systems discussed in Chapter 2 is an industry. Chapter 3, "The Business of Tourism and the Partial-industrialization of Tourism Systems: A Management Perspective", investigates that topic in more detail. What does it mean for an organisation to be in the business of tourism? Is this synonymous with being in the tourism industry? What are the boundaries of that industry? These are controversial questions, and ones about which uncertainties continue to be admitted. For example, the New Zealand Minister for Tourism remarked in a speech to the Tourism 2000 Conference, "After all, what is the tourist industry? This has never been adequately defined. Maybe it cannot be defined!" (Wilde cited in N.Z.T.I.F.1989:1). In academia, these issues have led to a range of positions, with Stephen Smith (1988) advocating the view that tourism is an industry and strongly criticizing ideas advanced by Leiper (1979), while Kaul(1985) and others have argued that a "tourism industry" is merely an abstract idea, and that a diverse range of fragmented industries provides the services and goods consumed by tourists. The present study will investigate an hypothesis between the positions argued by Stephen Smith on the one hand and

Kaul on the other. The hypothesis is that tourism tends to be partially-industrialized. Several theoretical and practical implications of that hypothesis will be explored.

Evidence to support the partial-industrialization hypothesis is set out and discussed in Chapter 4, "Case Studies of Industrialization in Tourism Systems". One case is a region. Ten cases concern business organisations with, in each case, significant proportions of tourists among the customers. Seven of the ten are located in New Zealand: a bicycle and ski-hire shop, and six establishments in the farmstay business. Three are located in New South Wales: a restaurant, an hotel, and a vineyard-restaurant. No previous research is known that has followed the line of enquiry used here. Previous studies of business management relating to tourism, such as the collection of case histories edited by Blackwell and Stear (1989), focus on examples where the organisations are obviously focussed on the business of tourism. The present study deliberately pursued a different line of enquiry, seeking out organisations at the margins, seeking to determine if, or to what degree, each is in that line of business and industry.

In Chapters 5 and 6 the model set out in Chapter 2 is applied to analyze a different facet of whole tourism systems. Both these chapters focus on human elements in tourism systems, people in roles as tourists. Chapter 5 ("Leisure and Tourism: Explaining the Travel Bug") presents an analysis of tourism as one kind of leisure. This builds on ideas from Clarke (1973), Bodewes (1981), Iso-Ahola (1982) and others, who have argued that the tourism-leisure link is a productive line of analysis for better understanding tourist behaviour. Moreover, by integrating the behavioural issue of tourism-leisure with the geographical elements in whole tourism systems, a new perspective on tourist motivation emerges.

Chapter 6 applies the whole systems model in a study of another aspect of tourist behaviour, under the title "Gambling, Tourism and Casinos". Studies on economic, business and socio-cultural impact issues associated with the tourism-casino link have appeared, but no studies are known that deal with behavioural issues of tourists as gamblers. This study draws on concepts from earlier chapters, plus a selection from the literature and field work at several casinos to argue that certain types of tourists are more prone to gambling games and that the successful siting of casinos aimed at tourist markets is associated with the geographical structure of tourism systems.

Chapter 7, "Main Destination Ratios: Analyses of Tourist Flows", shows how the geographical dimensions of whole tourism systems can be used to develop a new statistical technique for analyzing flows and patterns of international tourists. Conventional statistical techniques used in this respect are framed from the perspective of one country as a destination, and record arrivals and other data. Yet casual observation indicates that significant numbers of tourists visit two or more countries in the course of a single trip. Pearce (1987) has indicated a need for methodological innovations in this respect. By comparing two data sets, collected at two points in a given tourism system, a ratio can be produced which contributes to that end. The potential for national tourism organisations to collect and publish data regarding main destination ratios is also discussed, relevant to marketing management of those and other tourist-related businesses. The potential applications of main destination ratios is shown to be another facet of the interorganisational linkages discussed in Chapters 3 and 4, a basis for developing and sustaining an industrial element in tourism systems.

Chapter 8, "Japanese Tourism" sets out descriptive material relating to several issues in this thesis. Patterns and trends of Japanese tourists are discussed in terms of the whole systems model presented in Chapter 2. Data from Chapter 7, where patterns of Japanese tourism were used as one of the illustrations, are also relevant. The Japanese case is also useful for illustrating and discussing the concept of industrialized tourism and its implications, as presented in Chapter 3.

In Chapter 9, a discussion entitled "Tourist Attraction Systems" is presented. Tourism might seem inconceivable without attractions but as Gunn (1972,1980) and Lew (1988) have observed, very little research has been conducted on the topic of attractions compared with other topics associated with tourism. This Chapter sets out a new model of attraction systems, as a vital sub-system in all whole tourism systems. It builds on work by Gunn (1972,1979,1980) and MacCannell (1976), combining aspects of their models of the topic and adding extra dimensions. An hypothesis introduced in Chapter 3 concerning partial industrialization is discussed in terms of attractions.

"The Environmental Impacts and Ecosystem of Tourism" is the title of Chapter 10. Its theme has been extensively discussed in studies of tourism. In the present study ideas from the literature are summarized, analyzed in terms of the model of

whole tourism systems, and extended to suggest that environmental impacts of tourism can be viewed in ecological terms, with positive impacts in one part of the system offset by negative impacts in other parts. Concepts from several earlier chapters are discussed in relation to impact issues.

Chapter 11 is titled "Managing in Tourism Systems". It draws on selected material from the literature on management, blended with the whole systems model and the partial-industrialization concept, and builds on material in several earlier chapters. The tendency of tourism systems to be partially-industrialized can be shown to have quite dramatic consequences for understanding how those systems are managed. The conventional assumption running through the literature is that these management functions reside with the industry, and that host communities and governments may play roles. The present study isolates another key player. It also explores several implications associated with proliferating variety, a critical factor in theories of management developed by Beer (1959). These have not, to date, been applied to studies of how tourism is managed.

Chapter 12 ("Conclusions") draws together certain themes relevant to the aims of the study and summarizes ideas for future research.

CHAPTER 2 : TOURISM AND TOURISM SYSTEMS

INTRODUCTION

In practice tourism has a long history, but the term "tourism" is much newer, appearing in the early 1800s. Previously, phenomena that now might be associated with tourism or tourists went under other labels. And tourism as a subject for specialized academic research and education is even newer, originating in the middle of the present century (1). As in all new academic fields, much discussion has occurred and uncertainties continue about foundation issues. The following questions are examples. What are tourists and how are they distinguished from other visitors and travellers? What is tourism? Is tourism synonymous with a tourism industry? Is there such an industry, claimed by some observers to be very large? What is the business of tourism? How are environmental issues, the positive and negative impacts of tourist-related activities, connected to all this? How do places become destinations? Which academic disciplines are most useful for understanding tourism?

This chapter addresses these questions. A possible outcome of this line of work is to contribute to the development of   a distinctive discipline of tourism studies. This, following an argument advanced by Leiper (1981), requires a formal systemic approach. So a focal theme will be **tourism systems**: what they are, how they are constructed, and how models of such systems serve researchers and students. But before that theme is reached, preliminary sections deal with **tour**, **tourist** and **tourism**.

Particular attention will be given to what certain terms mean, to their various meanings in different contexts, and why some of the implications can be misleading. Too often, in the literature on tourism, the core terms are used very loosely and imprecisely. "Tourist" and "tourism" are terms whose implied and inferred meanings can vary greatly, as will be shown below. No academic subject can ignore those variations, and no discipline can progress far if they are too great. Some way must be found to deal with them. The various meanings may be irrelevant in everyday communication and in the mass media, but in tourism studies as in any academic subject, some degree of common understanding and precision is essential for the central concepts of the field of study. Without that, communication amongst those interested in the field is impeded.

HISTORICAL REVIEW

This section presents a brief interpretation of the history of travel and tourism in order to review the evolution of three core ideas: "tour", "tourist", "tourism", a useful prelude to discussing how they might be used in specialized studies. It also notes how these expressions are sometimes used with disparaging connotations.

In the course of human history, there have been four successive eras with their own major form or forms of travel. In our era, the most common and widespread form is **commuting,** the daily routines of short distance trips from home. In our era, the most common and widespread long distance form, requiring overnight stays away from home, involves **tourists** and **tourism.**

In prehistoric times, all humans were nomads: travel was **the** way of life. Chatwin (1988) believes that the long history of **nomadism** influenced the human psyche permanently, making travel or tourism a natural or instinctive form of behaviour and therefore, according to Chatwin's intriguing analysis, an intrinsically pleasurable one given favourable conditions. Once groups of human beings gave up nomadic lives and established settlements, the need and opportunity for the primitive type of **business travel,** for trading purposes, arose. It required a tradable surplus in produce and goods, the beginnings of a market economy. Perhaps **touristic travel** began then too; this depends on how that form is defined.

After nomadism, the second form of mass travel was **pilgrimage;** in Western Civilization this occurred between the 11th and the 15th centuries (Sumption 1975). The period from the 17th century to the middle of the 20th century was the great era of international and intercontinental **migration,** when millions moved homes, leaving the "old world" (Europe, China, central Africa) to settle in the "new world" (the Americas, South East Asia, Australasia, southern Africa). **Touristic travel** is the forth form of mass travel, with the numbers of participants increasing rapidly during the 20th century.

When **touristic travel** began depends on how this form is defined. Perceptions about that history also depend on the evidence at hand, as the following comparison reveals. Standard works on tourism make brief references to early forms of non-touristic travel. Burkart and Medlik go on to claim that in terms of private travel for education and curiosity, "tourism is a recent phenomenon (dating from) the end of the sixteenth century" (Burkart and Medlik 1974:3). Following a

different (implied) definition of tourist, Collier (1989) cites Holloway and states that tourism began in ancient times in the forms of business travel and pilgrimage. However works by historians such as Casson (1974) demonstrate that modern popular notions of "tourist", referring to people on pleasure-related trips away from home, could be applied to large numbers of people in ancient Greek and Roman civilizations. This line of analysis can be put to one side, while taking up the question of how "tour", "tourist" and "tourism" came into cultural consciousness. In other words, following Jaynes' (1982) argument that consciousness depends on words, how did those words evolve?

"Tour" has been in English for several centuries, meaning a trip that returns to the point of origin: a tour of one's garden or a tour of the world. The word came from French and earlier, from Greek where its first meaning was a tool for making a circle. The Oxford English Dictionary claims that as the etymology. But there are other possibilities, discussed in Leiper (1983). The most plausible, discussed below, associates touring with travelling for leisure-related purposes, which is a popular notion in modern usage.

"Tour" may have acquired its meaning of a trip with a circular-type itinerary, for leisure-related purposes, from the French word "tour" meaning "tower". Amongst the Medieval French (who included the ruling classes of England after the Norman invasions) going on "tour" may have originally signified a leisurely circuit of the tower of a castle, walking around the parapets and looking out over the countryside, sightseeing in fact. If this is true, in time the expression would have extended to trips with the same behavioural basis but beyond the tower, going into the country. Certainly by the 1720s this sense was well-established. Defoe's best selling book, <u>A Tour Through The Whole Island of Britain</u>, is evidence.

Some kind of leisurely trip has usually been a connotation of "tour". Relaxing by perambulating the castle or spending one's leisure by sightseeing around Britain is quite different from "travel" in the original sense of that term. Originally it was "travail", used in medieval times as an adjective, as in "I was sorely travailed by my long journey". "Travailed" meant, literally, tortured. Before the development of less uncomfortable means of transport such as the stage coach, any journey over long distances was "travailing", it was laborious. "Travelling" in that original sense is a form of labour, while "touring" is a form of leisure, so they are, in that respect, opposites. And either may involve work, for work and leisure are not mutually exclusive, as are labour and leisure. Journeys that travailed the person would not

have been made for leisure-related purposes: a different word and the different consciousness it involves, was required for such trips.

Accompanying Defoe's practical advice on where to go and what to see and do while on tours of Britain was the cultural influence of a book that was very widely read in educated circles. Pamela was first published in 1740, and it "taught the art of long-distance travel", according to Colin Wilson (1975:7). The heroine, Pamela, made a "discovery that living is not necessarily a matter of physical experiences, but that the imagination is also capable of voyages .. of daydreams. Today, this sounds banal; in the 1740s it was as startling as discovering that you could fly by flapping your arms" (ibid:36). The reading public of England learned to imagine what visiting distant places might be like, and that it could be pleasurable, that touring is not synonymous with "travailing". The decade in which Pamela was hugely popular, the 1740s, was the decade when The Grand Tour became a fashionable pursuit. That trend was helped by the publication of many books offering practical advice for international travel, around the European Continent.

By the 1740s in Britain and Europe, the expression "Grand Tour" had come into vogue. It meant a lengthy and leisurely trip around the European Continent, for educational and other cultural purposes by young men (mainly) from the upper classes. Hibbert (1974) and others have written colourful accounts. Lambert's (1950) and, especially, Towner's (1985) accounts are more scholarly. The tours of Britain after Defoe's model and, more especially, the international Grand Tour, established leisurely tours in the culture of Western Civilisation. Today, every year millions of persons imitate the forms, styles and patterns established in our culture by the classic Grand Tour of the 1700s.

Adam Smith, better known as author of The Wealth of Nations, added "ist" to "tour" to coin a new word in the 1770s, according to Wykes (1973:13). Why did he need a new expression? Smith observed a trend among persons making Grand Tours of Europe, a trend away from its classical aims of education and other creative uses of leisure and towards indulgence with frivolous forms of recreational activity. But, wanting the status associated with "The Tour", many felt obliged to follow what had become, by the 1770s, a ritual: a designated itinerary of certain cities, sights, sites and objects. Observing how this ritual amounted to an ideology or "ism" of touring, Smith coined "tourist". Thus the original implication was pejorative: the first "tourists" were being disparaged by that label. By following the ritual of the Grand Tour, the first "tour-ists" tended to miss its substance, because

acquiring substantial first-hand knowledge and etiquette from places and cultures visited is only possible from lengthy visits, motivated study and from intensive mixing with local peoples. The first persons labelled as "tourists" were either uninterested in the culture of the places visited or too rushed to acquire more than superficial familiarity with them. The educational motivation that was behind the classic Grand Tour, espoused by writers such as Francis Bacon (in his essay "On Travel"), had become a minor and irrelevant factor. Smith's tourists were more motivated by their desire for entertainment in various forms, and by the status available by claiming (to themselves or others) that they had been there, seen that. "Tourist" and "tourism" frequently carry the same connotation today. It is the seminal factor behind the disparaging sense of those ideas. "Tourist" and "tourism" continue to have pejorative implications and/ or inferences in many cases today, for a number of overlapping reasons.

In the 1840s Thomas Cook began escorting groups on the first modern packaged or inclusive tours (2), first within England and later in continental Europe, and the descriptor "tourist" acquired extra disparaging senses as a result. The 1840s were the beginning of long distance travel by mass transportation systems. Schivelbuch (1979) has written an outstanding study on the early decades of steam transportation, about its remarkable socio-cultural implications, and about the efforts of fledgling industries to innovate in new and rapidly changing socio-technical environments. Swinglehurst's (1974 etc.) books concentrate on the Thomas Cook story and how the new forms of transport led to mass tourism amongst the middle classes and later lower classes of society. Entry to this activity by those classes was resented by many in the upper classes of society, because when the "inferior" types began imitating what had been exclusive to the upper classes and (worse still) when they began visiting the same resorts, the upper classes' sense of superiority was threatened. All kinds of snobbish attitudes and actions emerged. One kind was to transfer Adam Smith's labels to the "invaders". So, since the 1850s, a second meaning of "tourist" has referred to visitors or travellers deemed socially inferior, and accordingly "tourism" has come to mean anything distinctively associated with them.

In status conscious sections of society, present in virtually any community, those twin expressions have always had inferior connotations for some people. There are now many factors behind those senses, including the couple described above. Many novels and innumerable cartoons describe them. Examples can be found for example in E.M. Forster's (1908) novel Room With A View, in its sixth chapter about English tourists on an excursion from Florence.

The 20th Century, especially the period from 1960 to 1980, saw a huge increase in the numbers of persons on touristic trips. More than 300 million international tourist arrivals were recorded annually by all countries combined in the 1980s. Allowing for an incidence of multiple tripping and an incidence of visiting two or more countries during a single trip, that 300 million arrivals probably represents between 70 and 100 million individual persons making international trips per year (3). And surveys indicate that the numbers engaged in domestic tourism (trips within one's home country) are far greater.

"Tourism" evolved from "tourist" around 1810. Its original meaning was the theory and practice of touring, of being a tourist.

Later, additional meanings were added. A different meaning arose from economists' work early in the 20th Century, first in Switzerland and Austria and later elsewhere, studying the consequences of tourists' activities on national and regional economies (Wahab 1974). These economists observed that tourists, as visitors, brought money in   for expenditure becoming, in effect, temporary consumers in places visited. The effects, in places visited by significant numbers of spending tourists, included valuable sources of revenue for business firms and, in the case of international tourists, valuable sources of foreign exchange for the national economy of the hosting country. This led economists to perceive the impacts of tourists' activities as being akin to those of industries, a perception that shaped a new meaning for "tourism" as a sector of the economy. In time that notion was extended to thinking that tourism is in fact an industry, comprising all the suppliers of services, goods and the use of facilities to tourists-visitors. Simultaneously, when marketing ideas were being applied to tourism-related issues and topics, some marketers claimed that "tourism" was really a market, not an industry. In the 1970s, certain academics specializing in the subject began using "tourism" as the name of their academic subject or discipline. A sub-group favouring a systems approach defined tourism as a kind of system. So six distinct, albeit related, meanings have been identified, any of which might be implied by or inferred from "tourism": (i) the behaviour of tourists, (ii) a sector of the macro-economy, represented by the impacts of tourists' behaviour, (iii) an industry, normally represented by the suppliers of goods and services to tourists, (v) a market, represented by tourists who consume those goods and services, (v) an academic subject, represented by anything that might be studied under the label "tourism", and (vi) a system, a set of elements identified in various ways

depending on the model chosen. Clarification of these issues is the aim of later sections.

The next section focuses on "tourist". Three sets of meanings are identified, each appropriate to certain research aims. This will clarify the subsequent discussion on "tourism".

TOURISTS

Broadly speaking, tourists are sub-sets of travellers or visitors; to be regarded or counted as a tourist one is usually travelling or, having travelled, is a visitor in some place. But not all travellers are tourists; the former is generally the broader term, referring to people in roles as diverse as commuting for daily routines at work or school, and circumnavigating the globe for any imaginable reason. Three contexts where the word "tourist" is used can be identified, giving rise to three categories of meanings: (i) popular notions about tourists, (ii) heuristic concepts of tourists, and (iii) technical definitions of tourists. These are discussed below.

Popular Notions About Tourists

Popular notions are used in everyday thought and communication when people describe somebody (perhaps themselves) as a tourist, or describe some type of behaviour or display as "touristy" or "touristic" (4). Dictionaries try to deal with this category, but cannot be comprehensive because of the variety in meanings and inferences. One individual might regard behaviour such as sightseeing or taking photographs as touristic, especially if the person being observed seems (from physical appearance, clothing, speech, companions, etc.) to be a visitor from another part of the country or abroad. Another individual might limit their notion of tourists to foreigners, visitors from another country. A third possibility might limit consciousness of tourists to members of an organized group, a group tour. A fourth might regard sightseeing but not relaxing in a resort hotel as touristic. Other possibilities could be suggested. Overlapping all those possibilities is the fact that some persons link "tourist" with various disparaging connotations, while other persons do not. In conclusion, what constitutes a tourist is impossible to define in a manner that would find universal agreement.

Heuristic Concepts of Tourists

An heuristic concept is one intended to help learning. Whenever a formal study about tourists is being prepared and presented, a clear statement by the author showing what is meant by the central concept is usually useful. It has twin purposes. Firstly, the exercise of formulating an explicit concept concentrates the author's thinking. Secondly, it focuses the attention of readers or listeners and clarifies what the author means. Without such a statement, different members of the readership or audience are likely to infer different meanings or connotations, because of the variations in popular notions about tourists.

Heuristic concepts about tourists are especially useful when studying tourists' behaviour in any formal context, ranging from a professional market research report to a student's essay or lecture in the university. Inevitably the concepts formulated will be similar to somebody's popular notions. For example, a report for managers in a company selling pre-packaged inclusive tours might define "tourist" as a person making or considering a trip who is an actual or potential user of packaged arrangements, on a group or independent basis. Another example: in an investigation of tourists at a certain site the focus topic might be defined as any non-resident of the region who visits, or who contemplates visiting, the site in question. A student of anthropology preparing an essay about cultural impacts on host societies might define tourists as foreign visitors in the country whose main purpose of trip is not connected with work. All these examples are broadly compatible with popular notions, but they are not identical. Different ones would result in quite different data if used as the basis for measuring tourist numbers and consequential impacts.

But can a general <u>core meaning</u> be proposed, with wide applicability for heuristic purposes, broadly consistent with attributes in many popular notions? This does seem possible, <u>if</u> one puts aside all the disparaging connotations, and also recognizes that in some cases the general concept will be unsuitable. A widely accepted concept of "tourist" in a behavioural sense would be productive for tourism studies because it would help communication and eliminate the need to restate a definition every time the topic arises.

Four core attributes, definitive components of touristic behaviour, can be suggested. The first is that a tourist is a person who travels away from their home region to visit another region of their country or some other country or countries. If

that point is accepted, a person is never a tourist in their home region, although they can <u>seem</u> to be. (The scope of "home region" varies widely and subjectively amongst individuals.) A person can be a tourist in their own country, on trips to a region away from their home region.

Secondly, every touristic trip has some minimum duration, but is essentially temporary; it does not extend to permanent nomadism or to permanent residence in a new location. A minimum trip duration of one night seems appropriate since it excludes from the scope of "tourists" all commuters and other day trippers, persons away from home fewer than twenty four hours. There are two reasons for that exclusion. The first is that in many places day visitors are more numerous than overnight visitors, and the behavioural dimensions (motivations, activities, experiences, consumption patterns etc.) of the two sets tend to be different. If day trippers were included in a study of, the larger group's distinctive characteristics would dominate and those of travellers on overnight trips could be overlooked. The related reason for distinguishing day trippers from overnight travellers in order to describe some of the latter as tourists is that overnight trips may bring a quite special character to the experience of holidays and other trips with similar characteristics.

The third attribute is that tourist activity occurs in spare-time, during what is often called leisure time. Tourists, one can suggest; are persons at leisure. This tourist / leisure link has been advanced by writers from several backgrounds, including town planning (Clarke 1975), behavioural science (MacCannell 1976; Iso-Ahola 1982), and tourism education (Bodewes 1981). Leisure experiences are those valued for intrinsic pleasure, for their own sake, for personal pleasure, and are pursued in a non-obligatory context, with a sense of freedom. Included might be recreational behaviour in many forms (sightseeing, relaxing on a beach, socializing, etc.) and / or many kinds of creative activity pursued in spare time. Hamilton-Smith's (1987) dissection of touristic types proposes a more detailed theoretical analysis of the tourism / leisure link. Arguably, experiences of what can be termed "touristic leisure" might include almost anything that comes within other leisure (5).

Fourth, the distinctive behaviour of tourists involves a relationship between each tourist and features or characteristics of places he or she visits or contemplates visiting. The feature might be a famous sight, object or event; the characteristic might be any environmental quality of the place such as its climate, its romantic

associations, or even its perceived exotic or status-related qualities: any characteristic that the individual visitor finds appealing. Opposing some popular notions, psychological research into motivations has demonstrated that tourists are not homogeneous, but have different and overlapping needs and motivations. Studies by Crompton (1979), Phillip Pearce (1982), Stear (1984), Krippendorf (1987) and others, and a summary by Douglas Pearce (1987) support that claim. In essence, the place visited must have some attribute matching, and potentially satisfying, the individual's leisure needs.

From the four components, a definitive concept of touristic behaviour can be assembled. This should not be inferred as the definitive concept; it is merely one example, perhaps with potential for wide usage:

A tourist can be defined, in behavioural terms, as a person travelling away from their normal residential region for a temporary period, staying away at least one night but not permanently, to the extent that the behaviour involves a search for leisure experiences from interaction with features or environmental characteristics of the place(s) they choose to visit.

That concept embraces a wide range. It includes some travellers and visitors whose trips or visits are made only or mainly for leisure-related purposes, such as persons on holiday trips. It includes others to a degree. These others are, for instance, persons travelling mainly for business purposes who spend part of their trip at leisure, sightseeing between business appointments in a strange city for instance. To that degree, business travellers are temporarily tourists in behavioural terms.

Tourists choose to visit places. They select or decide which place(s) to visit on the basis of multiple factors: cost, accessibility, suitable facilities, safety and so on. But the essential factor is their perception about the link between the place's features and environmental characteristics and their own leisure needs, preferences and tastes. No traveller ever set out on a touristic trip to visit a country a region or a sight they perceived as an unsatisfying personal experience.

The definition proposed out above seems suitable for use in the absence of special circumstances when a particular and different one is desirable. It expresses what are arguably general components of touristic behaviour, of being a tourist. It

is not framed from the perspective of countries as destinations, nor from the perspective of business or industry, but merely refers to people making certain types of trips. It may be useful for general studies of qualitative attributes of tourists' behaviour. It is unsuited for quantitative applications.

Technical Definitions of Tourists

This category is normally framed from the perspective of a place, a region or country, being visited by tourists. Technical definitions of "tourist" often have quantitative applications, but are unsuited for qualitative research. They reflect the interests of businesses and organisations concerned with fostering particular places as tourist destinations. Since the 1930s governments, businesses and industrial associations interested in tourists as visitors have attempted to monitor the numbers and characteristics of flows into the region or country where they operate. By 1980 statistical procedures were established at the national level in most countries, with varying degrees of precision.

To enable statistics to be collected in a meaningful form, a technical definition is required. An unambiguous meaning is necessary so that everybody responsible for collecting or using the data clearly understands what is included and what is excluded. Because popular notions about tourists are diverse, official statistics cannot leave the demarcation to individuals' perceptions and opinions. Another application of technical definitions is in legal contexts, where for example some governments issue visas classified as "tourist". Any organisation, whether a governmental agency or a business organisation in the private sector, is free to formulate and use its own technical definition, appropriate to its own circumstances. As a result, variations are found when technical definitions used in different places and circumstances are compared. Such variations are not necessarily problematical for researchers, if the data are accompanied by a note stating the technical definition being used.

Wide variations occur in devices used by different governments to monitor domestic flows, persons on touristic trips within their home countries. For example in New Zealand and Australia the same definition is used (6), but it is different from the one used in the U.K. In the former cases, statistics currently prepared by the A.G.B. McNair research organisation for governmental agencies in New Zealand and Australia are based on the following definition:

A (domestic) tourist is a person who has travelled away from their normal residence to visit some other place(s) at least forty kilometres distant, within their home country, for a period of at least one night and not more than three months.

Notice that nothing is stated about trip purpose. So official statistics about domestic tourists in those two countries include trips for many purposes: holidaying, visiting friends or relatives, business, attending a convention, study, sport and so on. In the U.K. however, official statistics only count persons making trips for holiday purposes, and only count trips of four or more nights away from home. So long as one notes the technical definition applying in each case, and does not directly compare data about the U.K. with that about Australasia, the differences between the definitions are not important.

Ideally, all countries would use a single or standard definition so that data could be directly compared across multiple countries. The World Tourism Organisation, a United Nations agency, has proposed that idea, but it has not gained sufficient support from policy makers at the national level.

In reference to international tourists (persons resident in one country who travel to visit another) proposals to bring about a standard technical definition to be used transnationally have been more successful. The proposal originated in the 1920s in Europe, and gained ground in 1937 and 1963. In 1937 the League of Nations' Statistical Committee recommended that all countries use the following technical definition for international tourist: " a person visiting a country other than that in which he habitually lives for a period of at least 24 hours" (O.E.C.D., 1974:7). Notice again, nothing is stated about trip purpose. The 1937 proposal was amended in 1963, at a conference dealing with many policy aspects of international travel and tourism, sponsored by the U.N. and held in Rome (7). The conference proceedings were published (I.U.O.T.O., 1963) and became an important influence on several aspects of policy in countries around the globe. The conference recommended that all countries use standard definitions for international visitor, tourist and excursionist in all statistical contexts:

For statistical purposes the term <u>visitor</u> describes any person visiting a country other than that in which he has his usual place of residence, for any reason other than following an occupation remunerated from within the country visited. This definition covers:

<u>international tourists</u>: ie temporary visitors staying at least twenty four hours in the country visited whose purpose of journey can be classified under one of the following headings:

(a) leisure (recreation, holiday, health, study, religion, and sport),
(b) business (family, mission, meeting).

<u>excursionists</u>: ie temporary visitors staying less than twenty four hours in the country visited, including passengers on cruise ships.

Those are the standard, official definitions used for statistical purposes. They are sometimes called the W.T.O. definitions. These days most national governments recognize them, to some extent at least. In cases where a governmental agency does not follow the definition closely in statistical collections or reports (eg in New Zealand, Australia, etc.) the data are generally collected in a form that enables adjustment to the international standard by the World Tourism Organisation. Each nation sends data about arrivals to the W.T.O. headquarters in Madrid, where technicians collate and correct the statistics and prepare reports on aggregated world patterns and trends (W.T.O. annuals). Also each national government, via its national tourism organisation or statistics department, publishes its own data.

In one respect the technical definitions of <u>tourist</u> are similar to most popular notions, because both sets apply to a category of <u>visitor</u>. In order to become a tourist, in either the technical or popular sense, one must first be a traveller, to reach the place where one will be counted in statistics and / or be regarded by observers as a tourist.

Which Category to Use?

The three categories, each representing various meanings, serve particular kinds of studies. The first category, popular notions, is used in research aiming to discover what people mean and imply <u>by</u> "tourist" and its derivatives such as

"touristy". Here, researchers must avoid expressing their own opinions, focusing instead on other persons' thoughts, attitudes and perceptions. Secondly, for researching and discussing qualitative behavioural attributes of tourists, normally an appropriate heuristic definition is required. It states what the researcher or writer means when "tourist" is used in that assignment. For researching and discussing statistical data about tourist-visitors, especially in reference to economic impacts on destinations, one of the technical definitions usually will be appropriate. This is especially so when dealing with official statistics.

Failure to recognize and follow that distinction is a common error in all kinds of formal writings about tourists. Searching the literature for a definition, many students and paid researchers come upon one of the technical definitions and, because it stems from an official organisation, assume that it should be used in all studies about tourists. But having quoted an "official" definition in their work's introductory section, some writers then want to discuss tourists' activities in ways that reflect an implied popular notion, which contradicts or varies significantly from the technical definition the essay or report purports to be following. The likely result is an inconsistent discussion. In practice, some studies need to deal with different aspects (economic consequences, behaviour, etc.) and in such cases the writer should be explicit about the different contexts, by setting out various definitions as circumstances arise, accompanied by a linking explanation. Sometimes, statistical data can be dissected to isolate data corresponding with an heuristic concept. For example, studying economic impacts in a particular destination, the researcher might want to dissect total "tourist" expenditures by purpose of visit, to identify spending by holidaymakers.

Why The Wide Scope of Technical Definitions?

The technical definitions include travellers that most persons would not regard as tourists, such as travellers on business trips. Why is that so, and what can be learned from it? From transcripts of meetings at which technical definitions were formulated, including I.U.O.T.O. (1963), and from discussions with officials in participating organisations, the following explanation emerged.

Official technical definitions of "tourist" are creations of organisations whose primary interest is the economic consequences of visitors' spending. Their primary concerns are not why visitors come to the region or country, but how much money they spend, what they spend it on, and aggregate numbers and trends in those

economic parameters. All visitors in a place for overnight stays tend to be broadly similar from an economic perspective, regardless of their different trip purposes: holiday, business, visiting friends or relatives and so on. They all need transportation, accommodation, food and drink, and information and all tend to spend money for such services. The fact that some visitors are regarded as tourists by some observers and not by others is irrelevant in that context. Besides, popular notions are hazy and in some instances contradictory, so that conference delegates trying to reach consensus decided to cast a very wide definition, including many types of visitor in the classification they labelled as "tourist".

But, although economic rationality may be a factor, the scope of the W.T.O. technical definition seems too wide. Correctly interpreting a newspaper story stating that New Zealand hosted 900,000 "international tourists" last year should not depend on a reader knowing that "tourists" in that context include visitors travelling for many different purposes: holidaying, business, visiting relatives, attending university, visiting hospitals for treatment, attending conventions and so on: a scope far beyond most popular notions about tourists (8). This opinion is not unique; it has also been expressed in editorial columns of <u>Asia Travel Trade</u> over the years, where the official technical definitions of "tourist" and the data they lead to have been ridiculed.

Another reason for the wide scope of technical definitions for "tourist" seems to be linked with the fact that the official organisations responsible for framing those definitions are bureaucracies with "tourist" or "tourism" in their titles. Their bureaucratic interests are helped by broad definitions of "tourist" applied in collecting statistics, because the policy produces inflated official estimates of the economic value of tourism, which in turn inflates the apparent utility of the bureaucracies. A Department of Tourism is better able to get funds from Treasury, to help its own bureaucratic survival or expansion, when it can point to statistics showing "tourists" to be of great economic significance.

Seeing this stratagem's potential, certain organisations have attempted to extend it by including day trippers among official statistics of tourists. In places hosting very large numbers of day visitors, this ploy would boost official estimates of the economic value of tourism by a large margin, but the distortion from common sense might be problematical (9).

TOURISM

Having discussed "tourists", what can be said about "tourism"? Earlier, six meanings of "tourism" were identified. In scholarly studies of particular subjects, commonly agreed formal concepts are useful, but not essential. However some degree of consensus about the meaning of the central concept is highly desirable, if not essential, before a field of scholarship can evolve into a distinctive discipline, an organized body of knowledge. Thus the six different meanings represent a handicap which needs to be surmounted before a discipline of tourism studies can progress far. Each of the six is reviewed below.

"Tourism" as a sector of the economy

"Tourism" may imply or infer a sector of a national or regional economy. That sense and its connotations are often clear from the context. For example, one can remark that "tourism represents a major item in New Zealand's foreign exchange earnings" and the meaning is reasonably clear. However, this expression implies the economic consequences of tourists' activities, so to be clear, the remark could be made more precise: "the tourism-related sector of the economy represents a major item in New Zealand's foreign exchange earnings". In scholarly work, the more precise alternative is preferable, if indeed that is the meaning to be conveyed. In conclusion, any problem about "tourism" meaning "a sector of the economy" is simply a semantic issue. It can be overcome by a fuller more precise alternative than "tourism" as a stand alone word.

"Tourism" as an industry

Many persons closely involved with the business of tourism hold the view that tourism is an industry, an opinion that has been reiterated forcefully in the academic literature by Stephen Smith (1988,1989). Does the notion stand up to examination? First, a semantic issue will be raised.

There is a famous scene in The Graduate, the film that launched Dustin Hoffman to fame, in which Benjamin is taken aside by an older man to hear one word of advice ... "plastics". Mr. Robinson, whose lustful wife was soon to give the graduate advice of a more practical nature, was not recommending that Benjamin use or wear plastics. Rather, he was recommending a career, he was implying plastics industry. The same implication is behind most of the widespread recent use of "tourism" to mean "tourism industry".

So the issue seems to be merely semantic. In everyday communication, omitting the second word does not matter. In scholarly work however the colloquialism may lead to confused thinking. Ask somebody whose thinking is strongly shaped by the colloquial abbreviation to define "tourism" and a common answer is "the industry that deals with tourists", while probing usually reveals that they are not so sure. A critical probing question is "do you mean that everything to do with tourism involves business and other industrial activities?" Respondents often reply in the negative, and indicate that their first answer was imprecise. This is an example of the tendency George Orwell had in mind when he remarked "the slovenliness of our language makes it easy for us to have foolish thoughts" (1970:157). Clear thinking is helped when slovenly use of language is avoided.

This is not denying that there might be "a tourism industry" **associated** with tourism, but an association does not represent synonymous entities. There is also the possibility that certain activities of particular tourists might be industrialized to some degree. That is, these activities might be partly associated with a tourism industry and partly supplied by other resources, outside that industry. This possibility, that tourism tends to be partially-industrialized, is explored in Chapters 3 and 4.

"Tourism" as a market

Kaul advanced the view that tourism is "in fact (sic) a market rather than an industry" (1985:22). He asserted that many industries are associated with tourists and that therefore referring to a distinct "tourism industry" is a misleading abstraction. His view of a distinct market, albeit a differentiated one comprising many categories or segments, stems from observations that typically tourists consume a range of goods and services but they are distinctive consumers in at least two senses. First, their demands stem from their activities as travellers and visitors. Secondly, while visiting places, they can be regarded as temporary consumers in the economy of the region or country.

There are two problems with Kaul's view. One is, again, the semantic issue: arguably "market" is implied when people refer to "tourism" as a kind of market. What they really mean is "tourist market". The second problem is substantial. Tourists might typically be active as consumers, but are all tourists consumers and active in markets to the extent that this defines "tourism"?

A market is a collection of customers, and customers are persons willing and able to buy, use or experience some good or service provided in the market place by business firms or organisations. Kotler (1980) and other writers have set out definitions along those lines. Pandya (1987) and Gronhaug and Dholakia (1987) have both stressed that markets do not embrace every transaction that humans engage in: some are non-market. Bain and Howells (1988) clarified this by arguing that markets arise only when transactions involve an exchange of property rights, the rights to ownership (goods purchased) or to temporary use (facilities or services).

In practice, most tourists engage in market-based activities, especially in consuming services of various sorts. But certain activities where no property rights are exchanged are common in tourists' experiences. Two kinds of examples can be cited. One includes the experience of many sorts of "natural" phenomena such as scenery, fresh air and incidental displays of local cultures. Another includes all the public goods used at no cost to tourists, such as use of public streets, appreciation of public monuments and museums. The significance of all these non-market phenomena in tourists' activities are such that to define tourism as a market seems unrealistically limiting: it would restrict the scope of tourism to commercialized ("marketized") events. Obviously these are significant in most tourists' patterns of behaviour. But they are not necessarily the fundamental aspects of being a tourist, for one can imagine certain kinds of trips that could be described as touristic where no market-based activities occurred. For example persons on walking tours, engaging in sightseeing and associated behaviour who "live off the land" without spending money, would be regarded as tourists in at least two of the senses identified earlier.

"Tourism" as an academic subject

Certain writers use "tourism" to refer to an academic subject or quasi discipline. A good example is: "Tourism is the study of man away from his usual habitat, of the industry that responds to his needs, and of the impacts that both he and the industry have on the hosts' socio-cultural, economic and physical environments" (Jafari 1977:8).

In terms of the discussion of how "tourism" might be defined, a problem in this case is merely the semantic issue of a single word being used to imply a qualifier.

Jafari's concept is, arguably, really about "the study of tourism"; it is a good definition of how that activity can be approached (10). But in well-established academic subjects or disciplines, separate expressions are used for the subject or discipline and the field or object to which it refers. In time, that convenience will probably evolve in this case, when some new expression is coined to denote "the study of tourism". A possibility is a suitable root ("tour" or a Greek equivalent) plus "ology" or "ics" as suffix to denote "study of".

The Systems Notion Defectively Applied?

A school of thought proposes systems ideas for studying tourism. But a possible defect in Leiper (1979) and Mill and Morrison (1985) is that these works define "tourism" as "a system". The problem may be confusing tourism with the systems it creates or represents. The underlying error of thinking may be excess enthusiasm for the potential of systems theory, leading to conceptualising all apparent complexities as some kind of system.

The present writer and R.C.Mill have considered the problem and reached a solution, as follows (pers. comm.). Studying tourism is clarified by making a distinction between several linked but fundamentally separate concepts: **tourism**; **tourists** (people thinking about and practicing tourism); and **tourism systems** (sets of elements variously defined according to the model used).

So ... What is "tourism"?

Arguably, the most appropriate concept of the six identified earlier is the original one that sees "tourism" as the behaviour of tourists. For a start it is formally accurate. "Ism" denotes a collection of ideas and theories, a set of ideologies put into practice by people adhering to those ideas to some extent. Idealism is the set of ideologies put into practice by idealists, and socialism is a set of ideologies put into practice by socialists, and so on. Tourism and tourists are linked the same way. This link isolates a core meaning of tourism:

> **Tourism is the set of ideas, the theories or ideologies, for being a tourist, and it is the behaviour of people in touristic roles, when the ideas are put into practice.**

This must be accompanied by a definition of "tourist" to become fully meaningful. For general studies, a relatively broad example from the heuristic set

discussed above is desirable, since there is no single type, no "typical" tourist, as Cohen (1979) in particular has shown, so there can be no single type of tourism.

Being a tourist, practicing tourism, is a role that most affluent people practice from time to time. It is a role stemming from a range of needs and expressed in a differentiated range of activities and other behavioural outcomes. Tourism comprises ideas that shape decisions about going on trips, about where to go and what to do seeking satisfaction of leisure-based needs, and about how to interact with other travellers / tourists and with local residents of places visited and about how to deal with business firms and so on. And it is all the behavioral outcomes of those ideas. Tourism is not the everyday routines of people who just happen to be in a touristic setting (11).

This line of thinking is quite different from some currently popular notions about tourism. It is radical in the sense of going to the roots to define a concept. It is different from the present writer's thinking of a decade ago (Leiper 1979,1981 etc.). However it conforms to the broad line of thought expressed by those social scientists who have written about tourism without letting the associated matters of economics, marketing and industries distort the truth. MacCannell (1976), Phillip Pearce (1982), Pigram (1983), Douglas Pearce (1987) and Przeclawski (1986) are examples. For instance, the last in that list repeats a remark a few times in his book: "tourism is, first of all, a form of man's behaviour" (Przeclawski 1986:11).

Having argued for one concept as superior to five others, a residue of ambiguity about "tourism" remains. It is a slippery and ambiguous idea, liable to connote different meanings to different people.

THE STUDY OF TOURISM ... OR TOURISM STUDIES?

Insights to the fundamental nature of tourism can be derived from a brief review of alternative approaches to its academic study. The subject might be viewed as interesting or valuable, but it is complicated by several factors. One is the fuzzy nature of the core concepts, addressed earlier. Another is the different perspectives that might be taken. Some students are interested because the subject is about pleasurable activities: travelling and holidays. Some have vocational goals, and want training for careers in the travel and tourism industry. Others are interested in a general education about a huge phenomenon in the modern world with all sorts of issues to explore. Buck (1978) remarked on a major difference in perspectives:

> Tourism scholarship to date is organized in two relatively isolated camps. There is the business enterprise and development camp, largely devoted to charting growth and profits. And there is the impacts and externalities camp, whose work more often than not documents the spillover consequences of tourism enterprises in host nations and communities (ibid: 110).

Buck claimed that the time was "ripe for laying theoretical grounding for a synthesis between the two emphases" (ibid). In the next few years several theorists took up that challenge, and a decade later the present study is a continuation of efforts where that objective is part of the goal.

Another complicating factor is that many academic disciplines can be applied. Jafari and Ritchie (1981) identified five with major parts to play in educational courses dealing with tourism (Economics, Sociology, Psychology, Geography, Anthropology) and noted a few more that they considered relevant. Jafari and Aaser's (1988) review of 157 American doctoral dissertations found fifteen main disciplines represented. The specializations of persons on the Editorial Board of the journal <u>Annals of Tourism Research</u> (indicated in the journal's covers) is another indication of the range. A result of that diversity is that no individual can hope to acquire detailed expertise across all aspects of tourism. Instead, the field is a fertile one for multidisciplinary studies.

However multidisciplinary studies can pose problems, when for example the perspective taken on a topic is restricted by the individual's own disciplinary specialization but the topic calls for other disciplines to be applied. A more serious problem is how to integrate the ideas and methods from the different disciplines, each potentially having something relevant to contribute? For undergraduate courses aiming at comprehensively covering the field the lack of integration can be a serious defect in the syllabus. The problems stemming from multidisciplinary studies, and their resolution, have been discussed elsewhere (Leiper 1981). In summary the argument was that while different disciplines will always have specialized contributions to make to the study of tourism, a need exists for a different approach to form the central ground. The new approach involves firstly, using an interdisciplinary method, blending together each relevant discipline's ideas, working between the specializations. The second part of the approach is to draw on General System Theory, and construct systemic models of the topics being studied. Third,

models of tourism systems provide a foundation for developing a new specialization, a distinctive discipline dealing with tourism. In the centre of multidisciplinary studies of facets of tourism (geography of tourism, management of tourism, etc.) there is an opportunity to study tourism directly and comprehensively, an opportunity for Tourism Studies.

General System Theory

The founder of General System Theory was a Biologist who realized that he had to go beyond Biology and integrate evidence from other specializations in order to comprehensively understand the topics he was researching. Bertalanffy formulated theories of systems in general, applicable to any science and not restricted by conventional methods of the central physical science, Physics. The shortcomings of conventional methods in the physical sciences is that they were designed to explain closed systems, while the topics Bertalanffy was investigating involved environmental interaction. He discovered when his first publications were circulated in the 1940s that other innovators had been working along similar lines, from diverse backgrounds (12). Bertalanffy (1972) has reflected from its origins general systems theory was primarily an approach for interdisciplinary research, a way of unifying all the sciences. But its processes and outcomes involve more than that, being "a way of seeing things that were previously overlooked or bypassed, and in this sense (general systems theory) is a methodological maxim" (Bertalanffy 1972a:38).

"The fundamental idea of a system has always been part of analytical thinking. The Trojan Horse before the gates of Troy was a diabolically clever military system for infiltrating city fortifications" (Dubin 1978:241). Dubin's point is amplified by Fox (1987) who showed how several original thinkers from past centuries (Vicco, Copernicus, Newton and others) used what would now be termed a systems approach. Bertalanffy (1972), Dubin (1978:242-5), August Smith (1982:12-16) and others have described how systems thinking became formalised in the middle years of the present century, with scholars such as Bertalanffy and his colleagues prominent in those innovations. Systems thinking has revolutionized many disciplines in the physical, social and business sciences during the past forty years. One of its main benefits, perhaps its basic utility, is that it can clarify and thus simplify what would otherwise seem complex.

A tenet of system thinking is that there is no single system applicable to a particular field. Rather, there is a hierarchy of systems, with each system having its

superiors and subordinates. "Sub-systems" is the expression used to describe lower level systems. What is "a system" in this formal sense? Jordan (1981) has shown that the core meaning useful in general systems theory is essentially similar to the everyday notion: "We call a thing a system when we wish to express the fact that the thing is perceived / conceived as consisting of a set of elements, of parts, that are connected to each other by at least one distinguishing principle" (ibid:24).

The use of systems theory in interdisciplinary research has been discussed by Piaget (1973):

(A) trend, which can be observed in a number of separate disciplines is one which, in the face of complex systems, consists in stressing the characteristics of 'wholeness' peculiar to these systems, while considering that wholeness to be directly emergent from the assembly of elements ...

(Another trend) is that of structuralism, but interpreted as relational, that is to say positing systems of interactions or transformations as the primary reality and hence subordinating elements from the outset to the relations surrounding them and, reciprocally, conceiving the whole as the product of the composition of these formative interactions. It is of great interest, from our interdisciplinary point of view ... (Piaget 1973:21-22).

Bertalanffy's (1972,1972a) discussions on interdisciplinary methods linked with a general theory of systems includes expositions on his distinctive contribution to this subject, the concept of open systems. He formulated a concept of systems as follows: "A system may be defined as a set of elements standing in interrelation among themselves and with the environments" (Bertalanffy 1972a:31).

"Elements" are building blocks of thinking about any system, that require no further dissection for understanding what the system is. That understanding, about the structure and function of a particular system, derives from framework and clockwork models, the first and second in Boulding's (1987) categories. If deeper analysis is required, each element may be dissected to identify a sub-system of the superior system. The simplest types of systemic models depict the framework and clockwork; the former depicts structure and latter depicts interactions of the elements and of the system with its environments.

TOURISM SYSTEMS

For studying a particular subject, there might be several alternative ways of modelling its structure and functions. Some models are systemic, in varying degrees of detail. So different writers have proposed various ways of modelling facets of tourism-related phenomena. Getz (1986) has surveyed that school of thought, listing and categorizing dozens of examples. Even amongst writers not using any formal systems approach, there are opinions in its favour: "What is really needed for studying tourism is a systems approach" (McIntosh and Goeldner, 1986:14). The model set out below is similar to that introduced ten years ago (Leiper 1979), which was described by Getz as a "whole system model".

To convey the ideas clearly, a concrete example can be used and from it, theoretical concepts can be drawn. A typical example of tourism involved Herr Schmidt, who travelled from his home in Bonn to Spain for his annual vacation. Before departing he called at the office of the Spanish Tourism Organisation in Germany to collect information. Later he set off driving his BMW, and achieved the plans he had for the trip: two days visiting Paris staying in an hotel, and then south to the Costa Brava region near Barcelona for a week, staying in a resort overlooking the sea. Schmidt's trip is a very typical example (13).

How can a system be identified in that? What are the basic elements of this example of tourism? From the given data, nothing can be assumed about Schmidt's motivations or about the attractions of the two places he visited, so the system's elements will not be Parisian cuisine or the sun and sea of the Mediterranean coast. From the data, assumptions could be made about elements within an industrial system, although a larger system with more basic elements can be identified: the example involved a tourist, his home city, places visited, routes followed, and certain facilities used.

The elements of a whole framework tourism system include three kinds: human, geographical and industrial. First, there is a human element, a person or persons engaging in touristic behaviour, engaging in tourism. Tourists are elementary because a tourism system lacking at least one tourist is inconceivable.

The system axiomatically involves geographical elements, because tourism involves travel between places, between regions and / or countries. Identifying the geographical elements requires considering what roles places play in tourists'

itineraries and reducing those roles to the minimum number, to an elementary level. Three kinds of geographical elements are found in a whole tourism system:

(i) The tourist's home region is elementary. Tourism is impossible without the place where a journey begins and ends. This can be called the traveller generating region. "Traveller" is the appropriate descriptor for that element because that is a normal description of people setting off on trips and returning home, "travellers" who are regarded or counted as "tourists" while visiting other places.

(ii) In order to visit the places they regard as appealing, tourists must travel through intermediate places. Sometimes this travelling stage is very short and sometimes it can span the world. But it always exists; there is always an interval in a trip when the traveller feels they have left their home region or country but have not yet arrived in a region or country they choose to visit. This element can be called the transit route.

(iii) Finally there is the place or places that the traveller chooses to visit, where experiences of touristic leisure are sought. This element can be called the tourist destination region. It is where the most noticeable and dramatic consequences of the system occur.

The other kind of element is industrial. It is the travel and tourism industry, the collection of business firms and organisations described and defined in industrial terms earlier. In theory, one can imagine tourism (the behaviour of tourists) without such an industry, where tourists are entirely self-sufficient, but in practice, that would be a rare occurrence and in fact, a seemingly self-sufficient tourist might be supported or influenced to some degree by some aspect of a travel and tourism industry. Generally speaking, as a tourism-specific industry could be identified as directly or indirectly shaping or supporting virtually all contemporary tourists, an industry can be regarded as an element in tourism systems.

The comprehensive expression ("travel and tourism" industry) is a more appropriate description than an abbreviated version (such as tourism industry) and it is becoming widely adopted in written communication in professional and academic circles. Various reasons are behind that emerging practice. One is that certain components of what was earlier described as a tourism industry (travel agents, airline sales offices, etc.) are normally called a travel industry, since their main business is in traveller generating regions, with customers arranging trips

TGR   Traveller Generating Region
TR   Transit Route
TDR   Tourist Destination Region
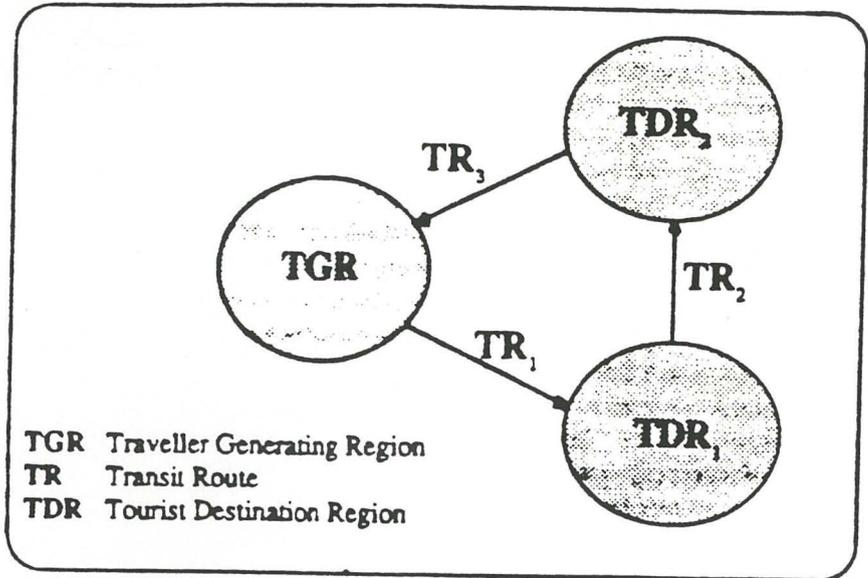
Geographical Elements in a Tourism System with Two Destinations

Figure 2.1

Environments: Human, Socio-cultural, Economical.
Technological. Physical, Political, Legal, etc.

Location of travellers -
tourists, and of the travel and tourism industry.
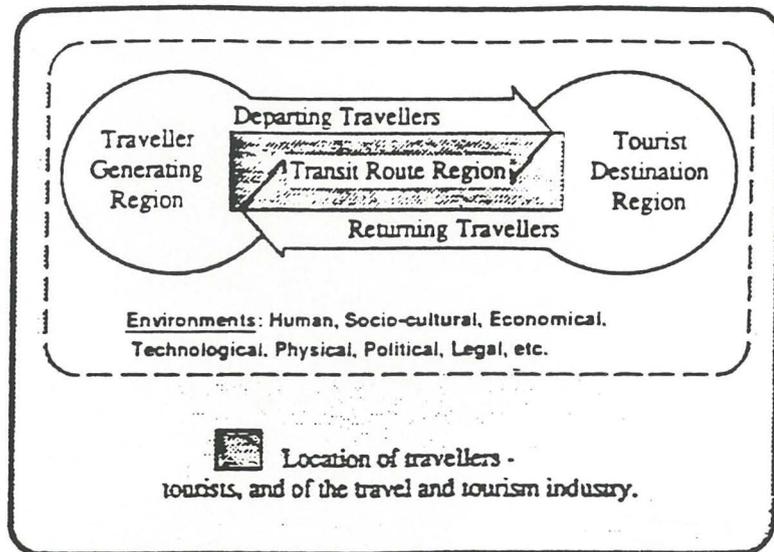
Figure 2.2   A Basic Tourism System

who are travellers, who later might be counted or regarded as tourists. Other components operate later in the system, in destination regions, with customers who are likely to be regarded or counted as tourists. In effect, the two sets are parts of one industrial unit, a travel and tourism industry (14).

The interaction of these five elements is influenced by environmental factors, and the system (the five elements) in turn has impacts on various environments. In other words, tourism systems are <u>open systems</u>. The kinds of environments include human, socio-cultural, economic, political, legal, technological and physical.

So in the example, **a tourism system** can be identified comprising all five elements suggested above: **a tourist** (Schmidt); **a traveller generating region** (Bonn); two **tourist destination regions** (Paris and the Costa Brava); several **transit routes** (the roads used between Bonn and the Costa Brava and back again, including any brief stopover points); and units in **the travel and tourism industry** (the information office in Germany, hotels in France and Spain, plus any other industrial resources used, assuming in this case that those units were industrially linked).

Environmental interactions can easily be inferred. For instance presumably there was a monetary loss to the German economy and gains to France and Spain, represented by the money Schmidt earned in Germany and spent during his trip. Other environmental consequences might also be assumed. The system and its environments are modelled diagrammatically in Figure 1.

Using The Model

Models can represent specific systems, named by referring to the geographical dimensions. The example above is a Bonn-Paris-Costa Brava tourism system, in which the first place is the generating region and the others are destination regions in sequence. Or in international terms, less precisely, it can be described as a Germany-France-Spain tourism system. For describing international examples, countries rather than regions are sometimes more suitable descriptors although in essence, the geography of tourism systems is based on regional rather than national units.

A feature of this type of model is its geographic symbolism. The diagram can be imagined as an overlay on a map, representing an itinerary. Another feature is

its adaptability, because it can be applied to any similarly structured systems. Thus, the Germany-France-Spain system has the same framework as Japan-Australia-New Zealand: a generating country and two destination countries.

Every country (and theoretically at least, every region within countries) functions as a traveller generator and as a tourist destination and as part of transit routes. The fact that some regions and countries generate more travellers and host more tourists than others is irrelevant to the conceptual framework of the system. While the first example (Figure 1) involved two destination regions, in practice a trip might have any number. Trips with one destination region are probably most common. However many trips include two destinations and a few include dozens. A model with multiple destinations and transit routes can be imagined.

Thus the model can be used for studies framed from the perspective of any element. The most common is from the perspective of a country or region in its role as a destination. Henshall and Robert's (1985) study of New Zealand as a destination in relation to several travel generating countries, incorporating a portfolio or product / market matrix analysis, is one example. Another perspective is from the perspective of a country or region in its role as generator, with alternative destinations represented. That seems useful for travel marketers, such as travel agencies and tour wholesalers.

Besides its use for representing named empirical systems, the model can also be used as a theoretical construct for general analysis and discussion. A simple model is adequate for basic theories, a model containing only one destination and one transit route, besides one generator. This is shown in Figure 2, which depicts all five elements and their environments.

The model, as a general systems framework, is also useful for interdisciplinary studies of tourism. It integrates in a simple form the topical components around which each discipline (Geography, Psychology, Economics, Management, etc.) can play its part in research or educational programs. The model is not framed in a way that favours any particular discipline, leading to a biased or blinkered appreciation of the field. Rather, it shows how their contributions can be organized to form a cohesive understanding of the otherwise complex subject matter. The twin functions of the system and the various disciplines was implied in a comment of Quine's: "A good scientific theory is under tension from two opposing forces: the drive for evidence and the drive for system ... If either were unchecked by the

other, it would issue in something unworthy ... In one case a mere record of observations, and in the other a myth without foundations" (Quine 1981:90). The systemic model provides the foundations; each of the disciplines provides the basis for (scholarly) evidence about aspects of the inputs, structures, processes and outcomes of the systems.

How Tourism Systems Are Created

All the advertising imaginable, accompanied by the most glowing recommendations, cannot make New Zealand or any other country a tourist destination. Beautiful scenery and hospitable people cannot. Business firms and governments, even with powerful industrial links to tourists, cannot create a tourism system. To understand why this is so is to grasp an essential principle about tourism systems and systems in general.

In an article titled "A Logic of Systems" Angyal (1969) provides the key to this argument, where the analysis distinguishes relationships and systems. The elements forming a system ...

"... do not become constituents of the system by means of their immanent qualities, but by means of their distribution or arrangement within the system ... (The elements) are, from the holistic viewpoint, not significantly connected with each other except with reference to the whole" (Angyal 1969:20-2, parentheses added).

Relationship thinking views the world in linear connections. A country has remarkable scenery; it is featured in advertising overseas; tourists are motivated to visit. Therefore the country seems to be a tourist destination because of its immanent qualities, and if these are sufficiently advertised and supported with suitable facilities, the (immanent) destination will become more popular.

Systems thinking indicates that the catalyst is the tourist who, preparing for a trip, creates an embryonic tourism system. When they travel, the system is formed by the consequential interaction of elements, not from any immanent attributes of the person or the places or the business organisations. Tourism, the activity of tourists, is the interactive factor, the "one distinguishing principle that connects the elements" Jordan (1981:24). A country only performs the role of tourist destination if and when at least one tourist visits. Similar logic applies to all the other elements

in the system. Industrial forces and other factors are only <u>indirectly</u> involved in that role creation. These might however be highly influential, especially advertising and other marketing from the industry and recommendations about places to visit passed on between acquaintances.

History, in addition to conventional ways of thinking, clouds perception of the principle that tourism systems are created by tourists, that nothing else is directly involved. For centuries successive flows of travellers have been tripping between regions and countries, and therefore places seem to be established travel generators, transit points and tourist destinations. And in one sense they are established, for many flows have remarkably stable qualities. Pearce (1987:54-60) has discussed that stability, drawing on empirical studies. But to retain that state, the flows must continue, the systems must be re-created continuously.

Regional Scale

The principle that a region can function in all geographical roles was mentioned above. For instance the Manawatu Region of New Zealand is a travel generator when local residents depart for trips to other places, and it is a tourist destination when tourists from other places choose to visit. It is also a point on transit routes, for travellers passing through. In effect, this represents different tourism systems, overlapping and intersecting in spatial terms.

How large are the regional elements? Two ways of indicating their boundaries seem appropriate, with the principles applicable to both destination and generating regions. In physical terms, the boundary of each region in these systems is the limit of its day tripping range. A person wanting to travel beyond the day tripping range from their home axiomatically needs to stay away for at least one night, creating a tourism system. A visitor to a place who wants to travel to another place beyond the day tripping range from their temporary residence must travel to another temporary residence, extending the system into an extra destination region. The day tripping distance might vary from case to case, from person to person.

In psychological terms, the boundary of each region is determined by each traveller's perception. Observational evidence suggests that often the scope measured in this way is close to the day tripping range. In psychological terms, a traveller generating region extends to the limits of the region around a person's normal home residence where they feel familiar; a touristic trip beyond means

going into <u>relatively</u> unfamiliar territory. Likewise, a tourist destination region extends to the limits of the region around a tourist's temporary home which is perceived by that tourist as accessible for day trip excursions, expecting a regionally homogeneous environment.

How Many Systems Are There?

The number of actual whole tourism systems is huge, because every itinerary route followed by one or more tourists represents (and re-creates) a unique system. Worldwide in any year millions of systems are functioning, some with several million participating tourists and others with a dozen or less. From W.T.O. statistics examples at each end of the range can be drawn (15).

The Travel and Tourism Industry ... and Industries

Systems concepts encourage new ways of thinking about the travel and tourism industry. A common way of recognizing "a tourism industry" is from the perspective of a region or country as a tourist destination, so people speak of "Bali's tourism industry" for example, meaning businesses and other resources in Bali that promote and support the island's role as a tourist destination. But in systems terms that is myopic because what is called "Bali's tourism industry" is not always a whole industry, but in a real sense is only the destination end of a great many travel and tourism industries that share the use of Bali as a tourist destination. That analysis is not merely academic; it precisely reflects how business people in travel agencies, tour wholesalers, airlines and other organisations <u>outside</u> Bali think and act.

The travel and tourism industries can be regarded as <u>sub-systems</u> of whole tourism systems. The industrial structures begin in traveller generating regions, from where travellers set off on trips that include (in this example) Bali as a tourist destination. That condition applies when a traveller visits a travel agency in their home country to arrange a trip to Bali. The industrial system continues along transit routes, comprising airlines services and stopover accommodation and extends into destination regions, comprising (in this case) such things as resort hotels, performances of the Ramayana, and local tour operators taking customers to craft shops and the ceremonial cremations for which Bali is famous.

So in actuality there are millions of industrial sub-systems promoting and supporting activities in millions of tourism systems. Both types of systems are

dispersed together in criss-cross patterns around countries and around the globe. From any large volume generating region (any large city with a high standard of living) tourism systems go out to (and back from) hundreds or thousands of destination regions. From any large volume tourist destination region, tourism systems come in from hundreds or thousands of generating regions.

Such variety can create major problems for investors, entrepreneurs and managers. It may, also, underlie certain problems for tourists, such as the problem of deciding where to go in the face of a multitude of options.

For managers in most industries, a pervading problem underlying a range of superficial concerns is proliferating variety. It is the basic problem behind two crucial functions of any management system, planning and controlling. The present writer has discussed this aspect of management elsewhere (Leiper 1989a). The variety problems associated with the management of tourism seem distinctive; the issue is taken up later, in a section of Chapter 11.

Sectors of the Industry

Because the travel and tourism industry embraces different types of organisations, it can be divided into sectors, a systematic way of clarifying the composition. This is a common practice, used for convenience when referring to different types of business within this industry. No standard or official methods need be followed. Examples are seen in published directories (used in travel agencies especially) which are divided into sections containing lists of retail travel agents, wholesalers, inbound tour operators and so on. Depending on the detail desired, the number of classifications used might range from three to twenty or more. Sector analysis by main function seems the most appropriate, although there are blurred distinctions. A seven-sector analysis is used here.

The Marketing Sector comprises all the marketing specialist units in the industry. Retail and wholesale travel agents, other travel retailers such as airlines' sales offices, and promotional branches of N.T.Os and R.T.Os (16) are prominent examples. The sector's major operations are in traveller generating regions, where the industry's most important promotion, advertising, publicity and selling activities are situated. Those are the places where people make decisions and arrangements about trips before they set out, which is why they are the industry's primary market places.

The Carrier Sector comprises all the public transportation specialists, whose operations are mainly along transit routes, but extend into generating and destination regions. Airlines, bus and coach lines, car rental and railways might be included, depending on the individual business unit's industrial strategies.

The Accommodation Sector provides temporary lodging and related services such as food, mainly in destination regions but also at points in transit. Included are most motels, hotels, resorts, camping parks, traveller hostels and other forms.

The Attractions Sector is made up of business units that specialize in providing a focus of leisure experiences for tourists. Its major location is in destination regions, but it plays a part at stopover points in some transit routes. Theme parks, entertainment, sporting and cultural events and facilities indicate the sorts of units in this sector. In destinations where free inherent resources valued by visitors are lacking, industrialized sites and events (commonly termed "artificial attractions") are relatively more important.

The Tour Operator Sector comprises business firms that assemble packaged or inclusive tours, by selecting two or more components and marketing them as a unit, at a price that disguises or hides the costs of the components. The function might include conducting the tourists personally, individually or in groups. These packages are pre-assembled in standardized formats, anticipating demand. The components are most commonly transport and accommodation. The sector's activities are concentrated in destination regions and along transit routes. Some tour operators provide system-wide products, beginning and ending in generating regions, while others are confined to a single destination region. A firm conducting day tours for visitors is in the latter category.

The Miscellaneous Sector takes in souvenir and duty free shops, restaurants with industrialized links to tourism, travel units from the insurance industry, travellers cheques units from the banking industry, and other items. It operates in all geographical elements.

The Coordinating Sector includes certain units within governmental tourism agencies, within industry associations, and within regional tourism associations. Its main location is in destinations, because the typical concerns of these organisations are developing a particular country or region in that role. By planning and other

managerial functions, these units attempt to improve the coordination of all sectors of the industry for the benefit of a specific destination. At the transnational level, the coordinating sector is found in units within organisations such as W.T.O. and P.A.T.A. (Pacific Asia Travel Association). Transnational bodies are more inclined to take systems-wide perspectives, rather than focus on destinations.

Most firms and companies are active in only one sector, but multiple sector involvement is common. For instance some retail travel agencies are also tour operators or wholesalers, and most airline companies have divisions active as travel retailers and, in some cases, tour operators. Larger corporate groups are often active in several sectors, following a policy of vertical integration. Airline companies' investments in hotels, a trend in many parts of the world in the 1970s, are one example.

The sector description set out above is theoretical. In practice, to identify the structure of this industry one must discover whether these (or other) kinds of organisations are present in a given tourism system. In many cases of international tourism systems at present, all seven sectors can be found. But in many domestic tourism systems, involving trips entirely within a tourist's home country, the roles of some industrial sectors indicated above may be negligible or absent. In other words in practice there is no standard format of a travel and tourism industry. Instead, business organisations may emerge and form this industry in any tourism system where favourable conditions for industrial development are found.

ENVIRONMENTAL FACTORS

Tourism systems, the arrangements of five elements, are open systems. That is, they interact with broader environments such as economic, socio-cultural, technological, political, legal, and physical environments. Saying that the system "interacts" with environments implies a two way process. First, environmental factors influence the structure and performance of tourism systems. For example, countries where the economy produces surplus income and wealth tend to generate large quantities of outbound travellers who become tourists elsewhere. Likewise, modern societies have as a cultural norms the idea of going on a holiday trip, and this also shapes the volume and characteristics of travel generation. At the opposite end of the system, countries with fine scenery and pleasant climates have physical environments that favour those countries' roles as tourist destinations.

Second, tourism systems have consequences or impacts on environments. A place that is visited by large numbers of tourists, that becomes a popular tourist destination, tends to exhibit changes in its economic, social and physical environments as a consequence. These may be beneficial or detrimental, depending on circumstances.

In summary, the openness of tourism systems, their interactions with environments, is where the causes and the effects of the system's processes can be found. The primary causes are in traveller generating regions, where trip motivations and other pre-trip causal factors arise. The most dramatic effects are at the other end of the system, in tourist destination regions, where economic and other changes can be seen. Chapter 10 takes up the environmental topic in more detail.

CONCLUSIONS

This Chapter has set out a discussion on foundation topics concerning the study of tourism. Intentionally, the presentation has been theoretical, setting out a series of concepts and principles that can be applied in further studies on the subject. Three sets of meanings were identified for "tourists". Examples of each set were given, and the separate applications of the sets were emphasized. Several meanings that various writers have given to "tourism" were analysed, and most were rejected as misleading. Tourism is, in essence, not a market, not an industry, not a system, but the ideas or ideologies of tourists and the behaviour of people in touristic roles.

. Tourism gives rise to tourism systems. A tourism system has five elements: at least one tourist (human element); three geographical elements, being separate places in roles of travel generator, transit route and tourist destination; and an industrial element, the travel and tourism industry. Tourists are the catalyst, that create the system. When someone sets off on a trip, places assume their roles in tourism systems and the travel and tourism industry may become productive. Unless that happens, places are only potentially involved in tourism and organisations in the business of providing services to travellers-tourists are only able to offer a service capability, not productive servicing.

The phrase "Tourism System" has two linked meanings. It can refer to a real (empirical) system (eg "New Zealand-Australia", or "Auckland-Queenstown",

etc.). And it can refer to the theoretical ideas about tourism systems in the abstract (eg "most tourists these days are motivated more by socio-psychological factors arising in TGRs than by cultural and educational factors associated with the features of TDRs"). Convenient abbreviations have emerged: TGR = traveller generating region; TDR = tourist destination region. In practice, tourism systems overlap and intertwine within each country and across the globe. And along the geographical spectrum of each system is its industrial element or sub-system, the travel and tourism industry.

Many who have thought about tourism-related issues have, to some extent, however vaguely and imprecisely, thought in terms of tourism systems. In lay persons' thinking, usually the systemic concepts are implicit and imprecise. What the preceding discussion has attempted to do is provide a way of making that kind of thinking explicit and formalized, and to set out a more detailed framework and analysis, appropriate for scholarly work.

This Chapter has provided a foundation for the ones that follow. Each of them uses the same general model of tourism systems as a basis against which particular topics associated with tourism can be investigated.

NOTES

1. Evidence for the emergence of a specialized academic subject includes specialist scholarly journals. The first focussing on tourism was The Tourist Review, begun in 1946. Several years passed before the next surviving journals were established: Annals of Tourism Research, commencing in 1974, and Tourism Management in 1980. Others have appeared since.

   Other evidence is university courses. Massey University has conducted undergraduate courses in tourism (offered as elective papers to accompany several degree majors) since 1978. This was the first university in Australasia to teach the subject. By 1990 there were similar courses in four New Zealand universities and in six (at least) in Australia.

   Extra evidence is graduate research. Jafari and Aaser's (1988) research found that an estimated total of 24 doctoral theses on tourism had been presented in accredited universities in the U.S.A. and Canada between 1951 and 1969, increasing to a further 133 for the period 1970 to 1987. The growth may be notable, but the total is minuscule compared with many other subjects or topics.

2. Pre-packaged tour arrangements, including transport and other components, existed in medieval times according to Sumption's (1975) research into pilgrimage. Thomas Cook's packaged products were the first to use modern transport, the first packaged tours of the modern era.

3. A total of 70 to 100 million per year might seem large, but relative to the world population it represents only about 2%. This supports the assertion that international tourism today remains the (almost) exclusive practice of relatively wealthy persons.

4. "Touristy" usually seems to carry disparaging connotations: inferior aspects of persons, places, objects and events associated with tourism in some way. "Touristic" on the other hand often seems to mean merely associated with tourists, without any pejorative sense.

5. An exception would be leisure activities in one's home garden.

6. The technical definitions are identical in the two countries, although the surveys (and their reports) go under different titles: in New Zealand the Domestic Travel Survey and in Australia, the Domestic Tourism Monitor.

7. The Rome Conference was organised via the United Nations by the I.U.O.T.O. (International Union of Official Travel Organisations), a loose association of diverse groups from several countries. One outcome of the Conference was that I.U.O.T.O. was disbanded and replaced by the W.T.O. (World Tourism Organisation). W.T.O. members are all official tourism departments (or statutory organisations) of national governments, and W.T.O. is thus able to be an official part of the United Nations group of organisations: I.O.U.T.O. lacked that status and had limited influence as a result. More than 100 nations have W.T.O. membership.

8. A footnote can explain what the data includes, but that might only compound the problem, by not explaining why the scope is so broad. Moreover, explaining why might compound the problem further.

9. In the 1970s several regional tourism organisations in Australia lobbied to have the official technical definition for "tourist" widened, to take in day-trip visitors to any place (Hansard: H.R. Select Committee on Tourism, Reports of Hearings 1977-8). A prominent case was the Department of Tourism in the Australian Capital Territory. If all the day trips to Canberra made by its hinterland's residents (many of whom go to the city frequently for diverse reasons) were counted as "tourist arrivals", the apparent significance of Canberra as a tourist destination and the apparent value of the Department of Tourism would be boosted hugely!

10. Jafari's statement may be a useful summary of the principal themes followed by contemporary academic researchers interested in tourism, but as a definition it may be rather loosely phrased. "Man away from his usual habitat" ignores questions of purpose, yet trips for certain purposes would never be associated with tourism.

11. An example might clarify this point. A guest in a resort hotel eating his normal breakfast (corn flakes and coffee) is not behaving in a touristic manner. His companion who departs from her routine and orders indigenous food for breakfast can be described as behaving in a touristic mode: she, presumably, regards the indigenous food as a tourist attraction, perceiving a match between a feature of the place she is visiting and her personal leisure-related needs.

12. The Society for General Systems Research was founded in 1954 by Bertalanffy (a biologist), Kenneth Boulding (economist), Anatol Rapaport (biomathematician) and Ralph Gerard (physiologist). Today the Society's journal is Behavioral Science.

13. Schmidt's qualifications as a very representative tourist are his country of residence (Germany) and his country of main destination (Spain). In recent years Germany has been the world's major generator of international travellers, by a large margin over the U.S.A. and Spain has been the world's major destination for international tourist arrivals, by a small margin over Italy. Thus, about 5 million trips were made annually in the 1980s by residents of Germany visiting Spain, as reported in various W.T.O. bulletins.

14. The word sequence signifies that "travellers" become "tourists" during their trips, when they are counted and / or popularly regarded as tourists. Likewise, the process often involves the two sub-industries known by the two labels.

Another reason for the double-barrelled phrase is that it conveniently overcomes any negative connotations that might be inferred by simply referring to a "tourist". There may be commercial sense in that policy adopted by certain business organisations. A few cases however have a certain farcical quality, such as brochures for conducted group arrangements stating they are "not for tourists" under a brand name Trek Europa Adventure Tours for 20 to 38 year olds (issued 1985).

15. The largest flows are noted above (Note #13). The smallest international tourism systems, in terms of tourists' quantities, may be those with Burkina Fasso as destination country. In 1983 its arrivals included one person from Greece and two from Australia. The Department of Tourism in Burkina Fasso apparently provides minutely detailed data for the international travel and tourism industry but this does not seem to have stimulated large inflows from certain quarters.

16. N.T.O. is a commonly used acronym for national tourism organisation, usually a government sponsored one such as the New Zealand Tourism Department; R.T.O. is the regional equivalent.

CHAPTER 3 : THE BUSINESS OF TOURISM AND

THE PARTIAL INDUSTRIALIZATION OF TOURISM SYSTEMS:

A MANAGEMENT PERSPECTIVE

INTRODUCTION

The business of tourism and the tourism(t) industry are twin ideas that recur in the literature. For many writers the tourism-industry link is axiomatic; they regard tourism as an industry and they are prone to remark that it is one of the largest and fastest growing in the country / world. Other writers, more sceptical and analytical, argue that there is in fact no discrete tourism industry but that a diverse collection of separate industries meets the needs and wants of tourists.

This Chapter presents a disinterested investigation of the premises behind that issue. What is the business of tourism? What is a tourism industry? Is there one? In other words, is tourism an industrialized phenomenon? And, if so, is it necessarily wholly-industrialized? What are the implications? To answer such questions will involve underlying general questions: what is a line of business? what is an industry?

In the literature on tourism, few writers have given close attention to any of those questions. Rather, usually a tourism-industry(ies) link has been assumed, or briefly sketched as background for studies on other issues such as environmental impacts of tourism. An exception was in Leiper (1979,1980) where the question of a tourism industry was considered in some depth, leading to a finding that a tourism industry is a realistic concept, but that in practice this industry is not so large, in many tourism systems, as expenditures and other activities of tourists might indicate; the difference was explained in terms of "partial industrialization". Formulating that notion drew on concepts from economics. In the present study, business disciplines such as management and marketing management, as well as systems concepts, will also be used, and findings from empirical research will be noted. In combination, these provide a stronger base for a theory of partial industrialization.

Proposing that tourism is partially-industralized is radical in two senses: departing from conventional ideas about tourism, but reflecting root concepts from the literature in several disciplines dealing with the fundamental issues of business

and industry. In brief, the proposition that tourism systems are partially-industrialized (to varying degrees) refers to a condition where some of the organisations directly supplying services and goods to tourists are in the travel and tourism industry (1) and some are not. Empirically, the condition can only be identified by examining the managerial policies and activities of particular organisations. The conventional concept of a tourism industry uses a different perspective, an aggregated demand-side view, observing what tourists do and assuming that all the (unexamined) organisations they deal with are in the business and industry of tourism. Supply-side dissagregated analyses reveal that some are, many are not, so the travel and tourism industry is, in many places, smaller than demand side measurements would indicate.

Arranged under four substantive main headings, the discussion below begins with a section where two widely-held ideas about the tourism industry are reviewed, and rejected. The basis for an alternative, intermediate position is set out in the second section, which presents a new construct for "industry". A third section shows how this can be applied to dissect the supply side of a tourism system into an industrial element and non-industrialized items. A fourth section discusses the consequences of partial industrialization.

The theory of partial industrialization provides an insight to the evolution of travel and tourism industries, adding a dimension to Noronha's (1979) widely-quoted model. Partial industrialization also suggests a new policy approach useful for tourism boosters, for concerned environmentalists and, especially, for clarifying basic issues in government tourism policy. It also indicates a source of difficulties with the management of tourism, for variations in levels of industrialization in a tourism system can be shown to correspond with variations in who actually does the managing. Partial industrialization also clarifies a problem faced by educational institutions with vocational training programs for the travel and tourism industry.

A by-product of the theoretical research for the study presented in this Chapter has been the identification of a field of management relating to an industry rather than organisations within an industry. The literature does not specifically recognize industrial management in this sense, so the issue, representing an extension of the large quantity of research which has recently appeared on inter-organisational networks, may amount to a contribution to management literature.

CONVENTIONAL ASSUMPTIONS AND CLAIMS

Most writers on tourism share an explicit or implied notion that they are discussing an industrialized phenomenon. They disagree, however, as to whether there is one industry or many in the picture. Those two opinions are reviewed below.

One Ubiquitous Industry?

A belief that a discrete and ubiquitous tourism industry exists stems from observing how tourists' expenditures and other activities touch virtually all sectors of the economy. All the suppliers are said to be part of a tourism industry, to the extent of their dealings with tourists. The concept can be labelled "ubiquitous" because it perceives bits of the industry everywhere, in virtually all parts of the economy. Among academic writers, Burkart (1981a, 1981b) and Stephen Smith (1988, 1989) have been forceful advocates of this notion, but a great many writers on tourism have adopted it. Smith expressed its basis in the following manner:

> Consider your last vacation. You may have purchased a travel book from a local bookseller and read about a new resort that appealed to you. You booked a reservation at the resort through a travel agent and reserved an airline seat at the same time. While waiting for your departure date, you bought new luggage and resort clothing. When the departure date arrived, you called a local taxi company to get a ride to the airport and then rented a car at the other end. While on the trip you ate at local restaurants, danced in local clubs, bought local crafts, and visited some attractions. You purchased gasoline for your rental car and picked up a few sundries at a drugstore. You may even have visited a clinic for treatment of sunburn. Part way through your trip you called home to tell everyone how wonderful the vacation was ... You made tourism-related purchases from a bookstore, a travel agent, three different commercial transportation companies, an accommodation establishment, several food service operations, different retail shops, a medical clinic, and a telecommunications business... In addition to these direct providers of tourism commodities, one can identify other types of organisations and firms that help support the tourism industry (Smith 1989:10).

Many books used as references in academic courses advance the same notion, widely held in governmental departments and business organisations interested in tourism. A report summarized it in a way that would find wide concurrence:

> **The tourism industry is defined, not in terms of the production of particular types of goods and services, but in terms of the circumstances in which goods and services are consumed. Thus the sale of a particular good or service to a tourist is counted as "tourist expenditure" while the sale of the same good or service to a local resident is not. As a result of this difference in concept, the tourist industry overlaps the usual classification of industries defined according to the goods and services they produce (Treasury Department 1977:1,212).**

Thus, if tourists spend $100 or $100 million in some place during the course of a day or a year, the tourism industry in that place is said to have earned revenue of those sums, and is said to comprise all the direct recipients of the revenue, the suppliers of the goods and services.

What can be said of this idea?

If "an industry" is understood to be nothing more than an identifiable sector of the economy, and its measurement nothing more than an indication of the value to the macro economy, the idea has utility. If however, this concept is extended to other meanings, it may be misleading. For example, claiming that a tourism industry is larger than another industry is ambiguous if the claim derives from the concept set out above. To compare the size of a tourism industry defined to include bits of other industries, with the sizes of those other industries, is hardly a meaningful comparison, especially when different methods are used for the two measurements.

Practical problems arise if the concept is extended to assumptions or assessments about how this "industry" is managed (how it is planned, coordinated, controlled, etc.), and how it should be managed to achieve desirable outcomes for society, such as positive benefits for the economy and minimal damage to environments. Yet this is precisely what many people attempt, in assumptions about a "tourism industry" behind advice offered to business associations and governments. Whether or not an industry exists in any real manageable sense is not

really considered. In Australia and New Zealand, hundreds of reports from management consultants (based in the commercial world and universities) have been presented to governments that brush over these underlying questions (2).

A common sense approach can point to a problem in this ubiquitous industry concept. Some organisations supplying services or goods to tourists seem to be purposefully and routinely involved in doing business with tourists (eg tour operators, resort hotels, airlines, travel agents, etc.). Other organisations supplying tourists seem to be doing so passively or incidentally (eg typical small general shops, department stores, restaurants, etc.). The former category suggests common sense notions of industry in relation to tourists ("purposeful, routine") which the latter category lacks. In the latter category, some customers just happen to be tourists. Certainly both categories help form the economic environment for tourism, but the former category seems to have a more elementary role, seemingly more that of an industrial element.

The difference can only be known from examining how particular organisations are managed. For example a particular organization with tourists amongst its customers, such as a shop or a restaurant, might be in the business of tourism, might have an industrial role in tourism systems. This will only be apparent from a disaggregated supply-side view: it cannot be assumed from aggregated demand side data (3). To imagine that tourists themselves determine the size and boundaries of a "tourism industry" by wandering around spending money in otherwise unconnected establishments is, therefore, nothing but imagination. It is analogous to noticing green-eyed people amongst shoppers in the butchers, bakers and candlestick makers and inferring that a "green-eyed people industry" exists.

In theory, there are several intertwined errors of principle behind the concept of a discrete, ubiquitous tourism industry.

One is the assumption that an industry's existence and scope are determined by some arbitrary collection of customers. A related theoretical error is "the use of a single construal for paradigm development (creating) the very problem it is trying to alleviate" (Oliva and Reidenbach 1987:136, after Arndt 1985). Tourists' expenditures and other activities might be construed as a dimension of a market, of an industry, and so on. But using a single construal to imply a paradigm (ie the construct of an industry) is risky. The activities of tourists may be construed to

reflect a "tourism industry" only if the construal and the paradigm to which it refers are existentially related. This error occurs in confusing two things that might be measured, assuming them to be equal: expenditures of tourists and revenues - representing the scope and size - of a tourism industry. In a wholly-industrialized condition, the two measurements would have the same value (4).

A further error of principle is the assumption that one industry can be defined by unique criteria, different from all other industries. But conceptually, every industry must be similar, if we are to talk meaningfully of an industry, if "industry" is to have any meaning and acceptance beyond an inner circle of initiates who understand unique jargon. And in practice, external acceptance of "the tourism industry", beyond the inner circle committed to tourism interests, is what members of that inner circle really want. They want governments and other sections of the business and wider community to recognize their industry. Evidence for that observation can be found in many countries, in press statements from tourism interests and in their submissions to governments. A substantial body of evidence can be found in dozens of submissions to a parliamentary enquiry (Hansard, Select Committee on Tourism 1977,1978).

Why is there this preoccupation with "an industry"? Is it more than an academic issue?

Discussing economic policy, Horne (1976) and, in more detail, Drake and Nieuwenhuysen (1988) have suggested a reason which has a practical basis. In contemporary capitalist economies, the formation of governmental policies revolves very much around claims from each interest group in the business world, claims from competing factions for finite governmental resources, to represent an economically significant "industry". It is a revered and powerful symbol in the culture of economic management, especially since "industry" is now a term applying comprehensively, to primary, secondary and tertiary parts of the economy. This might help explain why the tourism interests have framed their notion of "tourism industry" very broadly - to encompass a wide sweep of economic activity, to make their industry seem larger and thus relatively important. In other words, the notion seems to have a persuasive origin, for use in public relations aimed at governments and the wider business community. In that kind of public relations exercise, presenting reality and truth is frequently irrelevant and may be a hindrance.

Criticisms set out above about the concept of a ubiquitous tourism industry have not stated anything definitive about "business" or "industry". The rejection of the concept, except for a very narrow meaning, has not required that much precision.

The Sceptics' Response: A Collection of Separate Industries

Claims about a single industry of tourism could be criticized for reflecting idiosyncratic dogma rather than generally accepted theories about industries. Not surprisingly therefore, the literature on tourism contains opinions opposing the dogma, a body of opinion that could be called the sceptics' response. Several writers have queried the existence of a tourism industry, pointing out that the organisations providing services and goods to tourists are too diverse to constitute a single industry. An American study refers to "a collection of industries, enterprises, resources and attractions (and concludes that) ... although tourism has assumed major economic proportions, an industry in the literal sense has never materialized" (Kaiser and Helber 1978:4-5, parenthesis added). A British work refers to "a large variety of trades and industries" associated with tourism (Lickorish and Kershaw 1958:2), a view that Lickorish - long time chief executive of Britain's official tourism organisation - reiterated in a later book (Jefferson and Lickorish 1988). A consultant to the United Nations observed that "there is strictly speaking no such thing as a tourism industry, analogous to industries as normally understood. Instead, tourists purchase goods and services from a variety of industries" (de Kadt 1979:x). A later writer reinforced the point: "Strictly speaking there is no such thing as a tourism industry and what goes under that appellation is a wide assortment of industries" (Kaul 1985:22). Similar opinions have been advanced by Gunn (1980), Mill and Morrison (1985) and others. Mill tells of another American professor whose lectures contain the remark that "tourism involves a collection of businesses in search of an industry" (pers. comm.). This might seem cynical, but it is perceptive.

The dogmatists attempt to counter the sceptics by describing the tourism industry as "fragmented", or as "an unorganized industry" (Smith 1989:12). The "fragmented" descriptor is heard frequently at conferences where representatives from tourism-related organisations gather to discuss mutual interests. They remark that many business organisations deriving income from tourists are never present at those meetings, are unwilling to join industry federations, and that those outsiders are the "fragmented" parts of the tourism industry.

So is there a tourism industry or is the notion a misleading abstraction, from observations about macroeconomic activity? Flaws in the dogma have been identified. But arguably the sceptics are wrong too. They have, to use an apt metaphor, thrown out the baby with the bathwater. Arguments advanced by both schools, the "dogmatists" and the "sceptics", can be appraised in the light of ideas about markets, business and industry. Accordingly, a background discussion on these concepts is required, and follows. This seems to be lacking in the works by Burkart (1981a,1981b), Stephen Smith (1988), Kaiser and Helber (1978) and others who have formed either one view or the other, the dogma or the sceptics' response.

MARKETS, BUSINESS AND INDUSTRY

Markets and Non-Markets

Jefferson and Lickorish (1988), Kaul (1985) and others have suggested that tourism, the activity of tourists, is a market. However, the literature on both economics and marketing provides grounds for contrary arguments: the activities of tourists might form markets or market segments, or might be outside any market. And the existence of a market (or market segment) is a necessary condition for business activities. Real markets involve transactions between parties where there is an exchange of property rights (Bain and Howells 1988:4-8). The rights are either to ownership (goods purchased) or to temporary use (services). Some activities of tourists occur without any such transactions: they involve what economists call "public goods". Many public facilities that are typically available at no cost to the users because property rights cannot be attached to the use of the amenity are examples of public goods widely and intensely used by tourists: roads, street lighting, displays and historic monuments in public places, etc. Further, all sorts of natural phenomena are important features in tourists' experiences (beaches, lakes, nature reserves, public parks, sunshine, etc.) and these too are kinds of "public goods". People using public goods are not customers; there are no markets in the strict sense, therefore no real business activities. Suggestions have been made to convert certain public goods used by large numbers of tourists into market-based services. Buckingham Palace was the centre of one such suggestion (5).Besides public goods, there are also private facilities that many tourists use to some degree. The use of private holiday houses, private vehicles for transport

during a vacation trip, and privately owned sporting and recreational equipment, are examples. The original acquisition of these things may have involved market transactions, but their use in tourism can be without such involvements. Marketing theorists refer to all of these activities as "non-market" (Gronhaug and Dholakia 1987). However in recent years there has been increasing use of the expression "market" (referring to the users of public goods) by the administrators of certain types of public goods, part of a trend of drawing on ideas from marketing, which are useful analogies for administrative purposes. In practice, many activities of most tourists do involve market transactions in the strict sense: the most obvious are when tourists pay a price for services or goods. But assuming that all tourism is market based is erroneous, and it can lead to misleading assumptions about business and industrial issues.

A more precise way of thinking about aggregated touristic activities is not in terms of "markets" but in terms of "flows", "stocks" or "populations". The term "market" would thus be restricted to conditions when all the members of the tourist population do in fact comprise a market for a specific (type of) organisation. A "tourist market" is, in general, a portion of a larger tourist population, flow or stock.

The Business of Tourism

The literature on management (and marketing management) has given close attention to the question of defining lines of business. Drucker (1955,1968) was a pioneer thinker on the topic:

> Nothing may seem simpler or more obvious than to answer what a company's business is ... Indeed the question looks so simple it is seldom raised, the answer so obvious it is seldom given. Actually, "what is our business?" is almost always a difficult question which can only be answered after hard thinking and studying. And the right answer is usually anything but obvious (Drucker 1968:66).

Levitt's (1960,1985) classic and works from writers such as Abell (1980) and McGowan (1986) have attempted to refine the theoretical constructs and demonstrate practicalities. Drawing on Abell (1980) in particular, a prescription is that a line of business represents a conscious effort of entrepreneurs and business managers which recognizes certain customer groups and/or customer functions and

leads to an organisation dealing with them in some distinctive way. A business organisation deals with a market by recognizing distinctive characteristics (of the market or its segments) and responding with an appropriate marketing mix, an appropriate blend of products (services and/or goods), promotion, price(s), and placement of distribution.

That model can be applied to show whether or not (or to what degree) certain organisations are in the business of tourism. It is a relatively simple model because "there is evidence that, in 'the real world', there may be other perceptions of controllable strategic marketing variables - beyond the 4 Ps" (Ellis 1987:31).

Arguably all tour operators are in the business of tourism. These organisations are managed to recognise certain customer groups/functions: people willing and able to buy pre-arranged touring facilities. Management responds with a mix of products (a range of pre-arranged tours, pre-arranged servicing capabilities that are usually represented symbolically in a tour brochure), promotional activities, distribution (which often involves stocks of brochures and booking vouchers sent to travel agents) and prices (set to match what the targeted customers will pay). Similar descriptions could be set out for several other kinds of organisations that are in the business of tourism.

In practice, following Drucker's point, to describe an organisation as being in the business of tourism might be too general, imprecise for guiding or understanding managerial policies and strategies in actual cases. More detailed descriptions of specific lines of tourist-related businesses are possible. For example, MacCannell (1976:163-4) showed how the tour operations of American Express and Thomas Cook were two distinct lines of tourism-orientated business. "The business of tourism" is a broad generic, useful for making broad observations.

However, many of the diverse organisations supplying goods and services to tourists in countries such as Australia and New Zealand in recent years are not in the business of tourism. They might have significant numbers of tourists amongst their customers, and be dependent on them to some extent, but might not be managed in ways that recognize tourists as a distinctive market or market segment for targeting by the organisation's marketing mix. Many small shops, department stores, restaurants outside hotels and popular resort zones, service stations, supermarkets and dozens of other kinds of enterprises are in this category.

Tourists as Market Segments?

If tourists are amongst the customers of many organisations, is it not a valid proposition to describe them as market segments? This has been strongly advocated by national and regional tourism associations, giving advice to commercial enterprises, wanting them to give more attention to tourism.

In principle, any collection of customers in a market might be viewed as a market segment, using virtually any criterion or combination of criteria to identify that collection: demographical, psychographical, geographical, usage rate, etc. Tourists or a sub-set of tourists are possible criteria. The practical question however is this: do tourists (or a sub-set) comprise a feasible market segment for a particular organisation? If not, the claim that the organisation is (or should be) in the business of tourism is based on an impractical perception. Managers would be using their organisation's resources uneconomically if they pursued that line of business.

Marketers have commonly agreed principles on this issue; Kotler (1980:308) would be widely accepted. Amending his set slightly, a collection of customers forms a feasible market segment for a given business organisation if: (i) their value as customers is such that the organisation should spend extra resources to deal with them as a discrete segment; and (ii) they can be readily identified, discerned from other members of the market; and (iii) they have some distinctive needs or other characteristic which should influence the marketing mix of the organisation, and (iv) they can be reached economically for promotional and distributive activities.

For many organisations, the problem about tourists is not that the tourist population in the market catchment area lacks value as potential customers. The problem more often may be that the tourists can be difficult to identify, which can be a major factor with domestic tourists and some national groups in the independent international visitor population. Or they might have no distinctive need or other characteristic relevant to the way the organisation goes about its business: a tourist wanting a tube of toothpaste or a loaf of bread is no different from a local resident wanting similar commodities from the point of view of the shopkeeper, so there may be no point in the shopkeeper spending extra resources to deal with tourists in a special way. Finally, in places where most tourists are independent, tourists in the market catchment area can be especially difficult to

reach efficiently for promotional and distributive activities. The case of The Summit Restaurant during the 1970s and early 1980s, discussed in Chapter 4, illustrates the market segmentation problem clearly.

The Summit consistently had large quantities of tourists amongst its diners; it may in fact have been one of the more popular restaurants for tourists in Sydney in that period. But it was not in the business of tourism, a point explicitly recognized by its management and a point which shaped the way it was managed. Meanwhile certain other restaurants in Sydney were managed with the tourist market specifically in mind, as one market segment, and in certain cases this proved uneconomical.

Certain organisations and certain types of organisation might seem, to outsiders at least, to be very much in the business of tourism, but research into how the enterprise is being managed reveals otherwise. The percentage of tourists in an organisation's market and the extent to which an organisation is dependent on them have no direct bearing on whether tourists form a market segment.

In practice, there are many organisations that are very much in the business of tourism and many others that are in that line of business to some extent, and many others that serve large numbers of tourists without being in the business of tourism in any substantial way at all.

What Is An Industry?

. In Chapter 2, a description of the travel and tourism industry was set out. The double-barrelled label was used to reflect the point that certain functions of this industry are commonly termed a "travel industry", situated in traveller generating and transit elements of a tourism system, while other functions are more commonly termed a "tourist(m) industry", situated in tourist destinations. The description indicated that these two arms normally function in tandem, representing a single industrial chain.

However, as Richardson (1972) remarked in an essay about industry in general, "a description of (characteristics of an industry) purports to do no more than exemplify the phenomenon" (ibid:886, parenthesis added), and he went on to observe that defining the concept required something more. That will be the concern of this section.

Leiper's (1979,1980) definition, influenced by the economist Nobbs (1975) did not differentiate between the twin concepts of **business** and **industry**, so the tourism industry was defined as "firms, organisations and facilities intended to serve the wants and needs of tourists" (Leiper 1979:400). Intention, by the service-provider, was the crucial factor in distinguishing a tourism industry from other suppliers of goods and services to tourists. In the present study, a wider range of disciplines (and a wider scope from the literature on industrial economics) will be applied to the topic.

The literature on industrial economics, and on management, organisation and marketing tends to agree that an industry is a collection of organizations (usually called "firms" by economists, often called "companies" by management writers). The question is, what collection?

Superficially, an industry may be perceived as a collection of organizations producing a similar line of goods or services (the steel industry, the dry cleaning industry, etc.). Economists observe how the products from different organizations may be homogeneous, substitutes to some extent, and this is reflected in most economists' concepts of industry. But there is no generally accepted definition of "industry" among economists; instead, "each economist defines an industry to suit his own problem at hand" (Awh 1976:264). This seems to be because the concept is not of elementary concern across the field of economics, but is merely a common background or environmental factor in research dealing with other issues, such as competition or efficiency. Accordingly, what most of the recent literature on economics perceives as the lines of demarcation for an industry are merely the superficial outcomes of an aspect of the economy with industrial characteristics.

Early in the 20th century however, two economists specialized in the study of industries, pioneering what has come to be termed industrial economics. For Alfred Marshall and his pupil D.H.Macgregor the question of what constitutes an industry was of fundamental interest. Marshall (1920, 1923) observed that industries are collections of firms that cooperate, collaborate, associate or combine in various ways. He went to some length to emphasize that this does not just refer to forms of collaboration that might exploit customers, such as cartels that might fix prices and reduce competition; the essential purpose of collaboration implied in Marshall's discussion is that it brings about effectiveness and efficiencies at the inter-firm level, at the level of an industry. Macgregor (1931) followed the same line. A key

factor of the Industrial Revolution, when modern forms of industries emerged, was the development of combinations between and amongst firms, linkages of several types: corporations, trusts and cartels plus other informal types. It is the combination of firms that comprises an industry, not the firms themselves.

Macgregor's thinking on this topic was greatly influenced by J.S. Mill, quoted frequently in The Evolution of Industry (Macgregor 1911, revised 1931):

> ... Mill, spite his strong sympathies towards every kind of industrial competition, refused to regard progress towards association as meaning the suppression of competition. It was only, in his view, a method of making mankind the master and not the servant of fundamental economic forces. The opposite of competition, in his view, is not association but monopoly ... Association is neutral between those two (Macgregor 1931:189).

And one of the many quotations from Mill in Macgegor's work...

> ...work is accomplished through the fact that each is able to rely with certainty on the others for the portion of the work which they respectively undertake: the ... capacity of cooperation (which) tends to improve with practice ...

is described as "a spectacular view of industrial progress" (ibid:11). Macgregor, perhaps with more detail than Marshall, argued that industrial combination was not in itself undesirable. "There is, in fact, always some degree of combination even between competing firms, apart from any deliberate desire to combine" (ibid:202). He then gives examples: geographic clustering of firms in the same or related lines of business to draw on shared public goods; other economies of place; insurance; and development opportunities from trade journals and informal associations among members of an industry. This led Macgregor to an interesting observation:

> Competition, therefore, works within the grip of a certain amount of combination, so that the remedy for the defects of industrial competition is to be sought by a fuller and more conscious force which is never entirely absent even from competitive industry (ibid:204).

Not many modern writers on economics appear to have followed that line of thinking. Indeed, it seems to have been ignored for some time by at least one

economist specializing in industry studies. Writing in The Economic Journal, Richardson (1972) opens an article titled "The Organisation of Industry" with the following admission:

> **I was once in the habit of telling pupils that firms might be envisaged as islands of planned co-ordination in a sea of market relations. This now seems to me a highly misleading account of the way in which industry is organised (Richardson 1972:883).**

Richardson gave an account of how economists' thinking had ignored the industry question (6) and proceeded to argue that an industry amounts to "a dense network of co-operation and affiliation by which firms are inter-related" (ibid). He set out a brief description of certain varieties of inter-firm (intra-industry) coordination and cooperation which exemplify the phenomenon.

A small number of modern writers on management have reinforced and elaborated the observations of Marshall and Macgregor. A prominent contributor to recent management thinking has reinforced the point that some kind of collaboration is essential by remarking that "an industry must be ... an interrelated system" (Porter 1980:200). Porter discussed fragmentation, seemingly the opposite of coordinated interrelationships, and observed that it stems from "blocks to consolidation" by companies active in some market, embryonic conditions that might lead in time to an industry forming. When an industry develops from that embryonic circumstance and comprises organizations forming "an inter-related system", to think of a "fragmented industry" or an "unorganized industry" would be a contradiction in terms. To the extent that business units are fragmented or uncoordinated there is no industry.

Why do organizations form into industries? Macgregor (1931), Richardson (1972) and Porter (1980) pointed to explanations, based on broad research. Other, more specific explanations are found in studies focussing on a sector of economic activity. For instance, Mintz (1985) wrote a history of sugar which includes a claim that modern industry evolved first in the Caribbean. To justify the controversial claim, Mintz had to show that definitive attributes of **industry** in the modern sense existed in 17th century plantation systems. He identified management-imposed "discipline" over the sugar field and mill as the first attribute: they had to be closely coordinated since "neither could be productive separately" (ibid:51). A second was the manner in which the labour force was managed. Third was time-

consciousness which "permeated all phases of plantation life and accorded well with the emphasis on time which was later to become a central feature of capitalist industry" (ibid). Fourth was the separation of production from consumption (sugar produced in the tropics, consumed in Europe) and fifth, separation of the worker from his tools. Finally, there was investment capital.

Comparable to Mintz' work on sugar is McKendrick's (1959, etc.) two decades of multi-themed research on 18th century potteries. McKendrick sees Josiah Wedgewood as responsible for industrializing the production and marketing of pottery. The conversion was multi-faceted. It included the following innovations in production: steam power, standardized designs, clocking-in of workers (ie time consciousness), a training scheme, and cost accounting. In marketing, it included grading of products on offer, a money-back guarantee, allowing customers to serve themselves, a long-term and semi-formal partnership with a merchant, and assiduous efforts to create customers by fostering the notion that certain forms of pottery were fashionable.

Several writers claim Thomas Cook was the person mainly responsible for pioneering, in the late 19th century, the tourism industry. Books by Thomas Cook Ltd's official historian provide useful descriptions (Swinglehurst 1974 etc.); an earlier book by Pudley (1953) has extra detail on some items. Cook took advantage of the economic consequences of steam power in transport. He invented new products, or at least variations on existing ones. Packaged tours, group travel, accommodation vouchers, travellers' cheques (known as "circular notes" until the American terminology came into vogue). He standardized touring products. He devoted much time and effort over the years to forming links with businesses providing components of his packaged tours, such as railways and hotels. Indeed, Pudney describes how the persistent refusal of Scottish railway proprietors to allow Cook a suitable discount for groups led to Cook to begin packaging tours into continental Europe. Also, Cook practiced market segmentation, with different touring products for different types of customer. He innovated with promotional activities, which stimulated demand and helped develop a larger market for his business. Also, like Wedgewood's efforts with pottery, Cook's publicity over a few decades helped make tourism fashionable.

Specific accounts give clues to what industries in general are about. Buckminster-Fuller (1949,1972) made specific studies of house construction and ship building, from which he formulated a general model of industry, expressed in

systemic terms. He saw the fundamental function of an industry as creating synergy in activities that are beyond the limits of a single unit working alone. Synergy is the ability of a collection to achieve more together than all the units could achieve separately, often called the 2 + 2 = 5 principle. His definition of industry deserves quoting in full:

> **Industry is a cooperative phenomenon in which three or more individuals working together, two as remote activity instrument or tool-manipulating specialists coordinated to superhuman effectiveness by the third party, could produce work that could not be produced by one man or any number of men operating singly ... It was a corollary that industry, depending on constantly improving performance of production, depends on improving technology and produces items that give increasingly improved cost and measurable performance (Buckminster-Fuller, 1972:161, emphasis in original).**

The coordinating device, the "third party" Buckminster-Fuller refers to, is, arguably, management. According to an eminent theorist (Follett 1933,1960) the central function of managers is coordinating, bringing about cooperative and collaborative effort. Follett's point has been expressed in a formal model of a management system (Leiper 1989) which places the coordination function in the middle of other managerial functions, such as planning and controlling. Mintzberg (1979,1983) developed the coordinating concept further, isolating five coordinating mechanisms. However, in none of those works (Follett 1933,1960; Leiper 1989; Mintzberg 1979,1983) is there any suggestion that managerial coordination might be applied at the intra-firm or industrial level. All three theorists focussed on corporate organisations, what economics calls firms.

Several writers in the twin fields of organisation and management have focussed on inter-relationships between and amongst organizations. Here, the attention of managers is not on internal matters of their own employing organisation, but on the environments and the industry(ies) in which that organisation participates. Relatively few writers in this seemingly burgeoning field have considered the question of whether inter-organisational networks might (under certain conditions) correspond to industries. Reisman's (1990) Theories of Collective Action for example, is a comparative study of the theories of Downs, Olson and Hirsch, all of whom looked at a broad range of issues relating to collectives, not just the industry issue. Other works on aspects of this topic include

Phillips (1960), Abell (1980), Astley (1984), Ouchi (1984), Pfeffer (1987) and Best (1990). Abell's propositions about the concept of an industry are most explicit. He views an industry as a collection of organizations that share two things in common: they are in the same or closely related lines of business, and they use the same or similar technologies. He defines "technologies" as "ways in which a particular business function can be performed for a customer" (Abell 1980:172).

Abell implies inter-organizational coordination, but is not specific about it. Other writers are more explicit. Phillips (1960) showed that "inter-firm" linkages might be formal or informal and are media which permit managers from related firms to communicate with one another for the mutual advantage of the different (perhaps competitive) firms. Hirsch's (1975) empirical research showed that a tightly structured industry making intensive use of industry associations and other linkages was more productive than another industry which was loosely structured. In other words, there are degrees of industrialization, in the strict sense, the closeness of association amongst the members of an industry. Benson (1975) analyzed why and how "interorganizational networks" operate, and observed that in industrial societies "patterns of linkages ... between large-scale organizations are basic features of social organizations in those (industrial) societies" (ibid:229).

Recent literature on the Japanese society, economy and systems of management includes several discussions about the cooperative features of Japanese business. Ouchi (1984), Zengage and Ratcliffe (1989), van Wolferen (1989), Best (1990) and others have argued that a major advantage of the Japanese economy over the American economy has been its stronger network of formalized industry associations and other managed aspects of inter-organizational (ie intra-industry) cooperation. Lee and Mulford (1990) have described in detail how this is fostered by the Japanese government; one of their case studies involved a group of 95 travel agencies working under this "kyodokumiai" scheme, which Best (1990:240-250) has described in detail. Best calls it a discussion of "the industrial organization of Japan armed with the concept of inter-firm association as an alternative to hierarchy" (ibid:240).

This approach to understanding what an industry comprises could lead to an observation that Japan in the 1980s was the most highly industrialized economy in the world. However this is not using "industry" in the traditional sense favoured in economics, to mean the proportion of the work force in "industry" as against "agriculture". Rather, an alternative idea can be suggested: industrialization has a

managerial dimension, involving integrated activities among organisations in the same or related lines of business, activities sustained by management. This seems consistent with the modern widely-accepted recognition of "agricultural industries" and "services industries" besides the traditional manufacturing industries.

Building on these ideas, an alternative definition of industry can be constructed:

> **An industry comprises a collection of productive units in an economic system that are managed to be assiduously active in similar or related lines of business, using similar or related technologies, coordinating their activities in various ways to achieve synergistic outcomes. The activities transform resources, via industrial processes involving division of labour, into outputs with some homogeneity reflecting the related lines of business.**

Rather than a clearly delineated condition, "industrial" in this sense has degrees or gradients, representing the extent to which units (S.B.Us - strategic business units in a largish organisation, companies, firms, etc.) conform to the construct. The definition also allows the generally acknowledged point that a particular organisation can participate in several industries, which may overlap.

Industrial Management

Regarding inter-organisational management as a necessary condition for the existence of an industry leads to the recognition that there are several levels of economic activity at which managerial attention might be directed. The most widespread is managing a unit within a departmentalized organisation such as a corporation. A second is at or near the top of an organizational hierarchy, in what is called corporate management. (In small business these two levels coalesce.) A third level, not specifically recognized in the management literature, can be termed management at the level of an industry. Here, managers deal with matters that indirectly affect the organizations they are employed by personally, matters directly affecting the industry(ies) which those organizations form.

"Industrial management" in this sense potentially deals with many kinds of activities, similar in character to those in corporate management, involving fields such as industrial relations, research and development, technology, environmental

protection, personnel, operations, creditor control, marketing, finance, accounting, administration, and governmental relations. Industrial management aims to bring about synergistic outcomes amongst a collection of organizations, across an industry.

Ouchi's (1984) detailed descriptions of Japanese cases illustrate just a couple of those fields, showing how industrial management has been a crucial factor in the success of Japanese business. He emphasized the shortcomings of American business and industry in this respect, a deficiency shared by Australia and New Zealand. In Western economies, industrial management and governmental industrial policy have been retarded by beliefs in the supreme virtue of competition, ignoring the more important cooperative framework for industrial development and effectiveness.

Extending the concept of "industry" proposed above, "industrial development" in a given economic system or sub-system would mean higher levels of industrialization. It is synonymous with Buckminster-Fuller's "constantly improving performance" (1972:161), and may have various ideological aims (7).

The Travel and Tourism Industry

Any organisation in the business of tourism might be in the tourism industry to varying degrees, or might be wholly outside it. To determine this requires a case by case investigation. Certain types of organisation do generally meet the criteria, the basis for their inclusion within what was labelled in Chapter 2 a travel and tourism industry. A section in Chapter 2 described that industry, by listing the kinds of organizations generally participating in it and by dissecting them into seven sectors. The discussion in the present Chapter has attempted to analyze the basis of the industry in order to define it.

How do these superficially different types of organizations (travel agents, airlines, hotels, national tourism organizations etc.) form an industry? They are, usually, in the business of tourism, and their activities may also be coordinated in various ways and to varying degrees. The coordinating devices include using similar and related technologies, "technologies" in Abell's sense of serving customer functions. The customer functions that might be served include the provision of information, transportation, accommodation and related life support and comforts, security, guidance, time-saving and, at the core, the fostering of

leisure experiences. Tourist demand is centrally about the last item, leisure. Demand for other functions is derived demand, arising from individuals' primary demands for leisure in places away from home. The ways particular types of organizations deliver those services are diverse; each function has specialists, roughly indicated by the description of the industry's seven sectors set out in Chapter 2. The sectors represent sub-industries that may combine, in various ways. Intersectoral links are one facet running through diverse examples of coordination between and among businesses involved in tourism, described in the following list.

Packaged tour arrangements

One example is inclusive arrangements, such as packaged tour products. Created by travel agents and tour operators, their formation requires cooperation from the principals in the carrier, accommodation and (in some instances) other sectors. Their operation requires more cooperation and, in most instances, some degree of formal coordination between suppliers, who may be located in different countries.

Reservation systems

Another example is reservation systems. Like pre-packaged trips, reservations have a security function and a time-saving function for tourists. Reservation systems exemplify a common technology shared by different organizations. Computer-based systems linking travel agents, airlines, hotels, tour operators, N.T.Os etc. are the best example of this kind of trans-industry cooperation. Reservation systems are, in effect, a sub-system or element of the industrial system.

Grading systems for accommodation and transport

A third example is another sub-system widely used by the travel and tourism industry. Product grading, by some method of classification, is widely used by carriers and accommodation businesses. Thus airline services are often graded into first, intermediate ("business") and economy classes, while hotel accommodation may be graded into five or more classes identified by descriptive terms ("de luxe", "first", etc.) or by a number of stars.

Under non-industrialized conditions, suppliers do not classify products offered on the market by grades. In contemporary tourism in New Zealand, a process of

change can be seen in one form of tourist accommodation. Several thousand farmers are also in the tourist accommodation business. In 1990, one of the wholesale agencies specializing in farm tourism, New Zealand Home Hospitality Ltd, began a scheme to determine and publicize a grade for all properties in that line of business. This could be regarded as a creative step towards a farm tourism industry (8). To work effectively, the scheme requires the cooperative participation of nominally independent farm hosts.

Standardized products

Behind the use of common grading systems is a fourth, more basic example of coordinated activities across each sector of the travel and tourism industry. This is coordination of product design. All international airlines for example, have quite similar aircraft, similar seating and other facilities on board, similar in-flight services. Each class or grade of hotel or motel in a given region tends to be coordinated in like fashion, with each establishment offering broadly similar forms of facilities and services. Coach tour operators in a given region too, seem to be coordinated by having similar styles of vehicle, following the same or similar itineraries, and offering broadly similar tour services.

Uniform pricing

A fifth example is in pricing. In many tourist-related markets, various suppliers tend to coordinate their prices. The best evidence for this is seen in air travel markets, where a new fare offered by one airline is often copied quickly by its competitors, a fact apparent from innumerable press reports in New Zealand and Australia in recent years. Research into the Australian domestic airline markets and its pricing (fares) structures by A.G.B. McNair (1986) provides extra detail on the issue. Similar practices are apparent in many localities' travel accommodation markets, retail travel agency markets (Byers 1988), and souvenir markets.

Pointing to coordinated activites by suppliers in relation to products and (especially) pricing contradicts the assumptions of classical economics, which assert that firms in a given market tend to compete on the basis of differences in prices and products. Applying such assumptions to markets in general is unrealistic. As Chandler (1977) has shown, in modern industrialised economies, Adam Smith's "invisible hand" of market "forces" has gradually been replaced by what Chandler calls "the visible hand" of management.

Principal-agent links

A sixth manifestation of coordination within the travel and tourism industry is the widespread practice of agency-principal linkages, a practice with functional significance for many tourists. It might be based on commercial agreements between organizations, involving commission payments from the principals (tour operator-wholesalers, carriers, etc.) to the agents making sales. Or it may be, and often is, non-commercial, when a booking or reservation is made (by hotels for instance) as a free service to the tourist and as a free act of cooperation with another organisation regarded as an ally "in the industry".

Industry associations

Another important form of cooperation is industry associations. The members of these share a common interest: the business of tourism allied with fostering a particular place as a tourist destination. Examples are the New Zealand Tourist Industry Federation and its trans Tasman counterpart, the Australian Tourism Industry Federation. The Manawatu Regional Tourism Association and the Sydney Visitor and Convention Bureau are examples of the regional equivalents. P.A.T.A. (Pacific Asia Travel Association) is an example of a transnational equivalent.

These associations ("industry organizations") have several purposes, some of which are especially salient to the issue of cooperation and shared technologies, the industrialization of tourism systems. They are a medium in which a wide range of functions for tourists can be dealt with by managers from different sectors of the industry and from different places. Useful information on common concerns can be collected and dispersed. Jointly funded and managed visitor information facilities are another outcome. Jointly sponsored promotional campaigns, promoting a particular destination or class of product, are another. Jointly managed employee training programs are another. Joint action to help preserve or conserve the environment useful for tourism is another.

Advertising and publicity

An eighth example of coordination using the same technology are promotional activities: publicity and advertising in particular. This is not generally regarded as cooperation, but as a manifestation of the very opposite, competition amongst rivals in a market. However ...

... (while it may be) true that in publicity one brand ... competes with another, it is also true that every publicity image confirms and enhances every other. Publicity is not merely an assembly of competing messages: it is a language in itself which is always being used to make the same general proposal. Within publicity, choices are offered between this cream and that cream, between that car and this car, (between Bali and California as holiday destinations, between Air New Zealand and United Airlines as carriers), but publicity as a system only makes a single proposal (Berger 1972:131, parentheses added).

Publicity from the travel and tourism industry proposes that people go on a trip. In effect, that may be the single proposal. Particular advertisements propose using services of that industry to visit any country or region, or that people visit a particular country or region, using services of the industry. Each advertisement or publicity item from superficially competing organizations is synergistically serving two overlapping interests: the sponsor (an organisation paying for the promotion) and the whole travel and tourism industry. To the degree that the promotional message contains useful information (as against merely persuasive messages) it also serves tourists.

Thomas Cook appears to have recognized that any promotion might help develop the market for the industry at large. Pudney (1953:151-2) describes how Cook's promotional magazine (The Excursionist) carried advertisements for the tourist agent Henry Gaze, one of Cook's major competitors in the 1870 to 1890 period. Pudney attributed this to Cook's policy of "friendly competition". If an industry is conceptualized as a cooperative system, a different explanation emerges.

Informal information exchange

A ninth kind of coordination is exchange of information within the industry. Trade magazines and research bulletins are prominent examples, widely read by people working in different sectors. But much more significant nowadays are various forms of computerised information technology. Poon (1988) has provided a detailed account of various forms of this technology used in the travel and tourism industry. She claimed "... information, and the technologies for their manipulation, are the vital cement for the tourist trade" (ibid:99). A major function for this

technology was identified by Poon as "supplier inter-relationships". This represents a form of cooperative coordination.

Industry conferences and conventions are another medium for informal exchange of information. A large number of "industry" meetings occurs in the travel and tourism field.

No doubt other descriptions of coordination between units forming this industry could be suggested. Lane (1986), and Warren and Ostergrren (1986) have described some of the linkages, dealing with hotels, airlines and the travel trade.

The generic product of the tourism industry

Conventional economics often describes an industry as a collection of firms with a relatively homogeneous product. Can such a product be identified as an output of the travel and tourism industry in a tourism system? In systemic terms, it is the returned tourist, a person home from a trip, transformed in some way as a result of experiences. At the individual level, in practice the characteristics of the transformations are highly differentiated, because individuals and their trips are anything but homogeneous. But in broad generic terms, a single type of output, a main product, can be identified. For this to occur in practice, often a combination of inputs from several organisations is involved: a travel agent, a carrier, a hotel, a tour operator.

The argument presented above is that coordination is necessary for an industry to function. It is not sufficient. There are other factors that contribute to the existence and evolution of an industry. These relate directly to the component firms or organisations: the capital, the personnel, the technology and so on. But, behind the scene, intra-industry coordination, stimulated and maintained by managers, is, arguably, necessary if industrial synergy is to be achieved.

PARTIAL INDUSTRIALIZATION OF TOURISM

To recognize the partial-industrialization of tourism systems, two perspectives need to be compared. From the demand side, the diverse range of resources used by tourists can be recognized. From a supply side perspective, analyzing the units providing those resources, some will be seen to stem from various industries while others are non-market and non-industrial. Next, on a case by case basis, each

organisation in the various industries supplying tourists can be analyzed to determine if it is being managed in ways that put it to some significant degree in the business of tourism and in the travel and tourism industry.

If a tourist (or a population of tourists) is relatively self-reliant, not dependent to any significant degree on services and goods from any industry, they can be described as having a low index of industrial dependency. If they are highly dependent, the index is high. Broadly speaking, long haul international tourists tend to have a higher index than domestic tourists. Data collected in typical surveys conducted by N.T.Os provide information pertinent to estimating this index (9).

Next, a supply-side analysis is required. All the market-based supplying units can be considered, case-by-case, and divided into three categories:

(i) those units or organizations not significantly in the business of tourism, that may have commercial relationships with customers who incidentally happen to be tourists in some meaning of that term, but which do not have a business orientation to them as tourists;

(ii) those in the business of tourism, but not in that industry to any significant degree;

(iii) those in the business of tourism and also participating to a significant degree in the industry.

Observations indicate that in many tourism systems, in relation to most tourists, all three categories are involved to some extent, so that these cases can be described as partially industrialized systems. They would be wholly industrialized if all the suppliers were in the third category.

The proportion of (a) services and goods stemming from the travel and tourism industry to (b) all services and goods used by tourists stemming from a given economic system can be termed the index of tourism industrialization, theoretically ranging from 100% (wholly industrialized) to zero (tourists present and spending money, but no travel and tourism industry.)

Empirical evidence of organizations deriving significant proportions of their total revenue from tourists but not participating in the travel and tourism industry is

easily found. The interesting cases are in the grey area, at the margins, especially organizations that shift into or out of this industry while remaining in the business of tourism. Several such cases are discussed below, in Chapter 4.

The difference between total expenditure by tourists and total revenue of the travel and tourism industry in a given tourism system or place is one reflection of partial industrialization. The expenditure index of tourism industrialization is a suitable name for a statistic. If a tourist (or a population of tourists) is supplied with services and goods to the value of $1,000, of which $600 is supplied by the travel and tourism industry and $400 by other industries, the index is 60%. In a report dealing with New Zealand as a destination, the index for domestic tourism was estimated at 45% (Henshall, 1982). Henshall's dissection of the resources used in tourism correspond closely with the proposal in this Chapter:

> **Expenditures made by tourists in New Zealand are not always a transaction which takes place in the "tourism industry" as such. Many so-called tourist expenditures are for items such as food, drink, private car petrol, and ordinary living expenses. Thus, when talking about tourism expenditure, a distinction needs to made between "tourism industry" and "allied industries" purchases (Henshall 1982:16).**

Henshall's observations seem fundamentally similar to a central hypotheses in this Chapter. However his choice of terminology for "allied industries" is misleading; perhaps "incidental" would be preferable. The source of the domestic estimate (45%) is not given in Henshall's report, but it seems a rough guess, like his "assumption" that 100% of expenditures by international tourists goes directly to the tourism industry. Both figures seem too high. Data from official surveys provides indications of industrial dependency, which in turn indicate maximum values of the index of industrialization. More than 80% of domestic tourists in New Zealand in recent years have used private vehicles rather than public carriers, and more than 50% have used private rather than commercial accommodation. From those indications, the index of industrialization for domestic tourism in this country recently may be closer to 20%, and for inbound international tourism around 60%.

Prorating these estimates would suggest that, of total expenditure by all tourists in New Zealand recently, no more than 43% has accrued to the travel and tourism industry, while 57% has gone directly to other industries (10).

Why Has Partial Industrialization Been Overlooked?

The idea of a partially-industrialized sector of the economy is new, and it is irrelevant to most prominent sectors of modern economies (4). Conventional thinking about economic matters is dominated by the assumption that the suppliers form easily identifiable industries. In the case of tourism, and a few other sectors of modern economies, that assumption may be misleading.

Only three writers appear to have used the idea and in each instance it was just one (easily overlooked) item in publications dealing with many tourism-related topics (Leiper 1979,1980; Henshall 1982; Towner 1985). Moreover, the idea challenges the validity of claims about the tourism industry being very large, so any interest group boosting that industry's political and public fortunes might be tempted to put the idea to one side. In the seven years since Henshall's (1982) report, no further research has been commissioned on the respective sizes of the "tourism industry" and "allied industries", although that was a prominent recommendation in a report widely acclaimed in New Zealand.

The idea of partially-industrialized tourism also contradicts popular stereotypes about tourists, which see "tourists" as intensive users of travel agencies, tour operators, hotels and the like. However if one acknowledges official technical definitions of "tourist", or even a narrower concept that views tourism as leisure away from one's home region, those stereotypes are irrelevant.

CONSEQUENCES OF PARTIAL-INDUSTRIALIZATION

Several interesting consequences are associated with partial industrialization of whole tourism systems. Nine are discussed below.

Existence and scale of the industry

Analysts such as Emmanuel de Kadt are correct when they point out that "tourists purchase goods and services from a variety of industries" (de Kadt 1979:x) but they have overlooked the possibility that certain parts of that spectrum can form a tourism industry, when they conclude that "there is no such thing as a tourism industry analogous to industries as normally understood" (ibid). And conversely, claims that the whole spectrum of an economy's direct dealings with tourists represents a discrete industry are false. World-wide and in many national

and regional economies, the travel and tourism industry is not as large as its boosters claim.

Evolution of a Travel and Tourism Industry

of

An evolutionary model the tourism industry was discussed in Noronha's (1979) study for the World Bank. The concept of partial industrialization can be shown to correspond with that model, but it also illuminates a possible extra dimension. Noronha drew on Valene Smith (1977) and on evidence from many countries to conclude that typically "tourism development proceeds through three stages: discovery, local response and initiative, and institutionalization" (ibid:9). The first stage occurs "when a few intrepid souls find a new area ... take the local people as they find them and adjust to the resources available " (ibid). The second stage occurs when more visitors begin arriving, when the locals see an opportunity for business and begin providing goods and services for them. The third stage occurs when relatively large scale investments are made in facilities and service capabilities intended for tourists and when outside firms begin linking their operations into the destination, and when local authorities initiate steps to develop and promote the destination. Noronha remarked that a place (as destination) does not have to pass through all three stages because the first two might be by-passed if a wholly "new" or "undiscovered" place is selected for rapid, intensive investment.

Adopting the concept of industry being proposed in the present study, there is no tourism industry until some point in the second stage. In the first stage although tourists are present (consuming, spending money, using facilities) the resources supplying those tourists are not organized as an industry. The third stage signifies a more fully developed industry. A fully matured industrial element in a tourism system includes linkages between and amongst businesses along the system's itinerary: generating region, transit routes and destinations, a geographical and functional spread that represents a travel and tourism industry. However even in its fully developed stage, this industry is still normally working in partially-industrialized systems, not providing all the goods and services used by tourists.

A fourth stage, not mentioned by either Noronha or Valene Smith, can be suggested. This is when the industry begins to diminish in relative importance, and ultimately in absolute terms, because tourists (in a given system) are becoming more independent, preferring to use a wide range of resources rather than those specifically intended for tourism. Tourist flows and populations might continue to

expand in this stage, but the industry may degenerate because touristic markets are shrinking. There are signs that this was occurring in certain tourism systems during the 1980s (11).

Geographic dispersal

Highly industrialized tourism systems from a particular generating country tend to be geographically focussed into relatively few destination countries and, within each, few destination regions. Low levels of industrialization seems to lead to wider dispersal. No specific empirical research demonstrates those claims, but examples certainly support them. Japanese tourists within Australia (Leiper, 1985) and within New Zealand tend to concentrate into a handful of regions. Domestic tourism in those two countries, typically with low levels of industrialization, is much more widely dispersed as to destinations. Quantitative analysis to test this item would be useful.

The travel and tourism industry prefers tightly clustered patterns of activity because (a) they allow economies of scale and (b) they are more easily managed. Relatively independent tourists on the other hand, include many who choose independence from that industry partly because they want to get "off the beaten track".

Who manages tourism?

The next consequences are the most important, because of practical implications hinging around the question, who manages tourism systems? That is, who plans, coordinates and controls what occurs? To the extent that a trip is non-industrialized, its management and the tourism-orientated management of its supporting resources are not performed by any industry, not by any collection of managers in organisations, but by the tourists themselves. Where this is typical, the resources used in tourism are not being managed in any effective way. This can be illustrated by contrasting two extreme cases.

Chapter 8, later in this study, is about Japanese tourism systems. These are highly industrialized. Most Japanese tourists are dependent on support services and facilities when they travel and are prone to conforming in several ways, thereby forming large and economical markets for organisations in the travel and tourism industry. Japanese travelling and visiting other countries are typically highly

dependent on travel agencies, airlines, tour operators, hotels, duty free shops and similar organisations. The management of these systems (at the level of the individual tourist and at a mass level) resides very much with the managers from those organisations, working separately for specialized functions and working cooperatively to make their whole industry effective and efficient. The major decisions typical Japanese tourists make are where to go and which tour to buy, within a narrow choice offered by Japanese tour operators. They can be accurately described as consumers of tourism as a commodity.

Contrast that with contemporary domestic tourism in Australia or New Zealand, where there is a low level of industrial dependency and a corresponding low index of tourism industrialization, as described above. Many tourists in these systems tend to manage their own trips. They are not so much consumers of tourism as a commodity, but managers of their own touristic activities and experiences.

The managerial issue has implications at several levels: an individual's trip, the trips of flows and stocks of tourists in a given system, and the roles of places in tourism systems - especially as destinations. The issue is taken up in Chapter 11.

Impediments to industry associations

The travel and tourism industry's peak associations (such as the New Zealand Tourist Industry Federation and the Australian Tourism Industry Association) spend considerable time on two activities. They try to recruit membership and support from firms and organisations that have commercial links to tourists. And they lobby governments seeking support for tourism industry programs in research, promotion, development and training. But in their dialogue with governments those peak associations are hindered by claiming to represent a large industry but not demonstrating comparable size and strength in practical ways (12).

There is a paradox here. A business organisation might remain outside the travel and tourism industry because participation at more than token level would be an uneconomical use of that organisation's resources. But the industry (and the national or macro economy) would be better served if all such organisations fully participated in that industry. In other words, what is best policy for the micro level seems detrimental for the macro economy. However in contemporary free capitalist economies the micro interests are given paramount status, because the assumption

is that all key sectors of the economy are wholly-industrialized. Tourism does not fit the model.

MacCannell's (1976) comments in the concluding chapter of his book support these observations: "Both the pro-tourist position and the anti-tourist position are ultimately based on the same fact: tourism has developed at a much faster rate than have its support institutions" (ibid:166). In other words tourism (a human activity) has expanded using a wide range of resources, but its institutionalized support (the tourism industry) is generally insufficient to cope effectively with the expansion and the problems created.

An underlying reason for governmental involvement

Partial industrialization may be a major but hidden reason why governments have become so actively involved in tourism matters or, to be more precise, why there are ongoing calls for more governmental involvements despite growth in tourism. If the tourism systems of a country are large and apparently capable of growth, but the travel and tourism industry is small in comparison, the tourism sector of the economy may be handicapped ... unless the government steps in and plays a part. In principle, what governments (or community groups) are asked to do is make up the non-industrialized parts of supply and its management. The real reason for this is not clear in governmental policy documents, because governments have been led to believe their policies are related to a huge "industry": why should governments help one of the biggest industries in the country when there are many new and small industries that may have better claims and when there are pressing social items in the agenda?

An easy reaction by bureaucrats and politicians is to suggest that the "fragmented industry" should solve its own problems. This has been a common reaction from Canberra and Wellington in recent years.

An alternative approach would be for tourism industry associations to present a more realistic case to governments, pointing out that tourism is significant to the economy but that the travel and tourism industry is small in comparison, indicating a special role for governments.

Targets of concerned environmentalists

Similarly, environmentalists who make general claims that "the tourism industry" is irresponsible and causing damage to fragile environments may be astray of the mark. In many cases the problem may be with non-industrialized suppliers, commercial enterprises taking short-term and individualistic opportunities for exploiting passing trade. Or it might be with tourists themselves, operating independently. Partial industrialization suggests that environmental concerns be analysed, not automatically linked with the industrial element in tourism systems.

Misleading statistics about employment

The next consequence relates to employment. It does not, strictly speaking, stem from partial industrialization but from the related question of which business a firm or organisation is in. In several countries research projects using input-output analyses have estimated the employment supported by tourists' expenditure. The number of employment positions or jobs is often impressive.

However the statistics are usually misleading. The data do not refer to some quantity of discrete employment positions but to an equivalent quantity of incidental portions of many employment positions spread throughout the economy. When all the fractions are added, the total may be impressive: the tourism sector of a regional or national economy sustains a proportion of equivalent employment, maybe 4% to 6% of the total. But low levels of industrialization may mean that the quantity of discrete employment - identifiable whole jobs - is quite small, maybe 1% or less of the total.

That has been the general condition in Australia and New Zealand over recent decades. And since the 1950s in those countries, domestic tourism systems (in particular) have become less industrialized as more people have arranged independent trips and used private transport and accommodation. Growth in tourists' expenditure since the 1950s has supported increasing numbers of equivalent jobs, but a trend away from industrialized tourism has meant relatively fewer discrete jobs specializing in various aspects of the tourist business.

Because they confuse those two statistics, presenting the former to represent the latter, official reports about the employment created by tourism should be

interpreted cautiously by vocational training institutions planning courses and by individuals seeking careers. When a Minister of Tourism announces a forecast that 20,000 extra jobs will be created in the tourism industry, people are misled if most of those "jobs" are merely extra hours of labour in myriad service organisations that have no business orientation to tourists. There is little scope or need for vocational training programs focussing on tourism if tourists' expenditures are supporting relatively few discrete employment positions but a great many fractions with incidental links to tourists. Instead of misleading information, reports about the tourism-employment link ideally would estimate both quantities (equivalent and discrete employment).

Instability

Partial -industrialization is, arguably, one factor associated with instability in the directions and sizes of tourist flows. Where there are high degrees of industrialization, as for example in Japanese tourism, the numbers going to particular destinations seem relatively stable from one time period to the next, increasing or decreasing but without large fluctuations. But where there are low degrees of industrialization, fluctuations can be much greater. Data about domestic tourism in Australia and New Zealand, from the government-sponsored surveys in those countries, shows very large fluctuations from one year to the next in many regions. Testing the validity of this observation by examining statistical data would be an interesting exercise. One problem would be the statistical reliability of the data about arrivals at the regional level in domestic tourism. Small sample cells in the surveys used to collect the data mean that estimates of arrivals for regions visited by few tourists have large margins of error.

The travel and tourism industry's operational policies include aiming for small fluctuations in flows. This leads to improved efficiencies, with lower costs and higher profits for the industry. Various operational devices of the industry work to even out extreme fluctuations that stem from environmental factors in the primary market (generating regions) and in destinations. But where the industry's role is less significant, where there is a low degree of industrialization, that tempering influence is diminished and the uncontrolled environmental factors play a greater part.

CONCLUSIONS

Tourists' activities have economic consequences that are <u>like</u> those of industries but extending the simile to a metaphor ("tourism <u>is</u> an industry") can lead to confusion if applied in thinking about how this so-called industry can be managed (13). The opposite assumption, that there is no such thing as a tourism industry, is also erroneous. In this Chapter, a middle position has been argued: as a rule, <u>some</u> of the organizations supplying services and goods to tourists are in the business and industry of tourism, while many are not: tourism systems are partially-industrialized, to varying degrees.

The travel and tourism industry is something created and sustained by the managers of its constituent organizations, when they form cooperative or collaborative linkages of various sorts. Without inter-organizational linkages activated by managers, across different sectors of the industry and across different regions or countries along tourists' itineraries, there can be no such industry, but merely a collection of separate organizations in separate industries. To the extent that tourism is non-industrialized it is not being managed by anyone other than tourists themselves. And each tourist can manage only aspects of individual trips, not the resources that sustain aggregated flows and stocks of tourists in a given system or in some place as a destination. The industrial element in many tourism systems is too small, in comparison to tourists' activities, for its managers to deal effectively with all the problems and opportunities arising from those activities. This may be the most significant finding suggested by the analysis.

In the Chapter to follow the concepts discussed in the present Chapter, relating to how an organisation may be managed in terms of lines of business and affiliations with industries, are investigated via case studies of ten organisations.

NOTES

1. The discussion in this Chapter bypasses the issue of distinguishing traveller and tourist, dealt with in Chapter 2.

2. Many of these reports can be found in libraries of governmental tourism organisations; a few are in universities' libraries. A representative sample could be found in the submissions presented to the <u>Tourism 2000</u> Conferences in New Zealand during 1990.

3. Stephen Smith (1988) claimed that research for the Canadian National Task Force on Tourism Data concerned with identifying and measuring the tourism industry was a "supply side view". But in fact, as his description of that research reveals, it was a demand-side study, based on data about tourists' expenditures.

4. For example the new motor vehicle sector of the economy, like other prominent sectors, could be described as virtually wholly-industrialized. Vehicles are manufactured and marketed by a collection of easily identifiable organisations that are in the motor vehicle industry. The total expenditures of buyers is equal to the total revenues of the industry (allowing for tax). A demand side measure gives the same result as a supply side measure.

5. In the 1980s the British Government floated a proposal that the square in front of the Palace be fenced and that people wanting to see the changing of the guards be charged admission. In effect, this would create the basis for a market, with commercial potential, from what had traditionally been a public good with considerable non-monetary value to many people, including in particular, tourists in London. It has also been a public good with great indirect monetary value to the tourism-related sector of the English economy, regarded as a valuable and popular free attraction. After debate in the media, the suggestion was abandoned.

6. Richardson expressed the view thus:

> Our simple picture of the capitalist economy was in terms of a division of labour between the firm and the market, between co-ordination that is planned and co-ordination that is spontaneous. But what then is the principle of this division? What kinds of co-ordination have to be secured through conscious direction within firms and what can be left to the working of the invisible hand? One might reasonably maintain that this was a key question - perhaps the key question - in the theory of industrial organisation, the most important matter that the Divine Maker of market economies on the first day of creation would have to decide (Richardson 1972:883).

Michael Best (1990:131-4) has clarified Richardson's approach to this issue, showing how he (Richardson) developed Edith Penrose's theory of the firm into a useful theory of industrial organisation. Best claims "Thus business and sector organization is not determined by technology or transaction costs (as suggested by neoclassical economic theory) but negotiated within a context of competing and collaborating firms" (ibid:132).

Best's discussion of these theories takes ideas from economists (Penrose, Richardson and Schumpeter) and shows how they correspond to theories on management presented in The Visible Hand: The Managerial Revolution in American Business by Alfred Chandler (1977). . Chandler's history of certain American industries in the period 1850-1920 showed in some detail how managerial activities replaced the "invisible hand" of so-called "market forces" in allocating resources and shaping industries in the form of collaborative collections of firms.

7. "Constantly improving performance" could be applied to several different goals reflecting quite different policies.

8. These comments stem from several discussions with Ms Dulcie Carson, a Director of New Zealand Home Hospitality Ltd, during 1990. She is assessing each farm hosting property to award grades (from "1 Kiwi" to "4 Kiwi"), which are then reported in the lists of accommodation distributed to tourists. The innovation would seem to have benefits for tourists and for the industry.

9. A method for calculating this index has not yet been invented, but this does not appear problematical. Useful data sources include the Domestic Tourism Monitor in Australia and its parallel in New Zealand known as the Domestic Travel Survey, both published by governmental tourism organisations. Based on large samples of households, they show the proportions of trips using various resources. Corresponding data about inbound international tourists in these two countries are collected and reported in the International Visitor Surveys, published by the respective N.T.Os.

10. Annual totals for tourist expenditure were estimated to be $1.4 billion by domestic tourists and $1.97 billion by inbound international tourists in the mid 1980s, according to the N.Z. Tourist and Publicity Department (cited by Byers, 1988:3). Proration for partial industrialization is as follows:

$1.40 x 20% = $0.28
$1.97 x 60% = $1.18

$3.37 x 43% = $1.46

The estimates for the expenditure industrialization indices (20% and 60%) are based on data in official surveys showing approximate levels of industrial dependency (such as less than 20% of domestic tourists using transport industries) and extending these to estimate the supply side indices.

11. Prior to the 1989 convention of the New Zealand Tourist Industry Federation, official statistics showed that tourism activity in New Zealand had increased. But during the three day convention, in Napier and Hastings, an air of gloom was apparent with representatives of several sectors of industry reporting that tourist demand had decreased during the past year. The plausible explanation is that relatively more tourists were making independent trips, avoiding the use of organised tours and commercial accommodation for example.

Similar conditions have occurred in Australia, at national and regional levels. Comments from the Head of the Western Australian Tourism Commission illustrate the opinion that all organisations directly supplying tourists should be active in the tourism industry, an opinion stemming from a failure (not unique among senior bureaucrats involved in tourism) to distinguish between the industry and the economic system or sector it is part of. A report in the press said:

> Businesses have received a reprimand from the Commission's Managing director, Mr Brett Goodridge, for their complacent approach to tourism. "I had observed too many organisations sitting back and expecting things to happen", he said. "This complacent approach will not ensure that this State receives the full benefit of the marvelous opportunity before us ("On The Nation" Column, The Weekend Australian, 1-2 June, 1985).

12. One indication of the Australian and New Zealand industries's lack of resources has been its inability to finance research. Politicians in the two countries have from time to time argued that if "the industry" needed data, it should be able and prepared to finance research. A similar indication relates to promoting destinations. However, the trend in both countries has been for governments to finance proportionately more of the research and destination promotion projects. This can be interpreted as governments providing an industrial function for what they regard as a valuable sector of the economy.

A further indication is the small numbers of members in tourism industry associations compared to the number of organisations supplying services and goods to tourists. The N.Z.T.I.F. for instance had only 111 "industry members" in 1987 (N.Z.T.I.F., 1987:11), and saw fit to comment "It is regretted that many firms and organisations while benefiting from the Federation's activities consider it unnecessary to support their trade association" (ibid).

13. A recent writer on organisation theory remarked that "metaphor ... always produces one-sided insight. In highlighting certain interpretations it tends to force others into a background role" (Morgan 1986:13). An early writer on industrial organisations discussed the same problem about metaphors (Macgregor 1931:60).

INTRODUCTION

> The iteration between theory and practice is a key paradigm of academic business. After all, management is an applied science designed to work (Kuhn 1988:279).

In this Chapter a series of case studies, using various research methods, are discussed. The broad aim of the research was to investigate, by empirical studies, the hypothesis that an organization might have significant numbers of tourists amongst its customers but be outside the business and/or industry of tourism. A theoretical argument for that hypothesis was set out in Chapter 3. Another aim was to investigate why the condition occurs in particular organisations. Incidental aims were to consider how it affects the performance of the organisations as business ventures and the performance of places as tourist destinations.

The first case focuses on an urban region as a traveler generator, to measure the level of industrial dependency of the outbound flow. Reflecting what was termed, in Chapter 3, an indirect demand-side analysis, this may be related to the level of industrialization of whole tourism systems. Ten subsequent cases focus directly on supply side analysis. This, according to the argument in Chapter 3, is the direct approach for discovering business and industry affiliations. The ten cases deal with operations and management policies of specific organizations. Broadly, the theme involves investigating of a number of business organizations which have significant proportions of tourists among their customers, to see whether or to what extent each organization is in the business and the industry of tourism. The ultimate goal of this Chapter is to provide empirical evidence for the argument that tourism systems are partially-industrialized. The first case takes an aggregated demand-side perspective; the next ten use a disaggregate supply-side perspective.

Following Popper's (1980) principle that an hypothesis can be disproved by a single falsification, a function of the cases in this Chapter can be expressed as follows. The conventional hypothesis behind assumptions in much of the literature (summarised in Chapter 3) is that if an organisation has significant numbers of tourists amongst its customers, it is in the business and industry of tourism and that

if its management fails to recognize this point, the organisation is not taking advantage of latent business opportunities. The hypotheses can be disproved if a single case can be found of an organisation serving significant numbers of tourists but not in the business or industry of tourism, and where that policy is in the organisation's best interests.

A variety of methods were used in researching these case studies. These are discussed in context. The cases include eight in New Zealand and three in Australia. In order of presentation they are: (i) Palmerston North as a traveller generating region, (ii) six farms around Palmerston North offering accommodation to tourists, (iii) Wyndham Estate Wines in the Hunter Valley of New South Wales, (iv) The Manhattan Hotel in Sydney, (v) The Summit Restaurant at Australia Square, Sydney, and (vi) Rent-a-Bike NZ in Christchurch.

PALMERSTON NORTH AS A TRAVELLER GENERATING REGION

Background

In the model of whole tourism systems set out in Chapter 2, one element is a traveller generating region (TGR). It is where individual travellers normally reside, where they make decisions and pre-trip arrangements leading to departures. The travel and tourism industry offers certain products for this pre-trip stage, mainly via retail travel agents and other retailers such as airline sales offices. The discussion in Chapter 3 asserted that partial industrialization may apply in any geographical element of a tourism system. The present case study is about a reflection of partial industrialization in a TGR, a "reflection" because in this first case study, the partial industrialization concept will not be studied directly.

In Chapter 3, an argument was presented to describe how tourists tend to be dependent to varying degrees on industrial support. For instance, pre-trip, residents in a TGR might or might not make use of services on offer relevant for planning and arranging trips. Some use travel agents or similar services, while others make all the arrangements themselves, remaining wholly independent of industrial support. Those wholly independent travellers include for example all those who use private transport, stay in private accommodation and visit holiday destinations close to home with which they are familiar from previous visits. Secondly, among those travellers using the industry pre-trip, the extent of dependence will vary:

some use a wide range of travel agency services while others visit a travel agency merely to book a flight and pay for a ticket. The case study described below was an attempt to measure the industrial dependency of travellers setting out from a particular TGR, Palmerston North.

Survey Method

To measure the level of industrial dependency of residents in a given place setting out on trips as departing travellers, various methods could be used. An appropriate approach would be a survey of the resident population asking questions about recent trips and any services used pre-departure. To this end, a survey was conducted in August 1988.

With surveys of this sort, an essential step is to precisely define the universe or population to be surveyed. In this case, it was defined as residents of New Zealand, in Palmerston North (city and contiguous suburbs) aged 21 and over. This is a smaller number than the population of the city and suburbs, for the following reasons. It omitted persons in Palmerston North who were visitors from overseas. And it omitted persons under 21 years, on the grounds that this group may have had rather different travel experiences than older persons and probably, in many instances, have had trips arranged on their behalf by other members of the family, notably parents.

"A sampling frame (comprises) lists, indexes, maps, and other records of a population from which a sample can be selected" (Chisnall 1986:48). In this case, the primary sampling frame comprised house and home unit residences. A map of the city and its contiguous suburbs was used to divide the total area into 44 zones, signified by marked streets.

The target sample to be surveyed was four persons per zone, or 176 persons in total. The total population in the area within the target age range was estimated, from official recent census data, to be 40,500. Thus the target sample represented 0.43% of the population.

Ideally, a random sample gives every unit in the population the same chance of being surveyed. Any form of cluster sampling, such as dividing the geographical area into 44 zones, may tend to reduce that ideal. With cluster sampling "a drawback is that they tend to increase the size of the sampling error of a given sample size" (Chisnall 1986:69). In practical terms, what this means in this case is

that residents in different zones may have had different patterns of travel, and different patterns of dependency on travel agents and the like. Each cell was assumed to be roughly equal in terms of household numbers, on the basis of its size on the map. The mean population in each of the 44 cells was 920 persons aged 21 and over. This too would have introduced a non-random bias into the survey, as the population of the cells will have varied around that mean.

However, using residential households as a sampling frame allows a more representative sample of a city's population than other methods such as street interviews or telephone interviews, for various reasons that are listed by many writers on survey research (Cox 1979; Chisnall 1986; Hague 1987).

Four residential households were to be selected per cell, with one interview sought at each of the four sites. An age quota was specified: each cell was to include two interviews with persons aged 21 to 35 and two with persons aged 36 and over. Only one person was to be interviewed at each address.

The 44 cells were distributed to a team of interviewers, 33 students in a full-time course at Massey University. Most were given a single cell, a minority took two cells to allow all to be covered. The students were briefed on the project and given written instructions. Each was given (i) written instructions, (ii) a map showing the designated cells and starting points for the survey, (iii) a "survey monitor", and (iv) four copies of a questionnaire. Copies of the three main documents (not the maps) are appended to this Chapter.

The "survey monitor" was to record the age of respondents, enabling each interviewer to complete the quota, and to record the names, addresses and telephone numbers of respondents. The latter information was not to be recorded on the questionnaire, to preserve anonymity, but was required to allow a check on interviewers' work and to reduce the likelihood of negligence.

The questionnaire's nine items included some relevant to the present case and others relating to another topic (discussed later in this study, in Chapter 6). The questionnaire was designed with basic principles in mind, as set out by Hague (1987) and other writers:

The aim of the researcher in designing a questionnaire is fourfold:
- to obtain accurate data;
- to make the interview as interesting and stimulating as possible for the respondent;
- to be easily administered by the interviewer;
- to facilitate analysis (Hague 1987:225).

Reflecting remarks on the topic by Chisnell (1986:110), Hague (1987:236) and others, care was taken with the wording, structure and sequence of the questions. However, the content of this survey could be regarded as relatively simplistic, and these matters did not seem problematical. For example, no attitudinal data were sought; instead, the questionnaire is entirely about behavioural issues, a relatively simple theme for survey questionnaires (Hague 1987:230).

"The perfect questionnaire has yet to be written at first sitting" (Hague 1987:240). In accordance with a universally recommended policy, the questionnaire was pilot tested, which led to several minor revisions to a first draft.

Each interviewer was instructed to begin surveying at a designated address and proceed to collect respondents in private homes within the designated area on the map representing the cell to which each one was assigned. No instructions were issued about call-back procedures if no one was at home; nor was the sequence of households specified; these factors introduced a non-random character to the sample.

From the original plan to survey 44 residential cells spanning the whole city, 38 cells were surveyed. From those 38, representing a maximum 152 interviews, a total of 142 interviews were completed in time and form suitable for inclusion in the data. This shortfall reduced the survey's representative attribute, but not to a degree considered significant. 142 completed interviews in a quasi-random sample from a population of 40,500 is considered adequate. The completed questionnaires were returned to the present writer for checking.

The data from the 142 questionnaires were tabulated manually by this writer and an assistant. Because no complicated cross tabulations were proposed, manual tabulation was completed quickly and rendered computer processing unnecessary.

Findings

Tables 4.1, 4.2 and 4.3 present the main findings. Almost all of the 142 respondents, 139 or 97.8%, reported having travelled away from home for at least one night during the previous two years. In all those 139 respondents reported 2,251 trips over the two year period, representing a mean of 15.8 trips per respondent. Of these, most were domestic, to places within New Zealand, an average of 15 trips per respondent over the two year period or 2,173 in total. A minority of the trips were to overseas destinations, 78 in all, an average of 0.56 trips per respondent over the two year period.

TABLE 4.1: The Markets For Various Types of Travel Retailers Within Total Trips By An Outbound Traveller Population

	Trips	Trips	
No travel retailer used		1,591	(71%)
Travel retailer used:			
travel agent	228		
airline sales office	205		
coachline sales office	215		
other	12		
Sub total		660	(29%)
Total Trips		2,251	(100%)

Source: Palmerston North resident traveller survey, Aug. 1988 (n = 142).

Notes: 139 of the 142 respondents had made at least one trip for at least one night away, to domestic or international destinations, in the past two years. "Travel agents" includes banks and AA Travel departments.

Table 4.2: Main Reasons for Visiting Travel Agents
Before Trips

Reasons	Travellers	
	No	%
Advice on fares	72	91
Bookings and tickets	71	90
Advice on accommodation	28	35
Travel Insurance	22	28
Travel documentation	20	25
Advice on packaged holidays	13	17
Ideas where to go	9	11
Other	2	3

Source: Palmerston North resident traveller survey, Aug. 1988,(n = 79)
Note: Respondents could nominate multiple reasons, applying to their most recent trip.

Table 4.3: Factors Influencing Choice
of Particular Travel Agency Used

Factor	Trips	
	No	%
Used the same agency before	45	57
Convenient location	29	37
Special deal or price advertised	24	30
Recommended by somebody	23	29
Impulse, passing by the shop	3	4
Other	9	11

Source: Palmerston North resident traveller survey, Aug. 1988,(n = 79).
Note: Respondents could nominate multiple reasons, applying to their most recent trip.

Interpretation of Findings

Table 4.1 shows that among 2,251 total trips to all destinations over a two year period, a 71% majority (1,591) made no use of a travel retailer at the pre-trip stage. One can assume that the bulk of those 1,591 trips were arranged by the participants, and involved travelling to relatively well-known destinations within their home country.

What is the size of the travel market? As discussed earlier (in Chapter 3) expressions such as "the travel market" can be ambiguous. What can be discussed with more precision is the market for the travel agency industry, for the retail travel industry, or for the travel and tourism industry (etc.) in reference to a specified place in a certain role in tourism systems. In this case, the focus is Palmerston North as a traveller generator. Almost all the adults in the population had travelled during the previous two years. The total traveller flow over the two years was 2,251 trips by the 139 respondents over the two year interval. From a rough approximation of weighting the sample findings to the total adult population, an estimate emerges of 729,000 trips by 40,500 persons.

But those data do not represent a market for the travel and tourism industries in the T.G.R. because most of the trips were independently arranged. The market for the retail travel industry is represented by the 29% of total trips, approximately 211,400 trips over two years, for which a travel retailer was used (Table 4.1). Alternatively, instead of trips, this market can be measured in terms of individual consumers.

Table 4.1 shows the market shares held by each type of travel retailer. Travel agents (including travel departments in banks and in the Automobile Association), airline sales offices and coach line sales offices each held approximately one third of the travel retailer market.

The reasons given by respondents for visiting a travel agency are shown in Table 4.2. Services relating to transport fares (applying in 91% of cases) and to making bookings or buying tickets for transport and other travel products (90% of cases) are the dominant reasons. Indeed, no other factor is important in forming the travel agency market, since the next highest rankings are only 35% (seeking advice about accommodation) and 28% (travel insurance). Of course, while the minor factors do not appear to be major influences forming the market, they are important components in the total product mix provided by travel agents.

Why do people choose one travel agency rather than another? Answers to that question, reported in Table 4.3, also shed light on the industrialization of tourism systems at the pre-trip stage. The most common reason given (57% of cases) was that the individual had used the same agency previously and found it satisfactory.

37% said the agency had a convenient location. 30% said they were influenced by advertisements of a special deal or price. Recommendations influenced 29% of cases.

Conclusions

The survey data reported above cannot measure the level of industrialization in the TGR with any precision, because they tell nothing directly about how business organisations relate to travellers and to one another: the data are not about the supply-side issue of industrialization, but may be taken as a reflection of it. The findings indicate that the traveller flow out of Palmerston North as a traveller generating region had a relatively low level of dependency on the travel and tourism industry at the pre-departure stage. This reflects the fact that most of the trips were to domestic destinations and, presumably, involved the travellers using private facilities such as private motor vehicles and private (non-commercial) accommodation.

SIX FARM STAY PROPERTIES

Background

The six cases discussed below are farms in the vicinity of Palmerston North, identified as actively offering accommodation for tourists on a commercial basis. Farm stay tourism in New Zealand seems to have expanded rapidly during the past decade. However the activity is relatively larger and longer established in certain other countries, such as England, Ireland, France, Germany and Austria. Not many academic studies appear to have addressed the subject. Publications by Frater (1983), Haines and Davis (1987) and Phillip Pearce (1990) were located and formed part of the background for the present study.

Frater (1983) reported on a survey of farm stay businesses in England and on broad observations of the same line of business in continental Europe. The main thread of her research, a questionnaire used for the English survey, investigated the reasons for farming families entering this line of business. The study by Haines and Davies (1987), also from England, is a single chapter in a book, Diversifying the Farm Business. Its aim was to provide advice to farmers. Pearce's (1990) report

stemmed from a field trip in New Zealand, where he interviewed hosts on thirteen farms where he stayed as a paying guest. His research looked into social interactions between hosts and guests.

None of those three studies gave any consideration to a central question behind the present case studies: is a farm in the business and industry of tourism when it takes in tourists as paying guests? Answering that question, following the discussion in Chapter 3, requires examining the managerial policies and practices of each (farm) organisation under consideration.

The present research was conducted in 1990 as one theme in a broader investigation of farm tourism in the Manawatu Region, around Palmerston North. A preliminary step, after the literature review, was a series of background discussions with officials of the New Zealand Tourist and Publicity Department. Most useful in that organisation was Mr. Alastair Campbell, whose responsibilities included operating a secretariat for the New Zealand Association of Farm and Home Hosts. (In 1985 the Government had decided to foster the development of "farm tourism", and this secretariat within the Department was part of that policy.) Other discussions were conducted with Ms Dulcie Carson from Nelson, a board members of the Association and Director of New Zealand Home Hospitality Ltd, a company marketing and organising farm stays.

Survey Approach

The next step was to identify the population: the number and addresses of farms in the Manawatu active in farm tourism. An apparently ideal source was discovered in the files at the Information Office operated by Palmerston North City Council. This was the 1989 edition of the Manawatu Regional Tourism Marketing Plan: Inventory, prepared for the Palmerston North Promotional Board. One section of the inventory listed 20 properties under the farm hosts category. A supplementary source consulted was The New Zealand Bed and Breakfast Book (Thomas and Thomas 1989), which revealed three additional properties in the region, not in the Board's "Inventory", giving a total of twenty three. Their geographical spread around Palmerston North, the city in the centre of the Manawatu, was from Shannon in the south to Norsewood in the north, and from Halcombe in the east to Pahiatua in the west.

Pearce (1990) reported an "estimate" that more than 1,000 farms in New Zealand, 3% of the total, are hosting guests on a regular basis. He did not clarify "regular basis". Questions from the present writer to persons involved in farm hosting nationally (indicated above) revealed that no confident estimates are available on this number. What did emerge is that the Manawatu is not a major region for farm tourism. The Waikato and Southland are said to have many more farm stay properties.

Survey Method

Researching issues about suppliers (of any goods and services) come within the domain of "industrial market research". Cox (1979) observed that "defining and identifying the universe of organisations from which a sample is drawn is a much more demanding task in industrial survey research than in most consumer surveys" (ibid:249). The present exercise proved to be a good example of Cox's point. The initial plan was to survey a sample of the farms. However, attempts to contact the twenty three properties, by letter and by telephone, found that most were no longer active as farm hosts. Only six active cases were discovered. Accordingly, all six were targeted for the survey so that instead of a sample-based survey, the research methodology was changed into a collection of case studies structured around a survey of the total population. This is technically a census, which "occurs when a universe is examined in its entirety" (Chisnall 1986:47).

Appointments for visits with proprietors at the six properties were arranged by telephone. Each visit was between one and two hours in duration. The proprietors were told that the survey had two aims: to describe the region's farm hosting industry by describing the properties in more detail than the City's Inventory and secondly, to investigate operational and marketing practices of the hosting business. All six agreed to participate. They are listed below, along with a brief description and their nominal tariffs at the time of survey (mid 1990):

(i) Keith and Margaret Morris, "Grinton", R.D. 5, Palmerston North. This property has two bedrooms for guests, in a colonial homestead built in the 1880s, on a working beef farm. The homestead grounds include a locally-famous garden and a tennis court. The tariff is $60 double for bed and breakfast or $100 for dinner, bed and breakfast.

(ii) Terry and Barbara Fryer, Kelvin Grove Road, Palmerston North. Hampshire sheep are bred by the Fryers; their homestead has a rose garden which is a feature for guests. Two bedrooms are available for guests. The tariffs are the same as above.

(iii) Mr and Mrs Charlton-Jones, Alpha Farm, Ormondville, Dannevirke. This homestead, on a 420 acre sheep and cattle property, has two bedrooms for guests. The hosts encourage longer stays, to join in farm activities or just relax. The tariff is $90 a double for dinner, bed and breakfast.

(iv) Mr. and Mrs Barnett, R.D. 3, Dannevirke. The Barnetts live on a 900 acre sheep farm. Trout can be caught in the river, and there are horses for riding. Two bedrooms are available for guests. The tariff is $88 a double for dinner, bed and breakfast.

(v) Richard and Alison Fraser, "Bandan", R.D. 9, Feilding. The Frasers run a deer farm, where a section of land has retained the native bush. A track through allows guests to experience the New Zealand wilderness as it used to be. Two bedrooms are provided for guests. The tariff is $60 single for dinner, bed and breakfast.

(vi) "Thaddeus Place", Colin and Lynne Collecut, Hennessey Road, Shannon. Promoted under its distinctive name with brochures and several road-side signs, Thaddeus' Place has three bedrooms plus private lounge for guests. The tariff for dinner, bed and breakfast is $63 single, $118 double. Besides accommodation, the property stages an animal show, and also offers courses in chocolate making, spinning and other crafts. (Thaddeus is a large dog.)

The Questionnaire

A questionnaire was designed, to collect data relating to the aims of the survey. A copy is appended to this Chapter. Thus while this research could be described as a collection of six case studies, it also has a quantitative dimension, a questionnaire-based survey of the population of farm hosts in the Manawatu. However, all the questions were regarded as open-ended in the sense that follow up discussions occurred and were noted. This proved to be a useful qualitative dimension, allowing each property to be investigated in the nature of a case study. As the author of Qualitative Evaluation Methods remarked:

Fieldwork is not a single method of technique. Evaluation fieldwork means that the evaluator is on site (where the program is happening) observing, talking with people ... (etc.) Multiple sources of information are sought and multiple resources are used because no single source of information can be trusted to provide a comprehensive perspective (Patton 1980:157).

Survey Findings

Table 4.4 Farm Host's Main Reason for Hosting	
Main Reason	Number of respondents
Meeting people	4
Commercial business venture	1
Other - utilisation of assets	1
Source: Survey of farm hosts, 1990 (n = 6)	

The data in Table 4.4 shows only one out of six proprietors saying the main reason for hosting was commercial gain. Frater's (1983) English survey found the main reason influencing farmers' decisions to cater for paying guests was "to increase annual income" (35% of respondents) with the next ranking factor being "to enjoy the company" (25 %). While the ranking of factors is different in the two studies, in England and in New Zealand's Manawatu Region, the broad pattern could be described as similar. Pearce's (1990) study of thirteen New Zealand cases reported no statistical data on this question, but it does state that those involved "emphasized that money was not the major goal of their farm hosting" (Pearce 1990:343). Superficially, from these findings one might infer that five of the six properties in the present cases are not hosting in any "business" sense. However more probing is needed and, recognizing this, other questions were designed to investigate the issue from other perspectives.

Question 3 in the Manawatu survey revealed that five of the six hosts would like to increase the number of guests over the year: three of the five would like a twofold increase and two would like ten times as many! This suggests that existing levels of activity are not satisfying farmers' motivations for offering accommodation. One might infer that the desire for more guests represents a

commercial or business motivation, especially in the light of Pearce's (1990) note that 90% of his respondents showed a detailed awareness of their financial costs and returns, indicating that the business motivations may be more important that preliminary observations revealed.

Table 4.5 Sources of Guests

Sources	Number of properties using each source	Average percentage of guests from each
Casual, off road	2	11%
Pre-booked, by guest	5	31%
... by travel agent	4	55%
... by Info office	2	13%
Referrals, other farms	3	9%
Other referrals	2	28%

Source: Survey of farm hosts 1990 (n = 6).

Four of the six derive custom from travel agencies, which also seems to be the largest source of guests across the six properties. Supplementary questions during the interviews revealed that the farmers pay a commission (10% of the tariff) to travel agents and to the Information Office in the city. These findings, revealing the scale of commercial interactions with organisations in the business of tourism, lend weight to the view that the majority of the farm hosts has a business dimension, even if it is not the major reason for the activity.

Only one of the six cases uses its own distinctive brochure for promotional purposes. Three cases are listed in brochures prepared for many farm hosts. Those brochures are New Zealand Farm Holidays and New Zealand Directory of Farm and Home Hosts. Two cases have no involvement in brochures. Five of the six are listed in an accommodation directory. In four instances this is the New Zealand Bed and Breakfast Book and in one case, Jasons Budget Accommodation 1990.

Question 8 revealed that only one of the six farm hosts is a member of the New Zealand Association of Farm and Home Hosts, and is actively involved, attending

annual meetings for example. This is the host with an individual brochure. Four of the six claimed no knowledge of the Association's existence and one host said he knew of the Association but regarded it as "out of our league".

Only one host reported any contact with other farm hosts. Again, this is the one active in the Association.

None of the six hosts were able to name the farms in the locality which they believed may have hosted the largest numbers of guests in the past year. One offered "a guess". It referred to a property which, unbeknown to the respondent, had been sold, and where the new owners had not continued the farm tourism practice.

The suggestion of a joint marketing scheme (question 11) prompted cautious responses. Two hosts said it was "unlikely" they would join, two said it was "possible" ... if the scheme was going to succeed in increasing their level of activity, and two said they were "most likely" to join (again) if the scheme would increase their level of activity. Only one host is active in any tourism association (question 12).

Are These Six Farms in the Business of Tourism?

In terms of the theoretical constructs set out in Chapter 3, all six cases can be described as organisations actively engaged in the business of tourism. The levels or intensity of that activity may be quite low in most of the six cases. But in every case, interviews with the farm couple, along with other observations, revealed firstly that the hosting role was conducted on a commercial basis. Second, the guest-customers in each case could be described as tourists, in at least two senses of that descriptor identified in Chapter 2, technical and conceptual. Third, the hosts recognized that their tourist-guests have distinctive characteristics which have shaped the manner of the service offered and the methods of promotion and distribution used by the farm host.

Are These Farm Hosts in Any Industry?

Chapter 3 presented arguments that industrialization as a management factor is variable so, for instance, three organisations in the tourist business might include

one that is very active in the tourism industry, one that has a lower degree of industrialization, and a third wholly outside that industry.

The case studies of farm tourism properties led to mixed findings on this issue. All six cases might be described as components of tourism industries. However in five of the six cases, the degree of involvement is extremely marginal, reliant on intermittent commercial dealings with travel agencies and with the Palmerston North Information Office. The exception is the case with active participation in the Association of Farm and Home Hosts. But even in this case, while there was participation in a national industry group, there was minimal awareness and cooperation with similar or related organisations at a regional level. There is evidence of the six farms using similar technologies in serving their guests (the accommodation facilities) but no evidence of any shared technologies.

Thus, farm tourism in the Manawatu region can be described as having a very low level of industrialization. Arguably, the collection of six farms in 1990 have insufficient cooperative links to form a farm tourism industry in any functional sense or to be described as participating, in a significant way, in the travel and tourism industries. In five cases, the hosts seem to waiting for somebody else to create and manage an industrial structure appropriate to their farm hosting activities, which they might be able to use. In the sixth case, token efforts and investments are being made to participate in that endeavour.

Questions for pondering are whether, and to what extent, the very high turnover in farm tourism businesses might be linked to the low level of industrialization in this activity? Twenty three farms were listed in the 1989 Inventory; only six were found to be active in 1990, none were operating anywhere near desired levels and five of the six were only marginally industrialized in that activity. Would the farms be more commercially successful, and would more of the twenty three have remained active, if the proprietors had taken more initiative to form the various inter-organisational linkages required to make and sustain a farm tourism industry as a sector in the travel and tourism industries?

FOUR IN-DEPTH CASE STUDIES

The remaining four cases to be discussed in this Chapter involved purely qualitative methods and, therefore, rather more detail about each organisation than the farm host cases presented earlier. Accordingly, background research approaches and methods for these four are discussed as a preliminary.

Approaches to and Methods in Case Studies

Wyndham Estate Wines, The Manhattan Hotel, The Summit Restaurant, and New Zealand Rent-A-Bike are cases based upon similar approaches and methods. The approach, in a literal sense, was that each was discovered as salient to the issue of organisations around the margins of tourist markets as an incidental by-product of the researcher's general interest in tourism-related organisations. That interest led to close observations of a large number of organisations during the 1980s. The four cases selected for detailed academic analysis were ones which appeared most appropriate to the aims of the present project.

Their non-random selection is not problematical for the present study. As discussed earlier, the research approach is following Popper's (1980) principle for disproving an hypothesis, which requires just one case. Accordingly, the selection of a case (or collection of cases) is not a relevant issue. What is relevant is whether the cases are appropriate to the hypothesis. That should be apparent from the cases.

In terms of methods used, several broadly similar features can be listed. Each case involves a particular business organisation studied over several years in the 1980s. Each case required on-site observations and interviews. Each used qualitative research methods. Also, each focuses on managerial strategies considered against tourism as a potential line of business and industrial affiliation. Because of those common features, a general discussion about research methods is set out below, before taking up the first case. Distinctive features in method are described under each case.

General methods for case study research have been widely discussed in social sciences such as anthropology, sociology and social work, but not so much has been written on the topic from the perspective of business studies (Bonoma 1985, Craig Smith 1989). Bonoma remarked that the management literature reflects a

preference for quantitative approaches using positivist, hypothetico-deductive methods, rather than qualitative case studies. Describing that article as "one of the few papers in the management literature on the case study method" Smith (1989:54) reinforced Bonoma's remark, before arguing that case studies are useful and that their departure from conventional scientific method is not necessarily problematical. Gummerson's (1988) discussion on case study research in management also disputes any suggestion that it lacks status because of alleged deficiencies.

Arguments supporting a reliance on qualitative case research have been advanced by Patton (1980), whose interests are in social sciences. His arguments do not assert a general superiority of qualitative research over quantitative; rather, they express the view that both methods have productive roles:

Quantitative measures are succinct, parsimonious, and easily aggregated for analysis; quantitative data are systematic, standardized ... By contrast, qualitative measures are longer, more detailed and variable in content; analysis is difficult because responses are neither systematic nor standardized. Yet the open-ended responses permit one to understand the world as seen by the respondents (Patton 1980:28).

In reference to management research, both Craig Smith (1989) and Gummerson (1988) have defended the general uses of case studies. Their arguments are similar to those advanced by Patton in his comments about social research. A phrase in the quotation above from Patton seems quite salient to the present study ... (Qualitative research can) "permit one to understand the world as seen by the respondents". If a goal of research is to discover how a particular person perceives conditions in terms of their individual role as a manager, a qualitative approach may be more productive than a survey questionnaire or similar quantitative approach designed to produce statistical data, with their (usually) narrower focus.

Case studies are best known for their use in certain kinds of schooling, especially in clinical modes where students are invited to analyze a given case and offer a solution. This approach has been long established in medical schools, and more recently in business schools.

In relation to medicine, Foucault's (1963) <u>Naissance de la Clinique</u> (published in English as <u>The Birth of the Clinic: An Archaeology of Medical Perception,</u> 1975) is a classic analysis of how clinical case methodologies evolved. A major advantage, in medical clinical research and schooling, is that the case study approach has realistic qualities. In business studies too, cases are "real" in that they are about actual organisations or, at least, are hypothetical cases designed to seem realistic.

The Uses of Case Studies

In management research, case studies have several uses, which may overlap. Gummerson (1988:75-6) cited Yin and also Kjellen and Soderman to identify five types of uses. The first use is exploratory, as in a pilot study. A second is descriptive, to record what happened in a given case. Gummerson says these two uses "are traditionally given low status ... ancillary to other methods" (ibid:76). The third use of case studies in Gummerson's list is for explanatory research. A fourth use is to generate theory, and a fifth is where a case study is used to generate change in an organisation.

The cases discussed in this Chapter have an exploratory use since they represent the first investigation in the field of tourism's partial-industrialization. Possibly this will help future research on the issue. These cases also have a descriptive use, but this is ancillary. Third, more important, these cases should have an explanatory use in that they should clarify aspects of management policy and strategy in certain circumstances. Most important is the fourth use in Gummerson's list; these cases are intended to contribute to the formulation and refinement of theories of partial-industrialization. Finally, in one case, the research began with the researcher in a management consultancy role, and was part of a process generating change in an organisation.

This last use relates to the case of The Manhattan Hotel, which began with Connell (the General Manager) seeking consultancy advice and led to a new strategic approach being adopted with significant advantages soon forthcoming for the business. In fact, after beginning in a consultancy role, the present writer assigned this to a group of students in their final year towards a business diploma. Studying business management in the travel and tourism industry, they were able to provide Connell with the information and contacts he required. The present

writer watched over the practical consultancy assignment, interested in its salient academic issues.

The Importance of Context

One of the cardinal principles of qualitative methods is the importance of background and context to the process of understanding and interpreting data (Patton 1980:9).

All the cases to follow in this Chapter are about business organisations and their management. That is their primary context. This means that issues not directly relevant to business management were not priorities for research. As Patton (1980:40-42) remarked in his discussion of strategies for qualitative research methods, there is a need for a strategic framework.

Secondly, all the cases in this Chapter have, as another common context, tourists of various sorts in the market of the organisation under examination. Thus all these cases may be interpreted against a background of tourism, in general, as discussed in Chapter 2. However because of the primacy of the business context, research into these cases was not designed to advance any tourism-related interests. In this aspect of research strategy, these cases followed Patton's (1980:42) prescription for naturalistic inquiry, for a disinterested approach.

Fieldwork, Interviewing, and Note Taking

Patton (1980:157) and several other authorities emphasize that fieldwork in qualitative research is not a single method or technique. It does require an evaluator to be in the field, on-site, and to use an appropriate mix of methods for gathering data. These may include interviews, especially semi-structured discussions with an open-ended character, examinations of documentary records, and passive observations.

In none of the cases reported in this Chapter were documentary records examined. The sorts of data obtainable from each organisation's documents were not considered pertinent to the aims of the research. Since the research was seeking to discover what managers were thinking about, and how this was reflected in strategies, the research sought to get into managers' minds rather than their documents.

However, in any qualitative case work, "what is not optional is the taking of field notes!" (Patton 1980:160). Accordingly, for each of the cases presented in this Chapter, handwritten notes were recorded in the field, during and after interviews, and reviewed and clarified soon afterwards for subsequent analysis. Ideally for this kind of research, audio cassette recordings might have been used, and all discussions in the field transcribed in full for comprehensive and fully-detailed analysis. This method was considered but thought to be unnecessary and probably detrimental to a priority goal: getting managers to converse frankly about their strategic thinking. Patton's remarks are quite pertinent on this point:

> **Effective interviewing (in qualitative research) should cause both the interviewer and interviewee to feel that a two-way communication is going on. Interviews should not be simply interrogation ... (Patton 1980:240).**

In three of the four cases to follow, the interviewing style recommended by Patton was sought and, seemingly, achieved. The exception was New Zealand Rent-A-Bike Ltd. Although this case involved the most extensive and intensive field interviews, and although the principal respondent (Geoffrey Barker) was generally cooperative, during every set of interviews (in four visits to Christchurch between 1983 and 1989) certain topics required an interviewing style in the nature of interrogation. Certain observations on this problem are set out later, under the discussion of that case.

WYNDHAM ESTATE WINES LTD

Introduction

Wyndham Estate Wines Ltd is an example of a organisation which might seem very involved with tourism, but which was found to be not in that business or industry. The primary evidence in this case comes from discussions with Brian McGuigan, the Managing Director of Wyndham Estate Wines Ltd, and from subsequent written correspondence with him about the case. Incidental data were obtained during personal observations at the site and in its environments, and from press reports collected about the Company.

This case emerged from consultancy work for the Hunter Valley Tourism Association. Intermittently during 1977-1983 the present writer was asked to offer comments and suggestions about the Association's policies, strategies and activities. In 1982 the Association's Manager, Bill Baker, hosted the present writer on the first of a series of visits to wineries. A discussion with Brian McGuigan at Wyndham Estate stimulated academic interest, leading to more detailed interviews with him. In 1988, further correspondence with McGuigan involved his reviewing a draft of the present material.

Two features of this case deserve noting in its introduction. The first is the professional nature of Brian McGuigan's approach. During interviews, he was clearly drawing on his previous thinking about which lines of business and industry Wyndham Estate **was** in and which lines it **should be** in. He demonstrated familiarity with scholarly literature on these questions. Moreover he revealed how he had, previous to the interviews, considered the ramifications of shifting strategy to put Wyndham Estate into the business and industry of tourism as well as wine, but had decided against those moves.

A second feature is that the management of a neighbouring vineyard, Hungerfords, **had** decided to extend strategic lines of business and industrial affiliation, and were attempting to operate simultaneously in the wine and tourism industries. This example added a useful dimension to the analysis of the Wyndham case.

Background

The vineyards in question were owned by Penfold Wines Ltd until 1970 when they were purchased by Brian McGuigan's father and became the headquarters for Wyndham Estate Wines Ltd. To raise extra capital, in 1977 a 57% shareholding was sold to the Quadrax Group, an investment company whose interests included a majority shareholding in the Budget Corporation Ltd, operators of a large chain of car rental agencies. Stan Hamley, Chairman of Quadrax (and of Budget) also became Chairman of Wyndham Estate.

Wyndham Estate owns and operates vineyards and wineries in other parts of New South Wales besides its headquarters. Its wines are distributed nationwide and also exported to several countries. Wyndham Estate has a high media profile in Australia from advertising and public relations. McGuigan is well-known from frequent media appearances and has a reputation as an energetic entrepreneur with a flair for public relations, a successful business manager and an expert on wines and wine making.

Wyndham Estate's address is Branxton, in the Hunter Valley of New South Wales, approximately 150 kilometres north of Sydney. Amongst tourists interested in the wineries, this part of the Hunter Valley is often referred to as Pokolbin, a village south of Branxton. The "Pokolbin District", the 20 kilometres between Branxton and Cessnock, has hundreds of vineyards and several dozen wineries, and is widely reputed (in New South Wales at least) to produce the best table wines in Australia. Most of the wineries are open to the public, encouraging people to see the cellars, taste and talk about wines and how they are made and, in many instances, buy bottled wines. Over the years, Pokolbin has become an increasingly popular destination for day-trippers and tourists. They come, in the main, from Sydney. Most travel by private vehicle, on day trips or for visits of two or three days. A proportion are on organised group tours, travelling by coach.

Wyndham Estate is prominent amongst the wineries open to the public partly because it is one of the first encountered on the main access road, from Branxton. It is open seven days a week. A large parking lot is provided, used every day by many private cars and a smaller number of tour coaches. Inside are a wine tasting room, cellars, a sales desk where bottles can be purchased, and a bistro. Among the wineries in the neighbourhood open to visitors, Wyndham Estate seems to rank in

the top two or three in terms of visitor numbers. No statistics are recorded on this item: daily volumes could vary from around 50 to 500 or more visitors to Wyndham Estate.

According to conventional notions followed by tourism interests, discussed in Chapter 3, Wyndham Estate is in the business and industry of tourism. Those notions allow an organisation to be part of other industries (eg wine) besides tourism if certain conditions exist. Wyndham Estate provides products (services and goods) to tourists and derives income from that source, and this commercial link is taken to represent a business and industrial involvement with tourism. The signs are reinforced by its membership of the Hunter Valley Tourism Association.

Interviews With McGuigan

The issue of Wyndham Estate's strategic lines of business and industrial affiliation arose from a discussion over lunch about the strengths and weaknesses of the Hunter Valley Tourism Association. The participants in the discussion were Baker (Manager of the H.V.T.A.), McGuigan, and the present writer.

Baker said that the H.V.T.A., like many regional tourism associations, failed to attract members from many local businesses which derived significant proportions of their revenue from tourists, directly or indirectly. He further claimed that a large proportion of businesses which were H.V.T.A. members could be described as "token" participants, unwilling to contribute much money or effort to help foster tourism.

McGuigan concurred. He said his own Company was an example of the latter type. But, he said, for Wyndham Estate to be more than a token member of the H.V.T.A. was not in its best interests because it was "not in the business of tourism". This led to a convoluted three-way conversation. To discover McGuigan's reasoning, arrangements were made to interview him in more detail at a later time.

During a series of detailed discussions, McGuigan remained firm in his opinion that Wyndham Estate was not in the business or industry of tourism. He cited Peter Drucker as one of the writers on management who had shaped his reasoning on the

issue, but McGuigan's arguments reflected academic theories beyond Drucker's basic principles on the subject. McGuigan advanced the principle that each "entrepreneur" should determine precisely "which line of business, which market and industry", his organisation is in, and that having made that decision, manage the organisation accordingly.

He said he manages Wyndham Estate as part of the wine making and marketing industry. He asserted that to try and be in two lines of business at the same time is not conducive to long term success in either.

A counter question was put to him: how does he relate to the tourists in his market, and to the fact that Wyndham Estate has certain resources provided specifically for tourists and derives income from tourists? The resources referred to were:

(i) the car park, larger and representing a greater capital investment than would be needed if no tourists visited;

(ii) the bistro, which had a kitchen, an eating area, and specialized personnel;

(iii) the wine tasting and sales rooms, which also involved investments in fittings and personnel beyond those required for a winery not open to the public.

McGuigan said he did not regard the tourists who came into his winery as part of the primary market of the business. He said any revenue derived from selling food, drink and bottled wines from the winery was incidental and not really salient to the overall strategic aims of the Company. He said this income was regarded as merely a means for recouping some of the costs (capital and operating) in providing the resources for visitors.

He said Wyndham's primary markets are located in the cities, towns and other places where wine drinkers lived, in Australia and overseas. The strategic aims of the business had to focus on those markets: any dilution in the focus was likely to weaken the strategy.

This was the main reason why the prices of wine on sale at the winery are the same as in shops in Sydney. McGuigan remarked how visitors tended to expect wine to be available at lower prices at the wineries, and admitted his cellar sales

could be much greater if he fulfilled those expectations. However, he claimed any discounting by Wyndham's direct sales would undermine the support of wholesalers and retail wine merchants in Sydney and other primary market places. Wyndham's established distribution channels required support, not competition from the supplier.

He said that from a strategic perspective, he regards the passing flow of tourists as an opportunity to publicize Wyndham Estate's wines. By operating the tasting room, sales desk and bistro, and by having staff (and himself) available to chat with visitors, he hopes that more people come to know and appreciate the wines, resulting in them seeking and asking for the Wyndham Estate brand in shops back in their home regions. He is using the opportunity to "create customers" in the literal sense, a marketing paradigm. A supplementary factor seems to be the pleasure McGuigan gets from meeting people and from talking about wines.

He said that on past occasions he had given thought to investing relatively more resources in the tourist-related aspects of the operation, but has always decided against that option. He believes that the optimal policy for Wyndham Estate is to spend sufficient on its tourist-related activities to meet the promotional opportunities for the wine business and to provide suitable facilities for the tourists. The on-site promotional activities at Pokolbin are a very small part of Wyndham Estate's total promotional mix.

For contrast, McGuigan pointed to Hungerford Hill Winery along the road. That Company and its tenants have invested several million dollars in a large tourist park based around a wine theme: included are two dozen shops leased to independent operators, three restaurants, a winery and cellars, childrens' playgrounds and other entertainment facilities. McGuigan's attitude to Hungerford Hill was encouraging but perceptive: they help attract people to the region and help promote wines generally and Hunter Valley wines more particularly, but now they are in the recreation or tourism industry and no longer concentrate on producing and marketing wines.

The present writer suspects Hungerford Hill might be in two industries: it seems to have component firms (sub-organisations) in the wine industry and in the recreation-tourism industry, under separate management teams or separate S.B.Us (strategic business units) within a corporate group framework. The case was not

investigated in detail during this study, but two visits to the site and discussions on broad aspects of the venture with senior managers and lease holders led to the suspicion of two S.B.Us.

The business of Wyndham Estate is different. Its income comes almost wholly from sales of wines though distribution channels to markets beyond the Hunter Valley, and only a small proportion of total revenue comes from sales of wines and food to visitors at the winery.

Wyndham Estate: What Business and Industry?

What line(s) of business and industry can be realistically attributed to Wyndham Estate? One approach would be to say that the reality is in the mind of the organisation's manager, how he or she thinks. On that basis, this is an organisation in the business and industry of wine making and marketing. Another approach, a more substantial and empirical one, is to consider how the organisation's management is directing its resources. Wyndham Estate has deliberately avoided investing more in the tourist-related aspects of operations at Branxton. McGuigan has decided to invest relatively more on wine making and on promotional and distributional efforts in the primary market places, away from Branxton.

How can Wyndham Estate's membership of the Hunter Valley Tourist Association be reconciled with that conclusion? The impression formed is that membership is seen by McGuigan very largely as a civic responsibility within the local business community. To a lesser extent, it is seen as a promotional activity for the winery. Moreover, participation in that Association seems to be less than McGuigan's involvement in various wine-related groups.

From all the evidence, to claim that McGuigan is being myopic or pedantic in not seeing his business as part of the tourism industry would miss the point. Moreover, the Company's very successful performance over recent years is ample reply to those who might have advised McGuigan to devote more of his time and capital to the tourist market, to regard his business as part of the tourism industry. Had he followed that path, the Company's fortunes might be less.

As a business, Wyndham Estate Ltd has been remarkably successful. A report in the Australian Financial Review (2 September, 1988) provides recent figures.

The Company's revenues have increased at an annual average compound rate of 35% over the four years to 1988; its sales revenue for the six months to 30 June 1988 was $16.3 million and net profit after tax for the same period was $1.9 millions, 11.8% on sales.

Implications

What implications arise specifically from this case? Firstly, what is the role of Wyndham Estate in tourism systems? Its winery and associated facilities (such as the bistro) certainly functions as the nucleus of a tourist attraction: that role is independent of the strategies pursued by the organisation's management. (An analysis of tourist attraction systems into nuclear, marker and tourist elements is presented later, in Chapter 9.)

Wyndham Estate's policy is to encourage tourists, any passing people in fact, to visit the winery. But there is a counter policy to avoid developing the attraction beyond its nuclear element to any significant extent: Wyndham Estate does provide information to tourists at the site, but it has no strategy for proving promotional material in traveller generating regions. Nor does it have any formal links with tour operators. They are allowed to call in, but unlike at Hungerford Hill, gaining their custom is not a strategic aim. Wyndham Estate does not actively seek out tour operator partners to promote visits to its winery as a feature in packaged tours: it merely allows that to occur. Other organisations, such as independent tour operators, can choose to use Wyndham Estate's premises as the nucleus of an attraction, and can be strategically active promoting Wyndham Estate's site. The Hunter Valley Tourist Association, the New South Wales Tourism Commission and other tourism promoters are able to do the same thing. But that does not make Wyndham Estate an industrialized component of tourism systems. In this instance, Wyndham Estate's management has decided against that option.

The determining factor behind McGuigan's opinion that the Company is not in the tourist business is strategy, not the ratio of revenue from tourists as against other sources. Strategy is not specifically and directly related to economic dependency.

An implication arises from this for the performance of the Pokolbin District as a tourist destination. Local businesses such as Wyndham Estate are serving their own

interests by taking advantage of the passing flow of tourists, but they may not be serving their own interests by devoting more than token or marginal resources to promoting that flow. Hungerford Hill Winery is in a quite different position. It has a strategic interest in promoting its neighbourhood as a tourist destination.

Conclusion

In conclusion, Wyndham Estate is in the wine making and marketing industry, and its involvements with tourism are insufficient to describe the organisation as part of an industrial element in tourism systems. It is however, certainly part of the environment for a tourist destination, a feature of the wine-related environments of the Pokolbin District. Some persons interested in promoting the Hunter region as a tourist destination might criticize Wyndham Estate for not concentrating on the tourist market. Such criticisms are misplaced. Wyndham Estate's best interests have been served by not following that path.

Writing in reference to an earlier draft of this case, Brian McGuigan expressed the opinion that the paper was "a very perceptive one, as I believe your comments within the paper very accurately have determined and summarised the position of Wyndham within the wine and tourism industries" (McGuigan, pers. comm., January 1989).

What of the period since, and the future? In the same letter, McGuigan said "Regarding changes in direction, we have not made any and do not intend to make any. Sales in the last twelve months have been progressing most satisfactorily and I am hopeful sales will reach the $50 million level in the 1988-89 period" (ibid).

A public announcement later in the year confirmed this trend: Wyndham Estate's sales revenue was approximately $A 60 million for 1988-89, of which $A 12 million was export sales; McGuigan said that $12 million represented 20% of total Australian bottled wine exports (The Bulletin 28 November, 1989).

One wonders if Wyndham Estate's marketing and financial performance would have been so spectacularly successful had McGuigan allocated more attention and resources to developing a tourist market at the winery? Axiomatically, any such redirection would have meant proportionately less attention and resources focussed on the primary markets, on the wine business.

THE MANHATTAN HOTEL

Background

This case had its origins in 1982 when the General Manager of the Manhattan Hotel sought consultancy advice from the present writer. Discussions stimulated academic interest in issues beyond the practicalities of management strategy. Notes were recorded to this end. Six years later, in 1988, further visits were made to the hotel for observations and interviews with management.

The circumstances described by Gary Connell, the General Manager in 1982, were something of a surprise in that the hotel's policies and practices conformed to the partial-industrialization concept suggested three years earlier (Leiper 1979). The surprise was because the formation of the idea that business organisations could serve significant numbers of tourists but remain outside the tourism industry did not imagine organisations in the hotel accommodation business. Supermarkets and other general retailers were in mind. Thus this case began, in 1982, as inductive analysis:

> **Inductive analysis means that the patterns, themes, and categories come from the data; they emerge out of the data rather than being imposed on them prior to data collection and analysis (Patton 1980:306).**

The Manhattan Hotel's address is Rowntree Avenue, Potts Point, Sydney, but the location is generally referred to as Kings Cross, a popular tourist zone. (The official border of Kings Cross is a block south of the hotel.) The hotel has 160 rooms for guests, plus a restaurant, a small bar and reception area on the ground floor. The income stems almost wholly from the hotel guests, since the bar and restaurant are not promoted in any way to outsiders. The business is said to have changed owners several times since the hotel was constructed in the 1960s. It has always been in the middle-to-lower end of the hotel market. Following a change of owner in 1982, Gary Connell was appointed General Manager.

The Consultancy Assignment in 1982

Connell contacted the present writer soon after taking up appointment as General Manager, expressing a wish to meet and discuss a consultancy project. At the meeting, he described his position (as General Manager) and admitted relative ignorance about hotels, referring to his previous experiences managing restaurants and clubs. He expressed an aim, to "get the Manhattan into the tourist industry" and he wanted advice as to how this could be achieved.

The initial reply was "Gary, most people would say The Manhattan is already in the tourist industry. Aren't most of your guests tourists of one sort or another?"

Gary Connell's response was that he regarded the business as being in the hotel industry, but "not plugged into tourism".

From further discussions with Connell, three problems about the business emerged. First and foremost, the hotel was under-utilized: its room occupancy performance recently had been mediocre. Connell did not offer statistical data, indicating that no accurate and detailed records were available, but he said that in recent weeks room occupancy had averaged around   50%. Connell asserted the obvious way to lift the performance was to attract more guests, tourists of some sort. Almost all of The Manhattan's existing market comprised visitors to Sydney from other places in Australia and New Zealand.

A second problem was fluctuating levels of activity. Virtually any hotel experiences fluctuating room occupancies from day to day and from week to week: fluctuating activity is characteristic of service industries. However, Connell expressed the opinion that variety in fluctuations at The Manhattan had been excessive.

A third problem for Connell was an inability to predict the level of activity (the number of guests) from one day to the next and from one week to the next. There was no way of knowing how many guests to expect because, first, advance bookings were a small percentage of total business. Second, advance bookings were coming from sporadic sources: directly from customers and occasionally from an apparently random number of travel agents.

Connell explained what he meant by "plugged into tourism". He meant more bookings from travel agents, including packaged tours. He saw this as the means

for countering all three problems. In summary, Connell recognised that for The Manhattan to be viable and successful as a business, The Manhattan needed more guests, but it also needed much more effective distribution channels that would provide a more even flow of guests and simultaneously provide the operations management team at the hotel with better advanced information about demand. Connell had a basic, layman's knowledge of the travel trade, and was seeking more detailed information about it: he wanted to know how travel agents deal with hotels, how an hotel comes to be included in a packaged tour program, how the Department of Tourism might help, and so on.

The consultancy assignment proved a fairly simple one. Connell was given information about the travel and tourism industry, and specifically its operational methods relevant to hotels in Sydney. He was assisted in making contacts with industry associations such as the Inbound Tour Operators Association, Sydney Visitors and Conventions Bureau, Tour Wholesalers Association, Australian Travel Agents Association, Australian Tourist Commission, and New South Wales Department of Tourism. He was provided with contacts to prospective trading partners among outbound tour wholesalers serving travel markets in provincial parts of Australia and in New Zealand.

The Manhattan in 1982: Which Business, Which Industry?

The Manhattan's lines of business in 1982 were, arguably, in hotels and tourism. It was a tourist hotel, applying the principles outlined in Chapter 3 for deciding the lines of business being pursued by a particular organisation. This is using "tourist" in its broad technical sense, as discussed in Chapter 2.

But, as argued in Chapter 3, an organisation may be in a certain line of business and remain outside, or on the fringes of, the corresponding industry. This was the condition with The Manhattan in 1982. It was certainly part of the city's hotel industry: a member of the Australian Hotels Association and cooperating in various ways with other hotels. But despite its activities providing a full range of hotel services to tourists, it was not part of the tourism industry. Its business activities were such that it could be described as having a negligible level of industrialization in relation to tourism systems. Connell's stated aim of getting the business into the tourism industry was based on a realistic assessment of the position. He saw that this had to be changed, if the business was to prosper.

Connell informed the present writer, in 1983, that the strategies implemented in 1982 proved useful, and that the hotel had established on-going connections in the travel and tourism industry's distribution and promotional channels.

The Manhattan Hotel in 1988

In 1988 the case was reviewed, to investigate developments. Telephone contacts with the General Manager's Secretary revealed that Connell had left the hotel. The background to what was now a purely academic case was described. A member of the management team, Helen Beck, agreed to be interviewed.

This led to two visits for interviews in the hotel. The ownership had changed since 1982, and a wholly new management team was in place. Helen Beck described her position as "Sales and Marketing Consultant". She was briefed on the consultancy for Connell in 1982, and on how it had developed into academic research.

Ms Beck said that when the present team took over, the hotel's major custom was from bookings stemming from the travel trade. She was not, however, able (or willing?) to say what proportion of guests came from that source. Nor could she estimate how the travel trade custom was divided amongst guests booked by retail travel agents and guests booked on pre-packaged travel arrangements in tour operators' schedules. Her specific responsibilities were to consolidate and develop the flow of business coming from the travel trade. She was dividing her attention between markets in other States of Australia and New Zealand. She said promotional trips to Auckland by her predecessor and herself, to meet tour operator-wholesalers, had been successful. She said The Manhattan was listed in "most" brochures in the New Zealand market promoting accommodation packages in Sydney; three examples were produced for inspection.

Ms Beck would not say precisely what the performance of the hotel, in terms of room occupancies, had been in the recent past. She indicated the figures were confidential, but asserted that they were "quite satisfactory, but with scope for improvement".

In 1988, hotels in Sydney were reportedly enjoying good times because of extra visitors in Australia generally, and in Sydney in particular, because of the

Bicentennial celebrations. Ms Beck said that in fact, many hotels had spare capacity most of the time, and that hotels were competing for business.

The two visits to the hotel in June 1988, on successive week days, led to observations of a moderately busy hotel. Between 10 am and 1 pm on each day, a trickle of guests were seen in the lobby and restaurant. Compared with conditions in 1982, the place seemed much busier.

Back in Palmerston North a week later, visits were made to several retail travel agencies and two airline offices (Air N.Z. and Qantas), to inspect travel brochures for visits to Sydney. The Manhattan was observed to be listed (and promoted with a photograph) in several of these brochures.

Conclusions

In 1982 The Manhattan Hotel, deriving virtually all its income from tourists, could be described as in the tourist accommodation business. But it was not in the industry of tourism. Steps were taken by management to change that condition.

In 1988 the hotel was functioning as part of the travel and tourism industry. Its marketing and operations were integrated to a significant extent with tour operator-wholesalers and with retail travel agents. Its management had links with several tourism industry associations, as a source of contacts and information. The hotel had retained its affiliation in the city's hotel industry, but had extended into a broader industrial affiliation, travel and tourism.

Was this management-inspired shift necessary, or in the best interests of the business? Circumstantial evidence suggests that the viability of The Manhattan was helped by the move into the industry of tourism. But no definite conclusion can be drawn. Much more data on the case would be required to claim, with any surety, that The Manhattan would have failed had it stayed with policies and procedures in place before Gary Connell took over as General Manager. The fact that room occupancies were higher in 1988 cannot be attributed to the links established in the travel trade. The extra customers in 1988 could have been attributable entirely to the extra demand for hotel accommodation in Sydney in Australia's Bicentennial Year. In other words, what could have occurred is that The Manhattan switched from being a relatively independent hotel to one comparatively dependent on the travel trade, and so switched from one type of guest towards much greater reliance on another type.

THE SUMMIT RESTAURANT

Introduction

The Summit Restaurant is on top of the Tower Building at Australia Square in Sydney's central business district. Comprising 50 levels of offices, shops and services, The Australia Square Tower has been a landmark since construction in the 1960s. The restaurant, operating since 1967, can accommodate more than 300 diners. It provides spectacular views over the city and harbour below, and views beyond to the beaches of the Pacific Ocean in the east and, to the west, the Blue Mountains. Most of the tables in the restaurant are on the outside perimeter, with immediate window views. This outer rim of the restaurant revolves slowly, and during a leisurely meal each table completes a revolution, allowing diners to experience a slowly changing panorama. For a number of years, the building was the highest in the southern hemisphere, a distinction which added to The Summit's reputation as a place to dine while visiting Sydney. That distinction was lost in 1982 when Centrepoint Tower, rather higher, was constructed a kilometer to the south. It also has restaurant facilities. However The Summit remains distinguished in other ways: superior standards of food and service, and proximity to the harbour allowing unequalled views.

For these reasons, on virtually any day, The Summit has a significant number of tourists amongst its diners, a fact apparent from casual observations and a point agreed by its operational and managerial personnel. This case is about how The Summit's management has responded to the tourist market and industry. Data comes largely from informal interviews in the restaurant with a number of managerial and operating personnel (waiters and, in more detail, supervisors) during visits in 1988 and 1990). More detailed data comes from correspondence with Oliver Shaul, the Managing Director of Summit Restaurants Limited. Background data comes from personal custom at The Summit, especially in the period 1972-8.

A Conference in 1981: Origin of the Case

At a conference in Sydney in 1981, arranged to discuss tourism development, the Managing Director of Summit Restaurants made a speech in which he indicated that The Summit was not in the business of tourism because that was not in the best

interests of the enterprise. The precise statements made by Shaul are unknown: no published proceedings were issued and he has no record. From correspondence with him a number of years later, he remembered the occasion and recalled that he had said, in effect, "any restaurant catering to tourists must not promote itself or allow it to be promoted as a tourist restaurant or tourist trap" (Shaul, pers. comm., 1991).

Shaul's statements provoked lively discussion, in three respects. First, in popular perception, if any restaurant in the city seemed to be involved with tourism, The Summit certainly did, so Shaul's remarks may have seemed paradoxical to the public at large. Second, Shaul's remarks led certain officials in governmental tourism organisations to suggest that he was mistaken, in principle and practice, and that his statement was detrimental to the interests of the tourism industry. (Those opinions were conveyed directly to the present writer in conversations, at the conference and afterwards.) Third, the remarks stimulated attention by this writer and a colleague interested in the academic issue of business strategies around the fringes of tourist markets. The Summit Restaurant, like the case of the Manhattan Hotel described earlier, was not the sort of organisation imagined in the original formulation of the hypothesis that tourism tends to be partially-industrialized (Leiper 1979).

Why The Summit Ignored Tourists

What was the gist of Shaul's business strategy? He certainly knew how dependent the business was on tourist custom. He estimated that since "the early 1970s ... 20% of our customers came from interstate and overseas" (Shaul, pers. comm., 1991).

In 1981, according to this writer's recall of the conference speech and Shaul's subsequent confirmation, Shaul was not promoting The Summit in any significant way specifically to tourists or tourist markets. General promotion for the restaurant was directed at the market for first class restaurants in Sydney, not discriminating between locals and visitors.

Notions about market segmentation might, however, lead to a suggestion that The Summit should have singled out tourists (or a sub-set of them) for segment

attention. Why did Shaul's promotional strategy ignore an apparent market segment, the 20% of diners who were visitors or tourists in Sydney?

Two explanations seem pertinent. The first is that from The Summit's perspective, tourists were only a notional market segment, not a feasible one for practical business purposes. The reason was the heterogeneous character of the "tourist market" in Sydney. Only a very small proportion of tourists were organised, for the whole of their visit, by tour operators; the majority were relatively independent and, in some instances, used tour operator services for sightseeing. And only a minority were in commercial accommodation; most used private accommodation. Consequently, attempting to reach the tourist market segment, even sub-segments, with messages about The Summit were impractical and uneconomical. A preferable strategy, in the interests of effectiveness and efficiency, was to ignore tourists **per se** and distribute informative and persuasive messages to the population at large. Shaul's policy reflects principles of market segmentation set out by writers such as Kotler, Fitzroy and Shaw (1980) who have identified the necessary conditions required for an organisation to segment its market. A substantial size of the potential segment is only one condition; it is not sufficient. Ability to reach the segment economically, for promotional and/or distributive functions, is another. In the 1970s, The Summit had a substantial number of tourists in its market, but could not reach them efficiently and effectively, and therefore sufficient conditions for market segmentation were lacking.

There is a second, supplementary, explanation. Shaul believes "tourists like to go to a restaurant that is frequented by locals and this is very important as far as the public face of the restaurant is concerned" (Shaul, pers. comm.,1991). Accordingly, any tourist-specific advertising could create the wrong "public face".

A Strategic Shift in the 1980s

Discussions with restaurant personnel in 1988 discovered a change had occurred in strategy. The Summit had begun catering to Japanese tourists on a pre-arranged, pre-paid basis. Estimates from supervisors in the restaurant, in 1988 and 1990, were that every day between 50 and 150 Japanese were using The Summit on this basis. They said various tour operators were involved in the program. In both interviews (1988 and 1990) the supervisors said they thought the numbers were on the increase, but fluctuated week-to-week and on a seasonal basis.

The Summit: What Business and Industry?

Besides being in the restaurant business and a unit in the restaurant industry, has The Summit been in the business and industry of tourism? The case history summarized above, considered against the concepts set out in Chapter 3, indicate that in 1981 The Summit was **not** in the business or industry of tourism, but by 1988 its strategy had changed and it was now closely involved in a business and industrial sense with Japanese tourism.

An Extra Dimension: Industrial Preparedness

However there is another dimension, which provides a salient insight into strategy at the fringes of certain markets and industries. Oliver Shaul had kept up, from early in his career as a restaurateur, personal participation in various tourism industry groups. He detailed the early history of his involvement in that industry in personal correspondence with this writer in 1991, as follows. His background in the restaurant industry goes back to 1939 and since 1949 he has also been active in tourism industry groups; specifically he was a member of the Australian National Travel Association (forerunner of the Australian Tourism Industry Association) from 1949, was a founding member of the Pacific Area Travel Association (now the Pacific Asia Travel Association) from 1951, and was a foundation Director of the Australian Tourist Commission from 1967. Besides these prominent examples, he has participated in a number of other tourism industry groups.

Also, he says that he first visited Japan in 1969 (soon after The Summit opened) and he says that "either my Marketing Manager or I visit the country frequently ... We have been active in overseas markets since 1969 ... calling on tour operators, promoting to them and trying to be included in their itineraries" (Shaul, pers. comm.,1991).

These facts add an interesting dimension to the case. They indicate that Shaul saw the business and industry of tourism as **relevant** to The Summit's strategic planning. The Summit is a comparatively large restaurant involving very considerable capital investment: the cost of refurbishment in 1989 was reported at "over $1 million" (Shaul, pers. comm.,1991). Accordingly, defensive strategies are required, to protect the investment from any significant losses in traditional lines of business.

In the 1980s, competition among first-class restaurants in Sydney's central business district became more intense. A major cause was a decrease in the business lunch and dinner market caused partly by general economic conditions and partly by a change in law removing restaurant expenses from the tax-deductibility list. Restaurants such as The Summit needed to generate new kinds of business. However compared to most restaurateurs, Shaul may have been better prepared to do this by taking advantage of the increases in tourism.

A strategy of switching business to the tourist market had its downside, because these diners have certain disadvantages over the business lunch trade they (partly) replaced, for two reasons at least. First, the average revenue and income per cover would be less, especially when liquor items are taken into account. Second, the Japanese trade requires commercial participation of tour operators, who get a cut of the take.

Conclusion

Shaul's strategy in 1981 was to generate business from the general dining public in Sydney, in effect ignoring tourists in the restaurant's marketing mix. The number and composition of tourists in Sydney at that time meant they could not comprise a market segment for a large-scale restaurant. Besides, The Summit was able to attract ample, and more profitable, custom from the business lunch and dinner trade.

By the mid 1980s, conditions in both markets had altered. The high profit business lunch and dinner market shrank. Simultaneously, along with a general increase in the numbers of international tourists visiting Sydney came a commercially significant shift in their composition. Relatively more, among the Japanese, were on pre-arranged itineraries where tour operators are, in effect, intermediaries in the distribution channel. The average daily stock of these Japanese tourists in Sydney during the mid 1980s can be estimated at 700 (Leiper 1985:69), sufficient to form a market which The Summit, in collaboration with tour operators, deemed feasible for development. Shaul's long-term involvement in tourism industry associations meant that he was quickly able to carry out that market development.

RENT-A-BIKE NZ LTD

Introduction

This case charts a business venture from its establishment in 1976 through to 1990. The data comes from interviews with the proprietor, Geoffrey Barker, in 1983-7-8-9. A series of informal discussions and semi-structured interviews were conducted, investigating the operations and strategic management of Rent-A-Bike NZ Ltd. The original aim, in the 1983 interviews, was to explore a potential clash of entrepreneurial and managerial factors. Like any proprietor of a newly-formed business, Barker had entrepreneurial spirit and insight. But he seemed deficient in management skills, a factor becoming increasingly important as an organisation grows and adapts to changing circumstances. Accordingly, the initial aim was to study what seemed an inevitable clash of factors shaping Rent-A-Bike NZ Ltd. However, in later interviews, a different aim began to emerge. Barker's changing strategies (in thought and practice) indicated another case of an organisation shifting position on the fringes of tourists markets. The case of Rent-A-Bike NZ now appeared suitable for inclusion in the present series.

The structured interviews with Barker encountered difficulties, as he seemed to have problems accepting their academic nature, often rebuffing questions with comments to the effect that the interviewer understood nothing about practical business matters. Accordingly, the structured interviews required a planned approach to maintain the respondent's commitment. The approach was to play on Barker's ego. Learning that his Company might be included in a series of cases which students would use to learn about business management, Barker expressed a feeling of prestige; by reinforcing this outcome, the researcher was able to maintain Barker's cooperation. A different interviewing approach was employed in 1989, noted below.

Geoffrey Barker was born in England in 1939, and educated at a private boarding school, Sebright College in Worcester. Two years after leaving school he emigrated to Sydney, in 1957. He worked as a bank teller until 1963 when he obtained a job in car rentals as a sales representative. For nine years he worked in car rentals, changing jobs and employers among three companies (Avis, Kay and Hertz) and based, successively, in Sydney, Brisbane, Wellington, Auckland, Christchurch (where he married and began a family) and Sydney again. In Sydney,

he saw a colleague, Trevor Preece, leave Avis and go into semi-retirement by establishing a bike rental business in the seaside suburb of Manly. Preece reckoned skills and know how gained from working in car rentals could be applied to renting bikes.

Rent-A-Bike's Establishment

Barker's next move was back to Christchurch with Avis. He observed that the place seemed ideal for a bike rental business. It is flat, has good roads without excess traffic, has scenic parks and pleasant tree-lined suburban streets contiguous to the central business district. And, most significantly, Christchurch was an increasingly popular destination for tourists. He threw in his job with Avis and became an entrepreneur.

Barker's entire personal capital besides a mortgaged house amounted to savings of $200; he invested it all in three second-hand bikes and a promotional sign for the footpath. The business was conducted in the Avon Car Park, next to the Clarendon Hotel in Worcester Street between Cathedral Square and the Avon. It was an apparently ideal location for renting bikes to people wanting to go on sightseeing tours of the city and (more usually) the parks and suburbs immediately to the south across the river. In lieu of paying rent, Barker helped operate the parking station, when its proprietor was absent, and received a small wage.

Successful from the start, the bike renting business expanded rapidly. Four months after buying his first three bikes, Barker owned sixty, all purchased second hand and paid for in cash. On busy days when all sixty were hired (perhaps more than once), Barker's gross takings were very considerable. Why did the business take off? The most plausible reason, probably the major one, may be that it filled a need, a niche in the recreational market, particularly among tourists visiting Christchurch. Another major reason was its location. A supporting reason was the symbiotic operations of Rent-A-Bike with the Avon Car Park. Since the parking station operated long hours, seven days a week, the bikes were also available for hire from early morning into the evening all week. This gave Barker a competitive advantage over other bike renters in Christchurch operating out of bike retail shops, which had shorter operating hours and shut on Sundays.

1977 to 1982: Diversification and Promotional Campaigns

In 1977 Barker diversified the product range by adding a new line. He bought six (new) ten-speed bikes equipped with panniers and other accoutrements for extended country tours. By 1980 this line had 20 units. The target market was tourists from overseas wanting to hire touring bikes for extended trips in New Zealand.

Barker tried to boost the business, with its two product lines of "city bikes" and "ten speed tourers", by distributing a one page leaflet to dozens of hotels, motels and hostels in Christchurch. He described how delivering these leaflets occupied him regularly for many hours at night after shutting up. The promotion was effective, according to Barker, with "noticeably more customers" for the city bikes after each campaign.

However the ten-speed touring bikes were under-utilized and, overall, the Company was not returning a real profit. Recalling this period during the 1983 interviews, Barker said he had worked long hours, seven days a week, but was drawing less money than unskilled wages for a five day job. He said he kept going by hoping that eventually, when he had a larger fleet and the addition of ski gear for rent, his business would show a profit and he could cut back his hours of work.

1982: Good Fortune and Two Entrepreneurial Initiatives

In 1982 the owner of Avon Car Park Ltd decided to sell the business and gave Barker first offer. The Company had no tangible assets to speak of, however its unexpired leasehold and the goodwill were valued at a nominal $20,000. Barker arranged to borrow $20,000 from a bank, and purchased the business.

Avon Car Park had 85 spaces for rent. On a typical day in 1982 Barker estimates it had been averaging "less than 70%" of spaces occupied at peak times. Barker said there were no written records for this activity, but he said there was certainly scope to put many more cars through every day, and in 1983 he said he had known before he purchased the business how this could be done. Within four months of Barker buying the parking station, he said it was operating near 100% capacity and he was making considerable profits.

The market for city parking stations can be broadly bisected into "regulars", customers in the literal sense who lease a space and pay on monthly accounts, and "casuals". Barker boosted revenue by two strategies, one for each market segment. Desirably, managing a parking station usually involves seeking a high proportion of regulars. When Barker acquired Avon, it had 30 leased spaces. By personal sales calls to many business houses and offices in the vicinity, presenting a promotional leaflet, Barker was able to get another 16 spaces leased.

That left at least 39 spaces free for casual hire every day. This category has scope for high profitability. Barker believed a special kind of personal service could be applied which would raise the volume of casual business. He made a policy of wearing a suit or jacket and tie, of greeting every motorist in his (affected) English style, applying the manners and accent acquired at Sebright College. When they arrived, casual users were asked their names, so that later when they returned to collect their cars Barker addressed them by name. As routine policy, windscreens were cleaned. If the car was, like the typical customer, middle-aged to elderly (Morris Minor or Vauxhall Wyvern models, still commonplace in Christchurch in 1982) Barker made a habit of referring to it as "The Rolls" or "The Jaguar" while buffing up the paint work after opening the door for the driver. Barker said that all of this was especially effective, and he expressed certainty his English style created a distinctive image for Avon Car Park among the class conscious patrons of parking stations in this most English of New Zealand cities. Recalling this strategy, Barker said it had several intertwined effects which together lifted the volume of business.

Quickly getting additional revenue from the car park meant that Barker was, by early 1983, generating real profits and a substantial cash flow every week. He paid off the $20,000 bank loan in eight months. He cut back his own working week (to six days), cut back his daily work hours (to an average of ten). Barker believed he had a secure base from which to develop the bike rentals with tourist markets his strategic aim. By now, he was getting approximately 70% of his total gross income from the car park and the other 30% from bike rentals and ski gear rentals, the latter being a new line he had launched. He saw bike rentals as the growth line. He said his aim was to develop it in order to maximise the value of his business with the aim of selling out in the early 1990s.

In 1986 Rent-A-Bike introduced another new product line, motorized scooters for sightseeing in and near the central business district. Barker expressed pride in another "first in New Zealand" for his Company.

Using the Tourism Industry to Promote Bike Rentals

His strategic plans for boosting bike rentals involved more extensive use of "contacts" in tourism. In particular, his fleet of ten-speed tourers were under-utilized, but this was the product line he believed had most potential.

Barker decided that instead of relying on promotional leaflets dropped at accommodation houses around Christchurch, at the airport, and at other visitor information points, he should take steps to involve the tourism industry in his business. In the period 1983-5 he joined the South Island Promotion Association and the Canterbury Tourism Association, and became an associate member of the Travel Agents Association of New Zealand. He said the main benefit of joining was the listing of Rent-A-Bike NZ in these associations' publications, which were seen by a wide range of interests in the travel and tourism industries in New Zealand and beyond.

Car rental businesses encourage other businesses coming into frequent contact with travellers to act as their sales agents, by holding out seemingly generous commission rates. Travel agents for example can earn commissions in the range 10% to 30% of the rental charge by booking their clients a rental car. Barker tried to apply this principle to the bike hire trade, by offering hotels and motels a 10% commission on any rental business they provided. The initiative had no impact. Barker realized why after discussing the problem with hotel personnel. The ten-speed tourers could have been viable for commission rentals, but no hotel guests wanted them. Meanwhile the city bikes were rented for a small price for a short period, so that the gross rentals were too little to make commission sales economical. A commission of $0.50 or $2.00 was less than the cost of book-keeping.

In 1983 Barker was contacted by two tour operators, wanting to add ten-speed bikes to their product range for pre-arranged holiday trips in New Zealand. The first was Horizon Holidays New Zealand Ltd, based in Auckland. Discussions led to nothing. The next was Australian Himalayan Expeditions Ltd, a Sydney-based

enterprise which had grown very rapidly since its foundation in 1975, specializing in outdoor "adventure" holidays.

A.H.E. listed Rent-A-Bike NZ in its 1984 brochure, offering fully-equipped ten-speed tourers and describing "free wheel" itineraries around New Zealand. However over the course of the 1984-5 year, only three reservations were obtained. As a result, A.H.E. dropped New Zealand from its next brochure.

Reviewing this failure during discussions in 1987 and 1988, Barker was unable to identify any definitive cause. A.H.E. had continued to enjoy success in promoting bike touring holidays in other countries, notably China. Barker reported that after A.H.E. dropped his Company from its product range, he did not investigate the reasons; he had no further communication with A.H.E. representatives.

Barker said that officials from the New Zealand Tourist and Publicity Department were enthusiastic and encouraging about his bike rental business, expressing the opinion that it had great potential. He said that the advantage of this organisation over the likes of Australian Himalayan was its commitment to fostering tourism in one country, New Zealand. However he admitted that the N.Z.T.P. had not produced much direct business for him: only five or six bookings for ten-speed tourers came from the N.Z.T.P's retail offices in the past year.

New Premises: A Financial and Logistical Mistake?

In 1987 Barker's lease was terminated as the building housing the Avon Car Park was to be demolished. Barker had to find a new base. He signed a lease for a similar site across the city, in Gloucester Street. It was smaller and more expensive. It had room for only 55 parking spaces, 30 fewer than the Worcester Street site. But the monthly rent was $5,000 as compared with only $1,500 in Worcester Street. Thus the economics of Barker's whole business, car parking and bike and ski renting, had been dramatically changed. He says he did calculations to show that by increasing his prices (especially for car parking) and by building up the bike and ski renting, the business could be quite profitable.

Besides financial problems, the move had logistical implications, since the new location was several blocks further away from the river and the popular precincts

for sightseeing by bikes. And it had relatively fewer tourists passing by the door. These factors, especially the latter, meant that comparatively more reliance was now placed on promotional campaigns and on potential links with the tourism industry.

Japanese Tourism

Christchurch became an increasingly popular destination with Japanese tourists in the 1980s, corresponding with the growth in arrivals of Japanese tourists in New Zealand as a whole. During the 1987 and 1988 visits to Christchurch for interviews with Barker, each visit occupying three days, the numbers of Japanese observed riding his bikes around the city was remarkable. Barker said it was a market requiring no promotion, as it was "all word-of-mouth". He said he had no contact with any tour operator arranging Japanese' itineraries.

1988: Signs of Deterioration

Despite the Japanese, Rent-A-Bike NZ exhibited signs of a deteriorating business in 1988. Most noticeable were outward signs in Barker's personal lifestyle and appearance: his expensive cars of the mid 1980s replaced with a rusty wreck and his smart clothes become shabby. Correspondingly the premises in Gloucester Street were in need of a thorough cleaning, as were two young men employed to help with the car park. Car drivers were not being greeted with the style and manners applied in 1987, their cars' windscreens were no longer cleaned by the parking attendants.

Barker said all product lines were suffering from depressed demand. New larger car parking stations, in purpose-built structures, had taken custom away from the old style car parks. Simultaneously, a generally depressed economy was harming many businesses in the city. Barker said the car parking revenue had fallen "a lot"; a large quantity of empty spaces during three days of the August 1988 visit reinforced this admission.

But official statistics showed tourist numbers on the increase. Why was Barker's bike rental business also in apparent decline? His analysis seemed superficial; the issue was explored in more detail the following year.

1989: The Demise of Rent-A-Bike NZ Ltd

The visit to Christchurch in 1989 found Barker about to close his business. He had accumulated business debts, he said, owed to the landlord and other creditors including the Internal Revenue Department. Thus these final interviews, over three days in November 1989, were a review of what went wrong.

Barker reiterated an opinion that the Government had ruined the economy and a lot of businesses were going under as a result. The depressed economy may have contributed to the downturn in the car parking business, but should not have caused problems with bike hire, since tourism in Christchurch has continued to increase. Probing revealed that Barker had overlooked strategic problems and that he had taken a strategic turn not discovered in the 1988 interviews.

He had overlooked the emergence of new competitors in the bike hire market. Two entrepreneurs had begun hiring city sightseeing bikes from temporary stalls on the footpath at locations much more advantageous to Barker's Gloucester Street site. Barker admitted that these competitors seemed to have captured a significant part of his market, but that he had done nothing to counter them.

The strategic turn taken during 1987 stemmed from Barker's changing attitude to the tourism industry. He expressed the view that the tourism industry in Christchurch was, to a degree, dependent on his bike rentals. He meant that attractions, such as sightseeing by bike, are the basis of demand by tourists, from which demand for accommodation and other offerings of the tourist industry is derived. Barker reasoned that he should not have to pay $150 annually to be a member of groups such as the Canterbury Tourism Association, the South Island Promotional Association and the like. So, he said, in 1987 he had severed all links with these tourism groups. He expressed bitterness that the tour operators had not developed the ten-speed tourer business. He had stopped, around 1987 or 1988, sending promotional leaflets to the hotels, motels, the airport and visitor information office.

Those changes do not seem to have been major causes of Barker's business failing. A more significant cause was, probably, the original hypothesis which began the investigation of this case, that an entrepreneur must become (or hire) a competent manager if the business is to survive. Barker's lack of skills in

management seem to have been an impediment to the long-term success of his business from the beginning. But one aspect of this deficiency was his failure to see that the links into the tourism industry, which he had begun to form in 1983-5, have functions besides making a company and its products well known. By not maintaining those links, by not developing them further and increasing his involvement in the Christchurch tourism industry, Barker left his business more vulnerable to the new competitors. Likewise, he failed to investigate **why** his business gained only three bookings from the Australian tour operator in 1985. He did not persevere with links into the tourism industry: he tried them, found they did not immediately generate large quantities of sales, and let the links wither.

Behind the deficiencies in management was a knowledge gap in a key market. Barker saw the ten-speed touring bikes as the product line with most potential, and for several years he tried to boost it in various ways. Yet he lacked personal experience of the activity. He had never ridden a bike beyond one hour jaunts within the city. Correspondingly, he never mixed with bike touring enthusiasts, in New Zealand or anywhere else. Thus, during the 1989 interviews, he displayed little knowledge of the activities of increasing numbers of tourists riding "mountain bikes" for extensive tours of New Zealand.

Rent-A-Bike NZ: What Industry?

The bike rental enterprise of Barker's venture was, arguably, always in the tourist business, in terms of the concepts set out in Chapter 3. But its industrial affiliations shifted. Originally, from 1976, Barker formed a loose link with a range of businesses in the tourism industry, using hotels etc. as the distributive outlets for his promotional leaflets, and thus took Rent-A-Bike into the fringes of that industry. He tried to develop that line of affiliation further in 1983-5, by joining tourism industry associations and by attempting to form joint-ventures with tour operators.

After 1987, reacting to the economic problems stemming from having to move premises, Barker cut his ties with the tourism industry, taking Rent-A-Bike out of that industry. That strategic shift may not have **caused** the business to fail, but it indicates broader causal factors in the demise.

CONCLUSIONS

A theoretical discussion in Chapter 3 argued that resources used by tourists can be categorized according to the business and industrial strategies applied by each supplying unit, such as each firm or organisation. A spectrum of categories can be imagined, as depicted in Figure 4.1. On the left pole it represents non-market sources of tourist satisfaction: freely available scenery, climate and incidental displays of culture and customs. Moving to the right, three categories of organisations are represented. First is the mix of organisations which supply tourists with goods and services but are not in the tourist business. Next are organisation in that line of business but not participating in the tourism industry, and on the right pole are organisations in the business and industry of tourism. Symbolizing the cooperative nature of organisations in this last category, Figure 4.1 has a horizontal line linking their activities.

Non-market sources of tourists' satisfaction	Organizations not in the business of tourism	Organizations in the business of tourism	Organizations in both the business and industry of tourism

Non-industrialized tourism(ts)			Highly-industrialized tourism(ts)
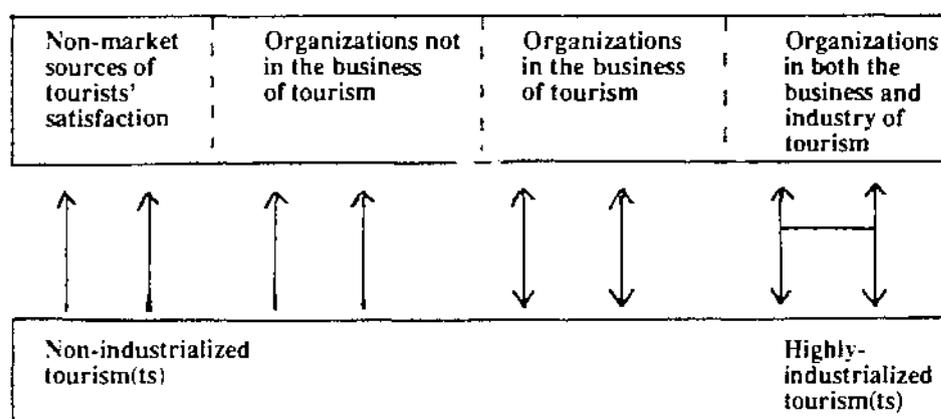
Figure 4.1 Four Kinds of Resources Used in Tourism,

Indicating Partial Industrialization and

Levels of Industrialization

The ten cases discussed in the present Chapter include evidence that an organisation may have significant quantities of tourists in its market without necessarily isolating them for special attention, without, that is, being in the business of tourism. Wyndham Estate Wines' activity at its Branxton vineyards and winery provides the clearest example; The Summit Restaurant before 1988 is another. The cases also show how an organisation may be in the business of

tourism but remain outside, or on the fringes of, the corresponding industry. The farm tourism properties around Palmerston North are examples. A clearer example is The Manhattan Hotel before 1983. The Summit Restaurant before 1988 is another example, although in that case management kept in touch with the tourism industry, in ways that could be interpreted as preparing for entry. Rent-A-Bike NZ was always in the business of tourism, made tentative efforts to extend this into an industrial strategy, and then after 1987 withdrew from the industry.

Figure 4.2 depicts the relative strategic positions of the four cases studied in depth, and shows the shifts in three of those cases.

Non-market sources of tourists' satisfaction	Organizations not in the business of tourism	Organizations in the business of tourism	Organizations in both the business and industry of tourism
	W		
		S (1981) ———→ (1988)	
		M (1982) ———→ (1983)	
		R (1976) ———→ (1983)	
			↓
		R (1987-9) ←——— (1983-6)	
Non-industrialized tourism(ts)			Highly-industrialized tourism(ts)
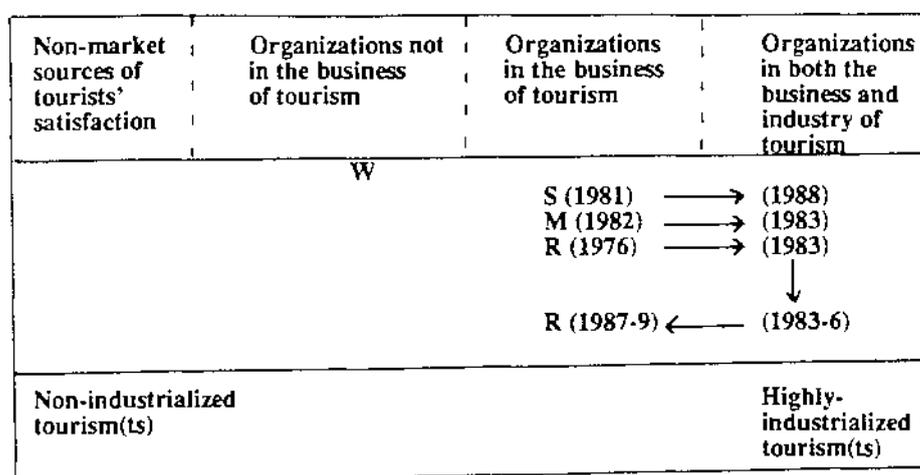
Figure 4.2 Strategic Positions and Shifts of Four Organisations

Providing Services to Tourists

Key: W = Wyndham Estate; S = Summit Restaurant;

M = Manhattan Hotel; R = Rent-A-Bike.

The Popperian hypothesis proposed at the beginning of this Chapter can be rejected. An organisation can serve significant quantities of tourists but not be in the business or industry of tourism and that policy can be in the best interests of the organisation in question.

Why does this apparent paradox occur? No single explanation was found. The case of Wyndham Estate Wines is where causes were quite sharply identified and articulated by the manager. McGuigan followed the principle of keeping to one line of business, believing that attempts to direct one line of operations into different kinds of markets, different lines of business, may be damaging since it dilutes

resources from the optimum line. The case of The Summit Restaurant (before 1988) indicates a second explanation. There, the problem was partly a lack of sufficient conditions for market segmentation, even though tourists amounted to 20% of total diners. A supplementary reason was The Summit's strategy to avoid doing anything that would create images of "a tourist restaurant". However when falling trade from the local market made tourist business relatively more desirable, The Summit fortunately faced a changing tourist market, with increasing numbers of Japanese on pre-packaged arrangements. Aligned with that good fortune was the preparedness of The Summit's management team, over many years, for getting into the tourism industry. The case of Rent-A-Bike NZ is different. Defective management in a small (one-man) enterprise was the basic cause of its problems; Barker withdrew from token participation in the tourism industry after a disastrous move of location. The Manhattan Hotel illustrates a different condition again. Before 1983 it was operating independently. Connell chose to convert it to a different kind of hotel, one that was dependent on the travel trade for a significant proportion of its revenue. The farm hosts around Palmerston North are very small enterprises, with marginal "business" dimensions and limited capital and managerial resources. The proprietors, in five of the six cases, have been waiting for someone else to take the lead with cooperative promotion and other aspects of industrial management.

Do the cases indicate that non-participation in the tourism industry affects the performance of an organisation as a business venture? No conclusions can be drawn on this point. The Manhattan Hotel **might** have improved its performance after forming alliances in the travel trade. Perhaps that was the optimal strategy at the time, perhaps not. Insufficient data are available to determine the issue. The Summit Restaurant **probably** optimized its performance as a business when it moved into the Japanese tourist market in the mid 1980s. Had it not done so, the general downturn in its traditional markets would have required remarkable initiatives to hold market share and income at the levels of the early 1980s. The outstanding financial success of Wyndham Estate Wines is sufficient rebuttal to any thought that McGuigan erred in not developing the tourist-related aspects of his market. Rent-A-Bike NZ's withdrawal from the tourism industry was, arguably, not a major factor in the demise of the enterprise: it was merely one symptom of deficient management.

Do the cases indicate anything about the performance of places as tourist destinations? Broad speculative conclusions can be suggested. Organisations such

as Wyndham Estate Wines, the Manhattan Hotel prior to 1983, the Summit Restaurant prior to 1985 and Rent-A-Bike NZ after 1987 do nothing of an active strategic nature to promote the regions outside its borders. Rather, their marketing is wholly within the region, as they deal with tourists who happen to be in the vicinity.

A different condition occurs when such organisations move into the tourism industry: the Manhattan after 1983, the Summit after 1985, Rent-A-Bike NZ from 1983 to 1987. Two kinds of extra-regional marketing are triggered or supported in that condition. First, and most significantly in these cases, tour operators and wholesalers begin using the hotel/restaurant/bike renter (etc.) as a feature in products marketed in other regions, potential traveller generating regions for the region in question. Second, the regional tourism association gets additional support for its developmental and promotional activities.

The contrasting conditions indicate the probability that more resources are applied to develop and promote a region as a tourist destination when its tourist suppliers become active in the tourism industry. With non-industrialized tourism, on the other hand, few if any resources are directed at that end.

The following two chapters address topics where a different element of tourism systems, tourists, are the focus, and subsequent chapters have a broader focus, but certain business and managerial issues are drawn from conclusions in those chapters. In Chapter 11 the central theme of discussion returns to questions of management.

Appendix 4.1   Survey documents 1988

26.272 Travel Management (Internal Course, 1988)
Assignment # 2 - Survey

The assignment is to conduct four interviews with
members of the public, using the instructions and
questionnaires provided. In Spring Term in class we
will be dealing with the findings collected by the
survey. Read all the material carefully before going
out to conduct the interviews.

To gain marks, you must return four completed quest-
ionnaires and the completed survey monitor form, to the
Course Controller. Due date is (on or before) Monday
8 August; late returns will be penalised incrementally.
Return to the Course Controller's office (#36, Old Hostels)
or to the mail box opposite that office addressed to him.

Interviews may be conducted at times convenient to you,
but should not be on Sundays or after early evenings.
The best times are early evenings or on Saturday, when more
people are at home. The whole exercise should require no
more than one hour of your time once you have arrived at
the interview location: each of the four interviews will
need no more than about five or six minutes.

Read the questions to the persons being interviewed - do
not re-word them unless you have read them directly twice
and still find that the person cannot follow the meaning.

Introduction

" Good evening (etc), my name is .... and I am
a student at Massey. As part of a Business Course I have
a project involving a small survey. Could you please spare
five minutes to answer a few simple questions ?

Nothing of a personal nature is asked. Your name is not
recorded on the survey form, but I would need your name as
evidence that I have conducted the interview.

. . . .

Thank you. Firstly, I must check to see that you are
a resident of New Zealand rather than a visitor here ...
... and also that you are in one of the age groups that
I need to interview ... "(this second item can be checked
visually in many cases - no need to ask the person !).

PROCEED TO QUESTIONNAIRE IF
APPROPRIATE

THE QUESTIONNAIRE CONTAINS
NINE (9) QUESTIONS, ON
THREE (3) PAGES.

Survey Monitor   Student's name _____
(26.272, 1988)

You are to complete four interviews. There is a quota
by age: two interviews must be with persons in the
21 to 35 year age range, and the other two with persons
in the 36 years and over range.

Do not interview more than one person per household;
do not conduct interviews in motels etc. or in the
street.

                                    Tick as each
Check list for quota: interview is
                                    completed

        age range 21 to 35

        age range 21 to 35

        age range 36 and over

        age range 36 and over

Names and addresses etc of persons interviewed:

Tell respondents that this information is confidential
and only required as evidence that you have conducted
the interview. The Lecturer will check a few names
for proof. These forms will then be destroyed.

Names   Addresses   Phone Nos

_____   _____   _____

_____   _____   _____

_____   _____   _____

_____   _____   _____

Survey Location

Begin knocking on doors of houses or home units
at _____

and proceed _____

_____

... until you have four completed interviews.

Marks awarded: 10% for four interviews; 5% for three;
                2% for two.

26.272 Survey (1988)   Student's Name _____

(print your name above, to get marks credited !)

Age group of the person interviewed   21 to 35   ▢

    (tick one box)   36 and over   ▢

1. During the past two years - since June 1986 -
   how many times have you ...

   Number of times

   (a)...travelled away from home for at
   least one night in some other place
   or places in New Zealand ?   ▢

   (most persons will have to estimate
   the number - point out that this
   total includes all those weekends
   away - give them time to estimate)

   (b)...travelled overseas from New Zealand ?   ▢

   (c)... flown on a commercial airline between
   places in NZ ? (count a round trip,   ▢
   away and return, as one)

2. Before setting out on some trips, a person
   might visit a travel agency or similar place.
   Or they might have a relative or friend who
   visits the travel agency for their trip
   arrangements.

   During the past two years, how many of your
   trips involved pre-travel use of a ...   **Number of trips**

   (a)...travel agency ?   ▢

   (b)...airline sales office ?   ▢

   (c)...AA Travel Department ?   ▢

   (d)... Bank or building society travel dept ?   ▢

   (e)... coach or bus line office ?   ▢

   (f)... other similar (ie_____) ?   ▢

3. During the past two years, have you personally
   visited any of those places listed (Q 2)
   before travelling by air ?   Yes or No

   ▢

   (If "No", skip questions 4 and 5, go directly to
   question 6;

   If "Yes", proceed to question 4.)

4. The last occasion you used a travel agency or similar, which of the following services were you seeking ?

tick one or more boxes

(a) ... advice on fares ?   ☐

(b) ... advice on accommodation ?   ☐

(c) ... advice on packaged holidays ?   ☐

(d) ... travel documentation such as passports, visas etc ?   ☐

(e) ... travel insurance ?   ☐

(f) ... ideas for where to go ?   ☐

(g) ... bookings and tickets for a trip ?   ☐

(h) ... other (ie _____) ?   ☐

5. Which of the following factors led you to use a particular travel agency or similar organisation ?

tick one or more boxes

(a) ... had used the same place before, finding it satisfactory   ☐

(b) ... recommended by somebody   ☐

(c) ... special deal or prices advertised   ☐

(d) ... convenient location   ☐

(e) ... impulse - passing by the shop   ☐

(f) ... other (ie _____)   ☐

6. This next question seeks your opinions. Please answer by _agreeing_ or _disagreeing_. If you _strongly_ agree or disagree, say so. If you're _uncertain or unsure_, please say so.

SA,A,SD,D, or U

| SA-strongly agree |
| A - agree |
| SD-strongly disagree |
| D - disagree |
| U - unsure |

(a) "airline offices offer cheaper fares than travel agencies, as a rule"   ☐

(b) "the staff in airline sales offices are generally more professional than the staff in most travel agencies"   ☐

(c) "Travelling by air in New Zealand, it is better to book through an airline sales office rather than a travel agency of some sort"   ☐

(d) "Travelling by air in New Zealand, all things considered the two main airlines - Air New Zealand and Ansett - are much the same"   ☐

7. Which of those two airlines would you prefer to fly with ? Is your preference very strong ?

airline   ☐   yes/no   ☐

8. Some people believe that gambling casinos
    should be built in New Zealand as a holiday
    or tourist destination attraction.

    If you were visiting a place where a casino
    was available, how likely is it that you
    would visit the casino to have a look ? Is it...

    (a)... very likely ?   ☐

    (b)... possible ?   ☐   tick one box

    (c)... not likely ?   ☐

9. And if you were to visit a casino while
    on holidays, how likely is it that you would
    spend more than $10 gambling ? Is it ...

    (a)... very likely ?   ☐

    (b)... possible ?   ☐   tick one box

    (c)... not likely ?   ☐

End of interview.

Thank the person for their time.

SURVEY OF FARM HOSTING, PART 2

1a Date _____   1b Respondant: _____

2. To what extent do you regard hosting as a commercial business venture as against an opportunity to earn a small or incidental amount of extra income or an opportunity to meet people? Allocate 10 points to one or more of those three items:

- a commercial business venture   ___
- a small incidental extra income   ___
- meeting people   ___
- total points   10

3 Would you like to increase the number of guests staying here over the course of a year? _____

4. If so, what percentage increase would be desirable? _____%

5. Over the past year, which of the following sources have provided guests? (tick if applicable):

-a. casual, off road "walk-ins"   ___ ___ %
-b. pre-booked direct by guest   ___ ___ %
-c. pre-booked by tour operator/agent   ___ ___ %
-d. pre-booked by info office in town   ___ ___ %
-e. referrals from other farm stays   ___ ___ %
-f. other ....   ___ ___ %
                                           100 %

6. Over the past year, approx. what percentage of guests came from each of those 6 sources? (Show % after each item, to add to 100%)

7. Are any of the following advertising or promotional methods used?

7a. Leaflet or brochure for just this property? ____ If so, how and where is it distributed? _____

7b. Leaflet or brochure, for a collection of farm stay properties, which names this property? ____ If so, how and where is it distributed? _____

_____

7c. Is this property listed in any of the following current directories?

a. NZ Bed & Breakfast ___; b. Jasons ___; c. Other? .... ___.

8d. Other paid advertising? _____

_____

8a Are you a member of the NZ Farm & Home Hosting Association? _____

8b. If not, why not? _____

9. How often do you have communication with other farm stay proprietors in this region, and what sort of matters do you discuss?

_____

_____

10. Which two farm stay properties in this region do you think have hosted the largest number of guests in the past year? _____

_____

11. Would you participate in a joint marketing scheme with other farm hosts in this district to increase business, assuming it cost you some time and a couple of hundred dollars per year? Most likely / Possibly / Unlikely _____

12. Are you active in any regional or national tourism associations? If so, which? _____

CHAPTER 5 : TOURISM AND LEISURE :

EXPLAINING THE TRAVEL BUG

INTRODUCTION

A decade ago Bodewes (1981) and Jafari and Ritchie (1981) called attention to a need for more studies on links between tourism and leisure. Since then a small number of studies have focussed on the theme, such as Leiper's (1983,1985a) comparative analysis of touristic and other leisure, Stear's (1984) empirical research on tourists' perception of socialising as a leisure activity, and Hamilton-Smith's (1987) identification of four types of touristic leisure. The last item was published in a Special Issue of Annals of Tourism Research in 1987 (Vol. 14, No 3) devoted to leisure, recreation and tourism. During the 1980s, while the academic studies focussing on tourism-leisure links might not have been numerous, there may have been a growing acknowledgement that tourists can be thought of as persons engaged in leisure-related behaviour. The title of MacCannell's (1976) widely cited book (The Tourist: A New Theory of the Leisure Class) probably contributed to the trend: a wider recognition among researchers studying tourist behaviour that leisure is part of the background.

The discussion to follow takes a more direct approach. It is not specifically concerned with analysing the diverse motivations or needs of tourists. Writers such as Dann (1977), Crompton (1979), Phillip Pearce (1982), Krippendorf (1987) and many others have done that effectively. The approach followed by those writers is useful for analysing needs and motivations of tourists, but that approach in itself does not always explain why people become tourists in the first place. The reason is that analysing needs and motivations of tourists is not necessarily synonymous with researching the distinctiveness of touristic behaviour.

Crompton (1979) for example identified nine motivating factors. But all nine reflect needs that may be met by becoming a tourist or, alternatively, by remaining at home. One does not have to travel in order to satisfy needs for relaxation, for escaping from a perceived mundane environment, for novel experiences, for regressive experiences, for education and so on. Indeed, most persons most commonly seem to seek satisfaction of these needs in (or near) their homes. This is not saying that Crompton's work lacks merit. Its value is that it dissected motivations associated with tourism, emphasizing that a diverse range may exist, and suggesting ways of using the analysis for better understanding, for academic ends and for managing tourist-related business organisations.

To identify anything distinctive about touristic needs or motivations requires a different method. Besides studying touristic behaviour, the method would consider other (non-touristic) behaviour where the same or similar needs are satisfied. The two behavioural contexts would then be compared. That approach will be used in the present discussion.

Only two previous studies are known to have used the approach: Leiper's (1983,1985a) analysis of touristic leisure, and Stear's (1984) empirical research into socialising as a determinant of tourism, which compared social behaviour of a given population in two kinds of settings: a particular tourist destination and the individuals' home neighbourhoods, the various traveller generating regions whence that population originated. This drew on the model of whole tourism systems developed by the present writer, which Stear followed (Stear 1981,1984).

Rather than focus on one kind of leisure-related behaviour, an advantage in empirical research such as Stear's (1984) study, the discussion to follow considers leisure generally. It represents a revision and amendment of Leiper (1983,1985a). The major amendment is a different mix of factors in the analytical framework. A theoretical analysis of tourism as a form of leisure is presented, from which an argument is developed to the effect that in general, tourism is an efficient form of leisure from an individual's point of view. "Efficient" in this context is suggesting that tourism may be seen as offering more satisfaction of leisure-related needs than other forms of leisure.

Leisure can be considered in reference to two geographical settings where it might transpire: away from one's home region, and the more common setting - at home or in one's normal home locality or region. The two settings represent two kinds that can be called, for the purpose of the present discussion, touristic leisure and other leisure. The analysis presented below involves comparing those two kinds, seeking to discover the distinctive attributes of the former. The question is pondered against the background of the 'travel bug'. For many persons, their first trip to distant places leads to 'infection' by an apparent 'bug'. They want to repeat the experience, to travel again, perhaps to similar places or perhaps wider afield. Young (1973) may have been the first scholarly writers to draw attention to the 'travel bug', but the phrase seems to have been in popular use for many years and the phenomenon is well known amongst sales and marketing personnel in the

travel and tourism industry. Several travel agents have remarked to the present writer that new clients, after returning home from their first 'big overseas trip', typically immediately begin contemplating a repeat of the experience.

The evidence presented in the discussion to follow comes from personal observations and background secondary research. Primary research has not been used. However that might not be necessary for the arguments to be accepted as valid. The items forming the framework for those arguments contain nothing new. Bringing them together for a comparative analysis of the leisure-related value of tourism and other leisure is, in fact, a simplistic device.

DEFINITIONS

Two core concepts under consideration (tourism and leisure) require definitions for the purpose of the discussion to follow. Chapter 2 discussed the former concept, leading to a suggestion that it can be defined as the distinctive behaviour of tourists and all the related ideologies shaping that behaviour. Tourists are persons in roles that can be defined in behavioural terms in various ways for different research contexts.

Tourists

In this discussion, a behavioural concept of "tourist" is required. The following definition will apply:

Tourists are persons travelling away from their normal home regions, temporarily visiting other regions or countries for at least one night, to the extent that their behaviour is motivated by leisure-related needs.

This establishes an axiomatic link between the two core ideas: tourism and leisure, deliberately avoiding specifying a main purpose of trips or visits. As discussed in Chapter 1, in terms of touristic behaviour, the main purpose of a trip (or a visit to a country or region during a trip) is not generally relevant to whether or not a traveller or visitor might be also regarded as a tourist in a behavioural sense (1).

Leisure

The literature on leisure includes extensive discussions about definitions. What is leisure? Debate on the concept's meaning can be found in journals such as Leisure Science and Journal of Leisure Research, in anthologies such as those edited by Larrabee and Meyersohn (1958), Dare et al (1988) and Winnifrith and Barrett (1989), and in works by individual writers such as De Grazia (1962), Dumazedier (1967), Kaplan (1975) and Kelly (1982). Drawing on that literature, the following definition has been developed:

Leisure is a qualitative experience that may be found in or stem from recreational and/or creative behaviour, that is pursued with a feeling of relative freedom, for its intrinsic utility or pleasure to the individual having the experience.

This says nothing about time, a deliberate omission. Leisure is not spare time (or free or discretionary time) per se, it is not essentially a quantitative thing but a quality of experience. In practice persons typically seek leisure (and optimally derive satisfaction from it) during time intervals when they are relatively free from obligations, when they have discretion as to what to do, and when they are prone to behave in ways that are personally pleasurable. Institutionalized free time intervals, such as weekends and annual leave, are thought of as "leisure" because that is when substantial leisure is most likely to be sought and derived. However, regarding leisure and spare time as synonymous misses the essential point. Leisure might occur in spare time, it transpires as one of the possibilities "within the spare time spectrum", in the useful phrase of Elias and Dunning (1986). Everybody has personal obligations and other non-leisure activities that occupy parts of their total quantity of spare time; leisure occurs in other parts of each individual's spare time spectrum.

A leisure experience might be recreational, or creative, or both. Recreational leisure is that which restores, re-creating the participant to their former state. It includes rest (recovery from physical and/or mental fatigue), relaxation (recovery from tension) and entertainment (recovery from boredom). Creative leisure is that which brings into being a new state, either in the participating individual or in the environment. Observations suggest that for most individuals, recreational behaviour occurs first in spare time given over to leisure, and that later in each

spare time period creative experiences may begin. This can be observed in resorts where the first few days of an individual's visit are often given over to resting and relaxing interspersed with entertainment, all recreational activities, while later in the holiday many turn to sightseeing tours, reading books and other activities reflecting educational and cultural needs. That typical sequence of behaviour involves several of the motivations identified by Crompton (1979), but arranged in time according to common priorities.

In Western Civilization in the past two hundred years, the importance of leisure in human existence has often been downplayed, or restricted to therapeutic uses and therefore regarded as a means rather than an end in itself. The dominant work ethic of the early and middle stages of capitalism seem to be behind that condition. But in recent decades, a more humanistic view of leisure seems to be emerging. Now, the need for recreational and creative opportunities is more widely acknowledged, and researchers are considering the philosophical and empirical relationships of work and leisure. And now, the opinion of Bell (1928), Toynbee (1934) and Huizinga (1950), that creative leisure is the very basis of civilization, may be more widely accepted than when those opinions were first published.

In the past, only the upper classes of society were deemed worthy (or even capable) of enjoying leisure. During the formative years of industrial capitalism employees were given very little time off, and were not entitled to pay for those intervals. The therapeutic idea of leisure as a means rather than an end in itself found favour amongst the "radical" reformers of the 19th and early 20th centuries. But their usual argument was hardly based on humanistic concerns; rather, to them the main benefit in paid leave or "leisure" for ordinary people was that workers would be re-created and so remain productive employees. There are still people today whose attitude towards others is perverted by non-humanistic ideologies of that kind. A genuine humanistic position would not view individuals' spare time as a resource for replenishing workers' vigour, but as a resource for benefiting individual human beings in all their distinctive potential; recreation for work is a by-product, not the primary issue. Kaplan (1975) and essayists in a collection edited by Winnifrith and Barrett (1989) have discussed these issues.

Yet there exist real and theoretical problems about leisure, such as when leisure itself becomes a problem, when "its purpose, the regeneration of the human being, is denied or debased" (Seligman, cited by Parker 1971:122). One can speculate as

to how that occurs. One way seems to be when individuals waste their spare time and so have no real leisure, nothing recreational or creative. Another factor is exploitation of consumers' spare time and discretionary spending for commercial gain without proper consideration for peoples' real leisure needs (2). A politician expressed the "leisure problem" another way: "There is no greater problem facing Australia that the good use of leisure. It is the problem of all modern and wealthy communities" (Whitlam, in A.L.P. 1972:33). The possibility of "good use" implies the opposite, bad use. Having spare time and engaging in discretionary activities is not intrinsically beneficial to the participant. Leisure opportunities might be wasted, or exploited, in ways that deny or debase the potential for the individual.

AN ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORK

Having set out foundations, the main topic can be addressed. To analyse touristic leisure in ways that allow comparison with other leisure requires, firstly, identifying a series of factors which permit the two categories to be compared. Seven can be suggested: (i) the nature of withdrawal and return, (ii) duration, (iii) frequency of occurrence, (iv) amount and kinds of socializing, (v) cost, (vi) exclusiveness, and (vii) discreteness. In theory, each factor may carry both positive and negative utilities which, in combination, help determine the relative value individuals give to alternative leisure options. This should become apparent in the analysis to follow, where the seven factors are discussed in turn. The list is not definitive. Additional factors may be relevant. Earlier research using this approach (Leiper 1983,1985a) used six factors retained for the present study (withdrawal and return, duration, frequency, personal interaction - socializing, cost, and discreteness) and two that are now omitted (intangibility, institutionalization). A new factor has been added to the amended framework (exclusiveness). The purpose of the framework is to indicate a list of factors by which tourism and other leisure may be compared, not to define all such factors.

Withdrawal and Return

All leisure, touristic and other, involves some sort of withdrawal and return, a temporary escape from certain environments and conditions (which means a temporary escape to others) followed by return to the original circumstances, optimally in a different personal condition. A simple example is recreational rest. We "withdraw" from activities or conditions causing fatigue in order to return

"rested", re-created or restored in that sense. Veblen's (1899) classic work on leisure (3) implied the principle of withdrawal and it seems to be accepted, at least implicitly, throughout the literature. Demonstrably the nature of withdrawal and return is different for different forms of leisure.

Touristic leisure is unique in one way at least, different from other leisure, because it alone involves real and substantial physical escape. It requires travelling away from one's home region to visit regions or countries where touristic leisure transpires. The withdrawal in touristic leisure is, in principle at least, a temporary escape from all the environmental conditions of home and normal existence. The cliche that "a real holiday" means "getting way from it all" often emphasizes its last word, all. A holiday trip allows temporary changes in many things: place, faces, pace of existence, activities, behaviour, lifestyle, attitude. With other leisure, at least some of those routine environmental circumstances or norms will still be present or nearby, intruding or threatening to intrude on leisure.

Total withdrawal from normal real environments means that touristic leisure may be more effective and efficient than other leisure in achieving various recreational and/ or creative ends. Research has been conducted which supports that conclusion. Cohen and Taylor (1978) argued along this line in their study into alternative forms of escapist behaviour. It began with research into how long-term prisoners adapt to their restricted environment, and how they vicariously "escape". It developed into a broader study of escapist behaviour motivated by needs to get away from the "paramount reality" that, in modern societies, tends to destroy peoples' sense of individuality. The alternatives considered included hobbies, games, sex, drugs, mass culture (such as TV), gambling, holiday travel and therapy. They concluded that holiday travel (which can be regarded as the paradigm of tourism) represents ...

... the archetypal free area, the institutionalized setting for temporary excursions away from the domain of paramount reality ... a genuine escape, a flight to an area where we can assemble our identity in peace or with new and more powerful symbolic resources (Cohen and Taylor 1978:94-114).

Dann's (1977) study of tourists in Caribbean resorts, dealing with motivation reflecting anomie and ego-enhancement, supports the finding of Cohen and Taylor.

In practice, not all tourists are motivated by needs for ego-enhancement or for identity reassembly. Much simpler recreational needs could be investigated, resulting in the same sort of conclusion. Stear's (1984) research into socializing is an example.

Temporarily escaping in a real physical sense, for a holiday, seems to be a popular means to more effective recreation, regardless of what mix of recreational functions is desired (eg. rest-relaxation-entertainment) or what form of recreational behaviour is preferred (eg. relaxing by snoozing on a beach or relaxing by climbing a mountain). Millions of tourists spend much of their holiday time in resorts engaged in diverse recreational behaviour. The point, in the present argument, is not that resort locations offer warm weather or comfortable accommodation: many tourists leave their normal homes where the same climatic conditions and life-comfort facilities exist. The point is, rather, that physical escape _from_ one's normal circumstances seems conducive to recreational behaviour for rest and relaxation.

A slightly different argument applies with recreational leisure aligned with entertainment. Satisfying the need for entertainment requires seeking new experiences, which implies escape _to_ the circumstances where novel experiences are available. Wanderlust travel, tours in the strict sense, inevitably involve a search for new experience: wanderlust tours involve the traveller going to "new" places (Gray 1970). But arguably, any repeat visitation in a wanderlust frame of mind would also involve some new experiences. Travelling from place to place in a leisurely frame of mind results in new experiences which have entertainment value because of the variety they represent. And variety has been shown to be conducive to mental well being; as a study into the pathology of boredom concluded, a popular saying is misleading: "variety is not the spice of life, but the very stuff of it" (Heron 1957:140).

What about creative leisure? Stereotyping tourists, assuming that they comprise a homogeneous type engaged in trivial behaviour, implies that tourism might be recreational in some instances, but never creative. However, going beneath the stereotypes reveals that touristic leisure can be very valuable for creative pursuits. Fussell's (1980) study of literary travellers provides evidence. Fussell argued that his literary travellers (persons such as D.H. Lawrence in Sicily in the 1920s and Robert Byron in Persia and Afghanistan in the 1930s) were very definitely "travellers" not "tourists". Fussell views tourism as an inferior and decadent form

of travel. But his suggested line of demarcation is not born out by the evidence he presents. Fussell's travellers were tourists in several senses of the latter expression: they would be technically included in tourist statistics, and may have been popularly regarded as tourists by casual observers, since they had no overt work-related reason for travelling.

More evidence for the suggestion that tourism may be a creative form of leisure is found in works by Toynbee (1934) and Mumford (1961), both of whom have analysed the "withdrawal and return syndrome", a phrase Toynbee coined. Neither of these two writers refers explicitly to "tourists" but their examples correspond neatly with the concept set out in the present discussion. In Cities in History Mumford (1961) showed how the ancient Greeks travelled away from their cities to visit what were, in effect, tourist resorts, for recreational and creative leisure:

> **From these three centres flowed currents of vital energy ... which brought to every Greek city a whole stream of unifying and self-transcending ideas and norms of life ... (The tourists) experienced that process of withdrawal and return which both Patrick Geddes and Arnold Toynbee have demonstrated historically is an essential mode of human growth (Mumford 1961;135-6, parenthesis added).**

The "three centres" were the three main resorts of the ancient Greeks. What is remarkable is that each one originally specialized in a particular function of leisure noted earlier in the present discussion and originally identified by Dumazedier (1967). Cos (or Kos) was the health resort, specializing in rest, relaxation and therapy; Olympia's primary function was entertainment; Delphi's focus was on creative leisure (4).

Toynbee, in A Study in History (1934), introduced the concept of a withdrawal and return syndrome in his analysis of how civilizations grow (5). He described famous individuals from several historical eras who made dramatic contributions to the development of civilization in their home lands as a result of experiences based in creative leisure elsewhere. But the same process may be observed among many ordinary persons who behave in similar manner without making such contributions or achieving fame. Reading books while away on holidays, for the twin purposes of pleasure and knowledge, is an example.

This argument goes one step beyond that of writers such as Bell (1928), Huizinga (1950) and Larrabbee and Meyesohn (1958) who argued that civilization reflects the quality of leisure experiences. Geddes, Toynbee and Mumford have argued that a civilization develops when members of a society have creative leisure in other places, outside their home society, and return changed as a consequence.

But there can be negative attributes associated with travel, the basis of withdrawal and return. Some persons intensely dislike the prospect of being away from their homes and familiar circumstances, and thus may be unable to derive much (if any) pleasure from the prospect of leisure that requires travelling away. An associated issue is extreme insecurity about the prospect of being in unfamiliar regions or countries. Survey research has indicated that only a small incidence of the population, probably less than 5%, are in fact impeded by those concerns (Peat Marwick, 1977). Another negative stems from the fact that travelling, especially over long distances at speed, disturbs peoples' equilibrium in various ways. Extreme examples are motion sickness, fear of flying, and jet lag. Travel per se very often has the personal effect on travellers of the original sense, "travail", a torture. Schivelbusch's (1979) insightful study of travel and industrialized transport showed how modern modes of transport offer increased speed at the cost of greater discomfort, endured for briefer intervals. So people who say they "enjoy travelling" may be clouding the truth, for many may find travelling a discomfort that is worth enduring in order to visit other regions or countries: the real pleasure stems from experiences associated with visits.

On balance, the withdrawal and return factor has several strongly positive attributes, which underlie much of the special value in many peoples' attitudes to tourism as against other leisure. Negative attributes of this factor exist, but they are probably minor for most people.

Duration

Tourism occurs in relatively large chunks of spare time; most occurrences of other leisure transpire in much smaller bits. This tends to give added utility and value to the former category. Most touristic trips involve several days duration, representing opportunities for lengthy and sustained periods of spare time given over to the pursuit of leisure-related experiences. Data on trip duration are available from surveys. For example, in 1987 there were 901,800 departures by

Australian residents for the main purpose of holidays in other countries and of the total, 52% were on trips between one and two weeks in duration and 45% were longer than three weeks (Table 13 in A.B.S. 1988). Overseas holidays by New Zealanders probably have a similar pattern. In contrast, for most individuals other leisure occurs in brief intervals, perhaps an hour or two daily during working weeks and a few hours or whole days at weekends.

How does longer duration contribute to utility and value? First, a longer interval of recreational behaviour increases its effectiveness: a whole week of rest and relaxation is likely to be more beneficial to that end than a few hours. Second, lengthy intervals of spare time allow more scope for complete recreation and are thus more likely to lead to creative leisure. Everyone has creative talents, but for the majority these only come into play after recreational needs have been satisfied. The minority who can be creatively engaged in leisurely pursuits despite needing rest and relaxation are remarkable individuals.

Offsetting the positive utilities are some negative attributes that can apply in certain cases. With long periods of spare time to fill, some tourists seem to become bored and susceptible to pastimes (literally!) which have little or no recreational or creative utility. Tourists who exhibit boredom from several days of continuous sightseeing are one example; another are tourists look for things to do in the way of work, perhaps because their recreational needs have been fully satisfied (or cannot be satisfied) when no suitable creative opportunities exist. Workaholic types look for real or vicarious work during a holiday; some plan this by taking a full briefcase from the office. Sontag (1979) drew attention to another form of this aberration, those tourists who assiduously photograph every sight and event they encounter because the camera provides an escape from leisure for those who "feel a need to appease the anxiety the work-driven feel about not working when they are on vacation" (ibid:10). Sontag points out that the nationalities most prone to compulsive photography whilst on trips are Germans, Japanese and Americans, nationalities noted for a strong work ethic (which implies a weak leisure ethic).

On balance again, as with the first factor, the positive attributes probably typically outweigh the negative.

Frequency of Occurrence

Touristic leisure is, for most persons, an infrequent occurrence compared to other leisure which typically occurs frequently. Other leisure may be daily or weekly. But very few persons get away on touristic trips more frequently than two or three times a year and for many, real holiday trips are events that only happen years apart.

Yet the infrequency of touristic leisure within most individuals' total spare time may add to its positive value in their mind. Because trips are relatively infrequent, they tend to be anticipated, and then savoured and later again remembered more vividly than other, ordinary leisure (6). Again though, there are possible negatives. Because trips are relatively infrequent, some people attempt to maximize the range of different experiences in the available time and, as a result, they may derive less than optimal satisfaction because each experience is too rushed and too superficial. The 1969 American comedy film If It's Tuesday, This Must Be Belgium parodied those types of tours, travelling to a dozen countries around Europe in a dozen days. Travel agencies and tour operators in the U.S.A. promoted that type of packaged holiday strongly in the 1960s, but there have been commentators on the American travel trade who have pointed out that many of those travellers were not keen to repeat the experience (7). Wise advice is found in Waugh's novel Brideshead Revisited, at the point in the story when Sebastian and Charles travel from England to Venice to spend two weeks and their host, Lord Marchmain, warns about the risk of crowding too many different activities into a holiday by remarking to the two young men "How are you planning to fill your time, at the beach or seeing the sights? You can't do both you know!"

Social Interactions

Touristic leisure normally offers scope for socializing and related forms of interpersonal communication, rather more than people tend to experience with other leisure. This stems from personal interaction with several possible categories of individuals (i) service employees of the travel and tourism industry, (ii) service employees of other industries used by tourists, (iii) other travellers or tourists, and (d) residents of places visited. The travel and tourism industry relies heavily on personal services, so those tourists using the services of airlines or other carriers,

hotels or resorts, tour operators with escorts or guides, and similar kinds of firms, are likely to be greeted by a sequence of persons whose duty is to make tourists feel comfortable and welcome. While on trips many people spend a lot of time shopping (buying and/ or browsing) and also tend to eat in restaurants more frequently than they do in their other leisure, at home, and this adds opportunities for personal interaction with serving personnel from a wide range of industries in the services sector. Frequent socializing with other travellers is almost inevitable on trips using public transport. In the case of organized group tours, it is part of the tour operator's generic product, so the escort's duty is to ensure that members of the group get to know one another and have lots of opportunities for socializing together. Resort hotels and cruise ships (floating, mobile resort hotels) are managed in ways designed to encourage social interaction amongst guests. And meeting local residents of places visited is common too.

Data support the conclusion that a typical individual on a trip meets and communicates personally with more persons than that individual encounters during other leisure opportunities, at and near their home. Stear's (1984) research specifically addressed the question of interpersonal communication. He surveyed tourists in a seaside resort about the numbers of times each day they greeted or spoke with other persons in the resort (excluding members of their own party) and compared this with the number of similar encounters the same respondents had at weekends in their normal home environments. The resort environment had a significantly greater quantity. Secondly, Stear investigated whether the difference contributed to, or detracted from, the value of the holiday experience. Again, the data revealed a very significant positive contribution. Stear's methodological approach was similar to that used in the present discussion: comparing experiences in two settings. His two settings were in a tourist destination region (the resort) and in corresponding traveller generating regions (the tourists' home locations), two settings where the same collection of individuals were studied in terms of interpersonal communication as an aspect of leisure behaviour.

Many empirical studies shed light on the socializing factor in an indirect way. In several countries, departing international visitors are surveyed and a commonly asked question invites them to nominate the features they most enjoyed. In many countries, most say that meeting friendly and hospitable locals was the highlight (8). Socializing and other friendly interpersonal communication are very important activities in leisure experiences generally, as Elias and Dunning (1986) have argued:

Sociability as a basic element of leisure plays a part in most if not all leisure activities. That is to say, an element of the enjoyment is pleasurable arousal through being in the company of others without commitment, without any obligations to them apart from those one takes on voluntarily (Elias and Dunning 1986:121).

Negative aspects can be associated with the socializing factor but they probably are minor compared to the positive attributes described above. As tourists we cannot easily choose which other tourists we will socialize with. The result is that tourism, in its mass forms especially, involves mixing of social classes and sub-classes. Opportunities for snobbery and other disdainful behaviour by persons sensitive about social status are much greater than in other leisure. This certainly appears to be behind some peoples' dislike of certain forms of tourism (escorted group tours) and of mass tourism generally.

Cost

Touristic leisure tends to be more costly than other leisure. The two large cost items are typically transport and accommodation. Tourism depends on individuals having sufficient discretionary income or wealth; the poorer sections of society, even in relatively rich countries such as New Zealand and Australia, cannot afford substantial holiday travel of either kind, domestic or international.

Yet its relatively high cost may give touristic leisure added value in the minds of many individuals. A generally accepted principle in the travel trade is that tourists pay particular attention to getting value for money because of the high cost of holiday trips. A common attitude is "I'm paying a lot so I'll try to get as much benefit as I possibly can from the experiences".

With this cost factor there are several negatives that reduce the utility and value of touristic leisure actually experienced by many individuals. High prices prevent many people from travelling for leisure-related purposes. But much wider impacts are that high prices curtail the duration, frequency, format and style of tourism for all but the very rich, the so-called "jet-setters" whose lifestyle is continuous tourism.

Exclusiveness

Tourism is a relatively exclusive activity in two respects related to the theme under discussion. First, only a minor proportion of the population is away on trips at any point in time while in contrast, virtually everyone has bits of spare time for other leisure all through the year. Second, only a small proportion of the population in many countries travels to foreign countries, for the sorts of experiences popularly associated with tourism, in any year. Those minorities may recognize that they are in a relatively fortunate position and probably feel a sense of exclusiveness which adds to their perception of value in the experience. In fact, residents of countries such as New Zealand and Australia who travel abroad for holidays are in a much smaller minority than many assume.

Evidence for this can be found in various surveys. For example in the early 1980s fewer than 6% of the Australian population travelled abroad in any year, according to an analysis of inflight surveys conducted by Qantas (Leiper 1984), and only about 3% of the Japanese population was travelling abroad annually in the same period (see Chapter 8 of the present study). The corresponding figures for several European countries may be as high as 10%, and for the U.S.A. probably below 5%. A rough estimate for the New Zealand population in the 1980s is 7%. One can conclude from this that international tourism is largely an activity of some sections of the middle and upper classes. The cause is not just economic: MacCannell (1976) showed why and how international tourism is linked closely to certain cultural needs especially important for those in the middle classes or aspiring to that status.

The exclusiveness factor has negative attributes, associated with the snobbery stimulated in some people by the different places that might be visited, by the different classes of service used and so on. Where status claims become the dominant motivator in leisure activities to the detriment of other unsatisfied needs, leisure opportunities have been wasted (9).

Discreteness

Within each individual's total leisure pattern, touristic experiences tend to assume a special or discrete quality. People tend to view their holiday times (particularly their "big trips") as discrete intervals in their lives, separate in many

Figure 5.1

Factors Shaping Values of Touristic versus Other Leisure

Factors	Tourism	Other Leisure	Net Value
Withdrawal & Return	++++ -	++ -	+++
Duration	+++ -	+ -	++
Frequency	++ -	+ -	+
Socialising	++ -	+ -	+
Cost	++ -	+ -	+
Exclusiveness	++ -	+ -	+
Discreteness	++ -	+ -	+

Interpretation: The diagram summarises the analysis and argument. The + values indicate that all factors have positive values in tourism and in other leisure, but there tends to be more positive attributes in the tourism case. The - values also indicate that all factors tend to have negative values in tourism and in other leisure. On balance, accounting for all seven factors, the diagram expresses, in graphical form, the argument for the view that tourism tends to be more highly valued, by most individuals, than other forms of leisure.

ways from other leisure. Tourism is a special component in what can be called the leisure careers of many individuals. Evidence for this can be observed in certain widely practiced activities. Many individuals talk about their planned holiday trips in ways indicating that the anticipated experience is quite special, more valued than other future opportunities for leisure. Similarly, many people talk about past holidays in ways indicating that these are very often remembered more vividly, are more valued, than other previous leisure. The cause is, arguably, a combination of positive attributes associated with at least some of the six factors described above: real and total withdrawal and return, lengthy duration, infrequent occurrence, socializing, high cost, exclusiveness.

A Synthesis

The seven factors do not function independently of one another in shaping individuals' attitudes. Rather, they coalesce. People who highly value travelling to visit places for leisure have formed that attitude from a combination of net positive attributes from the factors identified. This is not to say that all the factors are always consciously recognized or expressed by the individual. More commonly, these are cultural values in the strict sense, implicit but influential in shaping attitudes and therefore behaviour.

Figure 5.1 represents a hypothetical synthesis of the argument. It depicts all seven factors tending to have positive and negative attributes, but all seven having positive attributes on balance.

CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

Representing one perspective for understanding touristic behaviour, the preceding discussion complements other perspectives on that topic, and in certain ways may be more fundamental. The analytical approach and the evidence used are broad based and thus rather simplistic. Therefore the more usual perspective for understanding tourists' behaviour, and more depth, is required to get to the specific needs that motivate particular (types of) tourists: Crompton's (1979) approach is indicated. Likewise, at least one other writer has analysed touristic leisure in more detail than the present study: Hamilton-Smith (1987) dissects tourists into "four kinds" in terms of leisure attributes. But the method used in this present study may be useful for its stated purpose, comparing two categories of leisure.

Accepting that tourism and leisure can be regarded as corresponding kinds of behaviour, one can conclude that in tourism, leisure needs are primary. Other needs, and wants, derive from them. For instance the need or desire to "get away from it all" or "to escape" is not a primary need in tourism; rather, it is a secondary need and want that stems from some primary leisure need(s) such as for rest or relaxation. Travellers want to get away is because they feel that this is an efficient or effective means to recreational and/or creative experience.

There is however, one line of thinking ignored in all the foregoing analysis. Perhaps travel for leisure purposes ("tourism") is pleasurable because it is instinctive to human beings. The best evidence and argument for that is Bruce Chatwin's extraordinary book The Songlines (1988), particularly in Chapter 30 which sets out extracts from notebooks of observations and reading while amongst nomads (pp 183-229). It begins with a quote from Pascal's Pensees: "Our nature lies in movement; complete calm is death". Chatwin's hypotheses are that strong traces of instinctive human nature stem from our nomadic past and that accordingly, we feel natural pleasure by revering from the fixed abodes of modern society to become, again, even for a short while, nomads. This line of thinking is not wholly contrary to the analysis set out in this Chapter. Rather, it is complimentary. Tourism might be pleasurable basically because of nomadic instincts, and also because it has potential to be more pleasurable due to its comparative efficiency (real or perceived) over other leisure.

What of practical implications? There are two areas of application. First, the ideas seem useful for individual tourists. By recognizing explicitly what sorts of needs are most fundamental, individuals should be better placed to make intelligent decisions in terms of planning and otherwise managing their own holidays and other touristic activities. Second, managers in several kinds of firms and organisations in the business of tourism could apply these ideas in their thinking and actions. What tourist-customers think, believe and want begins with the leisure-related need(s) of each individual. Accordingly, firms and organisations in the business of tourism business are functionally in the (broader) leisure business. Businesses are, at core, organisations for satisfying customers' needs. They are in the business of satisfying wants stemming from leisure-related needs. To ignore that principle is to ignore the marketing concept, is to be potentially deficient in managerial policies, strategies and operations, is "marketing myopia" in the famous phrase of Levitt (1975). Drucker (1968) wrote that any business is ...

... defined ... by the want the customer satisfies when he buys a product or service. What the customer sees, thinks, believes and wants at any given time must be accepted by management as an objective fact deserving to be taken as seriously as the reports of the salesman, the tests of the engineer or the figures of the accountant - something few managers find it easy to do (Drucker 1968:67).

In practice these leisure issues are usually beneath the surface, and more overt wants may often be paramount for short-term tactical management in operational and promotional activities. Recognizing that Tourist X (or all the Xs as a market or market segment) needs rest and relaxation may not be of great practical value in the short term. Rather, if X is to be satisfied, the firm must know (or assume correctly) what forms of recreational behaviour and support facilities are preferred by X. But if managers understand what is beneath the surface in consumers' behaviour, the tactical response should be better informed and thus, more effective. Selling activity, by retail travel agents for instance, is one field where that understanding can be useful. And in that activity, in some cases, the leisure issues can be brought to the forefront. A generally accepted principle of selling is that when a prospect (the client) becomes consciously aware of the benefits in the product being offered they are more likely to become motivated to buy. Mayo and Jarvis (1981) emphasize that principle in The Psychology of Leisure Travel: Effective Marketing and Selling of Travel Services. This applies both to generic products (tourism as a kind of leisure) and to specific products (eg a holiday in Fiji or, more specific again, a Jetabout package for seven nights at Plantation Island). With some prospective buyers, a travel consultant may increase the likelihood of a sale by describing the holiday in terms of benefits, in terms of its generic product, which means the leisure-related needs it should satisfy. Similarly, a tour operator's brochure may be more effective as a promotional device with some prospects if those generic issues are described explicitly, rather than left implicit for the consumer to infer.

At the strategic management level these questions of leisure may be more significant (depending on market conditions). Strategic decisions are the ones that shape all aspects of a business venture (at the corporate, divisional or product level etc.), in terms of its competitive status. Offensive strategies are designed to give the organisation (or one of its divisions, or products etc.) a definite advantage over

its competitors; defensive strategies are designed to prevent competitors from gaining an advantage or overcoming a weakness. The broad aim of strategists is to keep the competition unevenly balanced, to reduce the intensity of competition, in favour of the strategist. Thus, strategy might be present in managers' thinking when they are making major and important decisions about the introduction of new products, the design or re-design of products (including services and packaging) the promotion of products and places, the setting of prices, the arrangements for distributing products (or, in the case of service-based products, buying opportunities), alignments with other organisations and so on.

Over recent years, demand in worldwide international tourist markets, in the main, has been increasing at a faster rate than found in most parts of the global economy. In those favourable conditions, the question of strategy has certainly been relevant to individual businesses, but has been irrelevant at the industrial level. The travel and tourism industry has not had to stimulate generic demand; more usually, its problems have been with supply, with expanding and coordinating resources. But the general pattern has not been universal. In some markets, and along some systems, demand has decreased so that most businesses face conditions where stimulation of demand is desirable. In such cases, mass promotions such as advertising and publicity might be more effective if the generic products are made explicit. One area where that seems applicable in recent years is in domestic tourism in New Zealand. Nationally, levels of activity have been diminishing, with person-nights down 8%, 3% and 6% in three successive years to 42.7 million in the year to March 1989, (N.Z. Tourist and Publicity Department 1990).

The messages and images in the national promotional campaigns of the late 1980s aimed at New Zealand domestic tourism were very largely describing what is on offer (sic) in the way of the features of destination regions and the industry's products associated with visiting those regions. But by concentrating on features, on what is "on offer", the messages and portrayed images convey little (if anything) about benefits, about the advantageous outcomes of a holiday. They seemed to presume that sufficient numbers of people were ready and willing to travel to places in New Zealand but required stimulation as to where to go and how to arrange the trip. In Levitt's (1975) words, the campaigns exhibited "marketing myopia". An investigation as to why that occurred is beyond the scope of the immediate discussion. However, if and when industry-wide promotional

campaigns shift their focus to product benefits, the sorts of ideas presented above, describing why and how tourism is a special kind of leisure for many people, may be useful for theme and content design.

The main conclusion, that tourism tends to be more efficient than other leisure in satisfying individuals' leisure-related needs, requires empirical research before it can be regarded as a valid theory explaining the 'travel bug'. Stear's (1984) research indicates how such fieldwork might be conducted. The application would involve Stear's approach followed for each of the factors in the analytical framework proposed in the present study.

One leisure activity which is believed to interest many tourists is gambling, in various forms and contexts but especially in casinos. This topic is taken up next, in Chapter 6.

NOTES

1. The link between tourism and leisure first became explicit to the present writer from a conference paper presented by the urban planner George Clarke, which was summarised thus "I regard planning for tourism as providing a comprehensive range of leisure experiences for people away from home" (Clarke 1975:214).

2. The huge growth of discretionary income in broad sections of society in several countries over recent decades has been the main basis for growth in the size of what are often called the leisure markets. Levitt (1969) argued convincingly that it was this monetary factor, rather than increasing spare time, that was behind the growth of leisure markets. Some commentators have called this discretionary income "mad money", a colourful but accurate description of how sections of the business community regard it: money in consnmers' pockets waiting to be exchanged for anything that appeals on impulse. The marketing concept, the business philosophy that an organisation should try and meet consumers' needs rather than exploit their wants, is sometimes ignored by elements of commerce who see the leisure markets as easy pickings.

3. Referring to "a work on leisure" might seem a contradiction in terms to some readers. In English we do not differentiate between the idea of "work" and the idea of "labour" so clearly as in German and some other languages. One can work during leisure and be at leisure while working, for work can be (should be and certainly is for some) an activity with intrinsic rewards that represent pleasure for the worker. Artists, craft persons and some (genuine) professionals demonstrate that possibility. Labour is different. Its essence is that the participant is being depleted or fatigued by the activity. Some work becomes labour. Labonr means an absence of leisure.

4. Mumford's (1961) descriptions of the three places indicates that conclusion. Questions of how and why resorts (ancient or modern) evolve towards or are managed towards diversity in the types of leisure they offer, combining the three types, would make an interesting research project.

5. "The Withdrawal and Return Syndrome" is summarized by Toynbee (1934) thus: ... "a disengagement and temporary withdrawal of the creative personality from his social milieu, and his subsequent return to the same milieu transfigured; in a new capacity and with new powers. The disengagement and withdrawal makes it possible for the personality to realize individual potentialities which might have remained in abeyance if the individual in which they were immanent had not been released from his social toils and trammels. The withdrawal is an opportunity and perhaps a necessary condition for the anchorite's transfiguration (but this) can have no purpose, perhaps no meaning, except as a prelude to the return into the social milieu out of which he has originally come" (ibid:248).

6. Notice how older people often are able and willing to tell stories about their holidays of many years ago, but may not be able or interested in recalling the same detail about experiences from other (non-touristic) leisure from the same period.

7. A plausible explanation is that the dominant motivations behind that type of tour stem from two needs: The first is for status, being able to say (to oneself and/or others) ... "Paris, Rome, Venice, etc. ... been there". The associated need is for authentication; MacCannell (1976) and others have written in detail on the authentication issue. If those twin needs are dominant and strongly felt, it is relatively easy for the travel trade to sell tours visiting "new" places. But the buyers might not go back to the same places, for a single brief visit is sufficient to satisfy those twin needs. Moreover, the tendency is for the one-time visitor to associate those destinations only with "status / authentication" motivations and not regard such places as useful for real recreational leisure. A rushed and superficial trip may be fatiguing; the travellers often need recreation at home to recover! There are several interesting management problems for firms and organisations in the tourism business linked with this issue.

8. For example, a survey of 17,000 international visitors in Australia in airport terminals when leaving the country included an open question "What was the most impressive part of your visit?" The top ranking reply was "friendly / helpful local people" etc., given by 27% of respondents (A.T.C. 1980:64). Surveys of international visitors in New Zealand and in several other countries have produced similar findings. A consequence is that the resident population of all countries are led to assume that the world regards them as the most friendly nationality to be found anywhere.

9. See Note # 7 above.

INTRODUCTION

Monte Carlo's casino, opened in 1856, became a model for a gambling-tourism link and today many places around the world are recognised and promoted as tourist destinations featuring facilities for casino-based gambling. The 1970s and 1980s saw a spate of newly established casinos that were justified as tourist attractions. New Zealand is a recent follower of this global trend. In August 1988 the Government commissioned a committee of enquiry to explore the implications. Representatives from the tourism industry came out in favour of the proposal. Sections of the community are strongly opposed, on social or moral grounds. The general thrust of the argument from the tourism promoters has been that casinos would benefit the country's performance as an international destination, bringing economic benefits. In January 1989, after receiving the Committee's report, the Government announced that casinos would be established. The international tourism argument was prominent in the justification for the new policy, announced on behalf of the Government by the Minister for Tourism.

Most persons in modern societies travel away from their homes occasionally, temporarily becoming tourists of some sort. Most persons, perhaps a smaller proportion, indulge in gambling games occasionally. Gambling games are played by people in their home environments and also while away on trips, an overlap in gambling circumstances. During the past few decades, the supply of gambling facilities around the world has increased, notably as more countries and regions have established casinos and in many cases, those innovations are linked with the place's role as a tourist destination: establishing a casino is often regarded as a one way of creating an attraction. Against that background, this study's broad objective is to investigate behavioural links between tourism and gambling, with particular reference to casinos. The discussion to follow considers the functional aspects of that argument, putting to one side the value issues concerning social, moral and economic impacts.

A wide ranging collection of writings can be found on the subject of gambling, indicated by the following selection. Herman (1967) edited a set of essays that deal with several perspectives: forms of gambling; gambling businesses and industries; pathology; and connections between gambling, crime and social corruption. Goffman (1961,1967) wrote two essays on gambling behaviour. Downes et al (1976) reported on a large scale empirical study into gambling behaviour. Bird et al

(1987) conducted studies of punting at the racetrack. Carr (1984) provided a synthesis of international research studies for a report to government.

Relatively little attention has been given by scholarly writings to the association between tourism and gambling. Callnin (1979) and Tyson (1979) discussed casino hotels from economic and business perspectives. Stansfield (1978) and Pizam and Pokela (1985) described impacts of tourist-orientated casinos on host communities in the U.S.A. Turner and Ash (1975) and Cameron (1975) discussed the casino in accounts of Monte Carlo's development as a tourist destination. Crush and Wellings (1987) noted casino gambling as one factor in the resorts of Lesotho and Swaziland.

To date, the broader theoretical questions explored in the present article have not been addressed in the literature. How is gambling behaviour related to touristic behaviour and vice-versa? Why and how do casinos attract tourists? There is also an empirical question: what is the potential for casinos in relation to New Zealand's role as an international tourist destination?

Research for this study draws on the literature, and on personal observations in several casinos and interviews with officials of tourism organisations in places where those casinos are located, as listed below. It utilizes models of gambling and touristic behaviour, drawing these together to arrive at speculative principles. A supplementary piece of fieldwork was conducted, a survey of the public in a New Zealand provincial city.

GAMBLING

Running through some discussions about the topic are attempts to distinguish between what is allegedly genuine gambling and recreational activities that are seen to have a gambling flavour. For example a senior manager of the Lotto organisation in New Zealand has claimed that the game is not gambling for most players, merely an entertainment, while it is gambling for the syndicates who use "systems" and wager large sums (The Dominion 19 July, 1988). An allied notion is that "the title of gambler is reserved for a specific group of neurotics (excluding) the person who indulges occasionally in games of chance" (Bergler 1957:118). Those notions can be misleading. Gambling is gambling. The existence of the phenomenon does not depend on the size, frequency or method of betting, or on the particular motivation, or on whether the participant is an addict.

An indication of the scope and forms of gambling in one country can be seen from statistics published in New Zealand, relating to the 1987-8 year (The Dominion 19 July, 1988). Annual turnover was estimated to be $1,457 million or $440 per head of population. The components are $1,015 million bet on horse and dog racing, bisected into $798 million wagered off-course (via the Totalizator Agency Board) and $217 million at the tracks, $240 million on Lotto, $52 million on the Golden Kiwi Lottery, and $150 million on slot machines. The Lotto figure was for the first year of operation, when the innovation proved hugely popular: turnover was twice that budgeted by Lotto management.

Besides the forms noted, unknown amounts are bet on housie or bingo, on raffles and on other forms such as cards. The forms for which turnover data are available tend to be those that are industrialized. The growth of a gambling industry can be regarded as part of a broader trend, the commercialization and, ultimately, industrialization of leisure.

Downes et al (1976) conducted a large scale study of gamblers in England. The scope took in the forms noted in the statistical summary above, plus others found in England such as football pools and casinos. The research tested several hypotheses and the findings included the following points. There is a strong positive correlation between propensity to gamble and parental influence, regardless of social class. Theories linking gambling with alienation or anomic conditions must be rejected. Belief in luck is not positively correlated with propensity to gamble, although belief in luck is more characteristic of the working classes than of the middle classes. The overwhelming tendency of more regular gamblers is to impute some element of skill into their behaviour. And for the great majority, the activity is pursued more for intrinsic leisure-related values, rather than from a desire to win money.

Bird et al (1987) arrived at conclusions that support those of Downes relating to imputed skill; their research was on punters at Melbourne race tracks. Bird's research also concluded that individual gamblers do not believe they face negative returns: the gamblers believe they can win. Further, most are motivated to some extent by non-financial benefits associated with the betting. These could include a feeling of status from beating the system, and a sense of excitement from the action. That last point corresponds to a central theme in a major study of modern leisure (Elias and Dunning, 1987).

Goffman is another who views most gambling as a type of game. In gambling games, especially in ones of "pure chance ... unless such other factors as money bets are carefully added, mere uncertainty of outcome is not enough to engross the players" (1961:68). This implies that betting on the outcome can be a supportive factor in gaming participation, so that winning money might not be a sole or primary concern. In a later essay Goffman (1967) indicates by the title ("Where The Action Is") the main motivation behind some gambling. He analysed gambling behaviour into its essential and sequential components. He showed how the span of a gambling play involves four phases, a sequence of events. These are squaring off (placing a bet); determination (the event bet on, such as a race or a spin of the roulette wheel); disclosure (perceiving the result of the event); and settlement (the bet settled by payment and receipt). For example, an afternoon at the race track might have nine races, each with its four phases, while Lotto in New Zealand has one play per week. For that play there might be several days between the squaring off (buying a $2 ticket, nominating six numbers) and determination (the draw on Saturday evening) and an anxious two minutes before total disclosure (learning which numbers came out of the barrell) and one more long day before settlement (collecting $1 million on Monday).

Gambling Games and Life Gambles

Goffman proceeded to show, using that analytical model, how and why gambling games are different from the gambling inherent in everyone's life, from life gambles. The latter are the chance-laden conditions and situations everybody encounters in all sorts of circumstances. In games, the span (of play) is typically quite brief: "once the bet is made, outcome is determined and payoff awarded all in the same breath of experience. A single sharp focus of attention is sustained at high pitch during the full span of play" (1967:156). The brevity is illustrated best at the race track and casino table. With Lotto the span is a bit longer, a few days, for operational and strategic reasons. But in most of life's non-gaming gambles, the span is much longer, with some phases spread over lengthy intervals, so that the whole span can take years. Examples include the risk factors in educational choices (should I major in Veterinary Science or Accountancy?), in business ventures, investments, choosing between alternative employment offers and career paths, and so on.

That contrast helps explain why gambling games are popular. They can satisfy a basic need of life, to experience risk, in ways that are condensed in time (from

encounter to consequence), that can be replicated easily, quickly, and at relatively low cost: a few dollars in a slot machine or wagered on a horse.

Gambling Types

A different kind of behavioural analysis involves dissecting gamblers into psychographic categories. What follows stems from a suggestion a few years ago by Dr Peter Kenny (pers. comm.). His suggested line of analysis has been enlarged for the present discussion, where it has also been integrated with Goffman's ideas.

Cinderellas gamble to become rich. They want to move out of the kitchen and into a Grand Ballroom, and live happily ever after. Imagining that fairy tale during all phases of the play, they seek opportunities for winning large sums from small bets: long odds are inherent. From a marketing perspective, several attributes of Lotto's product, pricing, distribution and promotion all support an opinion that Lotto is a brilliantly managed paradigm of Cinderella games. Scratchers, gamblers with a recurrent itch, are quite different. Their principal want is frequently recurring, small-scale action. Their desire for gambling stems from underlying needs for recreational entertainment and, possibly, relaxation. The monetary winnings on offer are not primarily significant here, where the game, the action, is the thing. Using Goffman's terminology, these gamblers need multi-play sessions. Slot machines, two-up, roulette, blackjack and the like are ideal.

A third category are what Kenny termed Thumpers, those with a pathological desire to hurt by losing. Gambling is a substitute for thumping themselves (or others) on the head. Games with brief and frequent plays, where large sums can be wagered, suit Thumpers. A fourth category are Pros, meaning those who play with substantial knowledge and skill about the chosen game. They usually play to win money and might indeed live off winnings, but the essential attribute is the motivation to demonstrate a multi-faceted skill. A well known film illustrates that point. In The Hustler, the two leading characters are not primarily concerned with winning the large sums at stake; each wants to prove that he is the best pool hustler, a professional pool player-gambler. Pros prefer gambling against other gamblers and generally avoid games with fixed odds or where no real skills are needed. Finally there are Crims, those who seek to win money by cheating or other improper means, who use gambling opportunities for criminal ends. A sub-category are those who use gambling facilities to launder the cash gained from criminal sources such as drug dealing. Casinos are reputedly favoured for that purpose, but many other forms are suitable.

No quantitative data are on hand to enable dissection of the gambling population into categories along these lines. Arguably, most gambling is by the first and second categories: cinderellas and scratchers. This analysis is not suggesting that every individual falls into one fixed category. Rather, a person might be a scratcher most of the time and in certain circumstances and a cinderella in others (1).

TOURISM

Tourism can be defined as the behaviour of tourists, persons seeking leisure experiences away from their home regions. For the analysis to follow, of tourists as gamblers, Gray's (1970) bisection of tourist types will be used and developed. He suggested that tourists fall into two types, termed wanderlust and sunlust. Gray's theory does not suggest that individual persons are always one or the other type; a person can be a wanderluster one year and a sunluster the next. The typology relates to behaviour on trips. A precise expression of the distinction between the types is required before they can be applied to analyse tourists' gambling propensities.

Wanderlust and Sunlust Types

Wanderlust tourism is when the tourist's principal needs are first hand experiences of specific places, experiences sought by sightseeing and other peripatetic activities. Wanderlusters want to experience what is distinctive, and interesting to them as individuals, in or about each place: its scenic features, peoples, famous sites and so on. Wanderlusters' needs are essentially cultural rather than recreational (2), and their perspective looks out for particular places where interesting or meaningful phenomena are to be found. MacCannell's (1976) study focussed on this type. Wanderlust tourism tends to be multi-destinational, with a sequence of regions or countries visited in the course of a trip. Compared with sunlust, it tends to be long haul: wanderlusters tend to venture further from home. Many wanderlust tourists are first-time visitors to the key places in their itineraries. They seek novelty, different experiences. And the visits are typically brief, often just sufficient to see the sights before travelling on to another new experience further along the itinerary.

Sunlust tourism is when the traveller's principal needs are for recreation, for rest, relaxation, entertainment and the like. The individual has chosen to seek

recreation away from away from home. The sunluster will choose any destination that offers satisfaction for the individual's preferred form of recreation via its environmental characteristics. The sunluster is so named because a typical and common need is to escape temporarily to a place where the weather is warm and sunny; a holiday in a seaside resort is the paradigm. But note that "sun" is used metaphorically in the typological expression "sunlust", so that the desired feature might be warmth and sunshine, a beach, cool weather, snow fields, fishing opportunities, peace and quiet, opportunities for entertainment and socialising, or some combination of such environmental attributes. Sunlust tourism tends to be mono-destinational. If one particular destination region offers satisfaction by having suitable environments and / or facilities for the individual's recreational preferences there is no point in travelling around a series of regions or countries. Compared with wanderlust, it tends to be short haul; the sunluster chooses the most convenient destination with the desired characteristics. Over the years, many sunlusters tend to re-visit a particular place, returning for holidays to a destination that has been satisfying in the past. And each visit tends to be lengthy: a few days or, commonly, a week or more in the one place.

In practice, both types of behaviour can be observed frequently in the same trip by one individual, but closer examination usually reveals that one or the other type is dominant. For example, guests staying in a resort hotel are predominantly sunlusters but some will usually spend some part of their visit on "tours", sightseeing in the immediate vicinity. Another example is a sea cruise. Essentially it is in the sunlust category, but most cruises call in at ports where most (maybe not all) passengers convert temporarily into a wanderlust mode.

Having set out analyses of two kinds of behaviour (gambling and tourism), their linkages can now be considered. Before attempting to analyse those linkages, they can be described by considering briefly several places around the world where casinos are part of the tourismic resource.

GAMBLING IN TEN TOURIST DESTINATIONS

Brief descriptions of gambling operations in ten places are set out below. In six cases (Monte Carlo, Macau, Kathmandu, Genting Highlands, Darwin, Tweed Heads) the sources include personal observations of the operations and discussions with officials of relevant tourism organisations. In the other four places (Nevada, Atlantic City, Lesotho, Swaziland) secondary research in the literature has been the principal source, complemented with second hand reports from acquaintances.

Monte Carlo's casino opened in 1856, incurred losses until the 1870s and then became a profitable venture (Cameron, 1975). One factor behind Monte Carlo's successful status amongst the strip of Riviera resort towns was that for years it had the only legal casino in Europe. They had been outlawed and closed down in France (in 1838) and Germany (in 1866). But Cameron's history shows that the casino was not the single crucial factor behind Monte Carlo's development as a tourist destination. It was, rather, merely one central feature in the evolving entrepreneurial ventures of Louis Blanc, who moved from an outlawed German casino to manage all aspects of Monte Carlo's tourism strategy in the 1860s. A century on, the casino and other facets of tourism were diminished in importance; other business fields are now the mainstay of the Monegasque economy.

Certain observations about Monte Carlo are relevant to the themes of this study. First, the casino seems to have integrated with other features of Monte Carlo's function as a tourist site, according to accounts by Cameron (1975) and Turner and Ash (1975). Second, during the developmental years especially, the gamblers were attracted from where they were staying (as tourists) in the neighbouring towns such as Nice and Cannes, across the border in French territory where casinos were outlawed. Later, as more hotels opened in Monaco, the place became to some extent a self-sufficient destination. Third, most of the gambling in Monte Carlo seems to have always been by sunlust tourists. From early days and especially in recent times, tourists on wanderlust trips passing along the Riviera have stopped off briefly in Monte Carlo; they almost inevitably have a look at the famous casino, but few indulge in more than token gambling. Nevada's casinos draw the bulk of their gamblers from tourists resorting from nearby States, mainly neighbouring California.

Atlantic City has a slightly different pattern. It had been a major tourist resort during the rail era, but tourist arrivals decreased sharply in the 1950s and 1960s. Casinos were introduced in the 1970s, seen by local promotors as the means for what Stansfield (1978) calls "re-cycling" a decadent tourist resort. The casinos proved hugely successful businesses. In the first year of operation, 1978, there were 7 million visitor arrivals in Atlantic City, and 22 million in 1982; gross turnover of the casinos increased 19% between 1982 and 1983, reaching $US 1.77 billion in that year (Pizam and Pokela, 1985). But the casinos may have contributed more day-visitors than overnight tourists to Atlantic City total visitor inflow. With huge populations residing within an easy day-trip range, in neighbouring cities

such as Philadelphia and New York, Atlantic City is well placed as a recreational zone drawing largely on nearby residents for its market.

Macau's economy is largely based on gambling, with several casinos and betting operations on sports. The great majority of the gamblers permanently reside in Hong Kong, an hour away by water, coming for the day or evening from a city where casinos are not permitted. Macau also hosts large numbers of tourists from further afield, for whom the casinos (and presumably the gambling Chinese) are predominantly sightseeing objects; very few of the long haul tourists in Macau gamble there.

Kathmandu has a casino in the Oberoi Hotel. The bulk of the gamblers are wealthy Indians, who use Kathmandu as a resort. India has no casinos and in most States, alchohol is also forbidden. A short trip across the border in Nepal both forbidden pleasures are on offer (in an Indian-owned hotel). Indians are the most numerous national group in Nepalese tourist arrivals. Many other nationalities visit Nepal, mainly on wanderlust tours. Many visit the casino, but for them it is a sightseeing object rather than a place for personal gambling at more than token level.

Two hours by road north of Kuala Lumpur is Genting Highlands, with its resort hotel and casino. Almost all of its gamblers are Chinese from nearby parts of Malaysia and Singapore. It is the only legal casino in that part of Asia. A million tourists annually visit Malaysia from countries further afield. Many do not venture far from the resort island of Penang. Among those who do, very few detour off the main road up to Genting Highlands.

A casino opened in Darwin in 1984. Publicity from local promotors claimed it would attract visitors from other parts of Australia and from Asia. But in the early years of operation, the gamblers have been overwhelmingly residents of the Northern Territory. Surveys for the Northern Territory Tourism Commission over the 1985-6 year produced estimates that Darwin hosted 389,000 tourist arrivals, counting overnight stayers regardless of trip purpose (McNair Anderson 1986). They came from interstate (62%), overseas (11%) and from within the Territory (27%). The first and second categories (visitors to the Territory) were asked in the survey to nominate what features had influenced the choice of destination. Amongst interstate visitors, 2% nominated the casino as one factor; amongst international visitors fewer than 0.5% mentioned it. For most of those tourists,

coming from other parts of Australia and beyond, Darwin is a point in transit to and from the major attractions in other regions to the east (Kakadu) and south (Uluru / Ayers Rock). For those tourists, the city is, predominantly, another place on a wanderlust tour.

Tweed Heads is a border town in New South Wales. Its major industry for twenty years has been gambling. Across the State border is the Queensland Gold Coast, annually hosting several million tourists. Until 1985, the Queensland Government prohibited slot machines and similar forms of gambling, but they had been permitted for decades in New South Wales. Every day and evening of the year, thousands of people cross the border to visit the "clubs" in Tweed Heads. Lobbying pressured the Queensland Government to legalize casinos and poker machines. The argument was that this would stem the huge flow of expenditure across the border. The lobbying succeeded and a casino opened on the Gold Coast in 1985.

In the Republic of South Africa casinos are banned. Across the borders in Lesotho and Swaziland, resort destinations have been developed offering what Crush and Wellings (1987) call "forbidden fruit" ... gambling, prostitution, films not allowed in the Republic and pornographic live entertainment, along with other, less contentious kinds of attractions. Statistical data presented by Crush and Wellings demonstrate that "South Africa was clearly established as the almost exclusive source region for tourists to Lesotho and Swaziland" (ibid:95).

BORDERS AND SUNLUST GAMBLERS

Certain principles can be drawn from the descriptions of gambling in various tourist destinations. The political border theme is a major one. Borders can play a key role in flows of gambling tourists. Monaco, Nevada, Macau, Kathmandu, Genting Highlands, Tweed Heads, Lesotho and Swaziland are places where certain conditions have contributed to casinos successfully attracting large numbers of tourists as gambling customers. Each place has recreational environments and facilities, and is situated near a border where the neighbouring region or country prohibits gambling and where significant market for sunlust tourism (or, in the case of Atlantic City, for recreational day-tripping) is located. The exception amongst the ten places described above, Darwin, lacks those conditions. Its casino largely depends on residents of Darwin and on other Territorians who visit the city and seek recreational experiences.

JAPANESE TOURISTS

A 1982 survey in Japan of 2,200 persons who intended travelling overseas as tourists within two years included a question relevant to the present discussion (Moritani 1982). Twenty five possible activities were presented to respondents, who were asked to nominate which ones they wished to experience "by all means" while overseas. "Gambling" had the lowest score, by a large margin. 10% of respondents nominated gambling. The top ranked activities included "Appreciate beautiful scenery" (85%), "Come into direct contact with nature" (80%), "Enjoy local features such as stores and houses on a street" (76%), and "Taste food and drink unique to the locality" (68%).

Very few Japanese are interested in gambling during overseas holidays. The reason might be that few Japanese are interested in gambling per se, or it might be associated with the fact that almost all overseas travel by Japanese conforms very closely with the wanderlust type. Even while visiting Hawaii, Bali and similar places that many Westerners now treat as resort or sunlust destinations, most Japanese behave in the wanderlust mode. Fuller accounts of Japanese tourism that support these points can be found elsewhere, such as a later Chapter or its more detailed origin (Leiper 1985).

GAMBLING AND TWO TYPES OF TOURISTS

Evidence presented above suggests that tourists are prone to gamble when in a sunlust mode, but are not when in a wanderlust mode. A speculative explanation for the variance can be suggested. The explanation rests on developing the distinction between gambling games and life gambles, and applying it to the psychological sets normally associated with each type of tourism.

On a wanderlust trips individuals generally perceive greater "life risks" than they do on sunlust trips, and arguably greater than they do while at home. This is because of the perception of amplified risks, both real and imagined, inherent with normal wanderlust behaviour. In summary, the amplification comes from any or all of the following typical conditions. The wanderluster travel to what for them are exotic places, to new places as first-time visitors, to places further from home, for relatively brief visits so that they never feel familiar with their temporary surroundings. The locals tend to remain strangers. Furthermore, the wanderluster

type is more prone to feel especially insecure about support facilities and services in their multi-point and multi-stage itineraries: will their hotel reservations be in order in the next city, will they get to the airport in time for the next flight ? For those who fear flying, a multi-stage tour means a heightened sense of risk.

Amplified risks from life gambles (gambles of a touristic life, in fact) mean that the wanderluster's basic need to experience some level of risk from life is fully satisfied. They have little or negative motivation to seek satisfaction of risk-based needs from any contrived activity such as gambling games ! The risks or gambles perceived by wanderlusters is reflected in the popularity of comprehensive travel insurance policies, probably more common with this type of tourism.

Sunlusters are different in two fundamental ways. Firstly, compared with wanderlusters they are in conditions where real and imagined life risks are relatively low. The destination is often closer to home. The normal visit is longer, and in many cases the individual is a repeat visitor, who gets to know the place and its people, three factors that help create feelings of familiarity and therefore relative security. The sense of insecurity about hotel and travel bookings and about fear of flying is less in the mono-destination trips that typify sunlust tourism. Secondly, sunlust tourism intrinsically means recreation, a process that lowers tension and associated feelings of risk or insecurity.

Allied to that is a common motivation to get away from the risk-laden conditions of life in the home and (especially) working environment. These differences explain why tourists in the sunlust mode tend to perceive less intense and less frequent risk that those in a wanderlust mode. But the need to experience risk does not disappear. Using Goffman's term, most sunlust tourism lacks "real action". So, cocooned in a resort hotel or aboard a cruise ship, many sunlusters turn to contrived forms of risk, to gambling games. They are susceptible to offers for a bit of action at the roulette table, bingo, slot machines and the like.

Meanwhile wanderlust tourists are doing something inherently loaded with risk, with real action. They are not so susceptible to such offers. When the paths of the two types cross, when the wanderluster arrives at Monte Carlo, the casino and its gamblers are perceived primarily as another object for sightseeing. To give the occasion an extra dimension, the wanderluster might spend a few dollars at the roulette tables, just so he can say he has "gambled" at the famous casino. But in reality that gambling is merely a commodity purchase, a status claim, another notch in the been-there-done-that sequence.

PROSPECTS FOR CASINOS IN NEW ZEALAND

Research by Forer and Pearce (1984) and others demonstrates that there has been a dominant pattern of inbound international tourism in New Zealand for many years. Most international visitors whose trip purpose is leisure-related and not linked to seeing friends and relatives travel widely around the country. They are almost all in a wanderlust mode. Principles argued above indicate that a casino would gain little gambling revenue from those tourists, would not influence their itineraries within New Zealand and would not attract more of that type from abroad. Thus, any significant functional link between casinos and international tourists will either relate to a minor segment of the existing market or require developing a new kind of inbound tourism. A small portion of the existing inbound flow are sunlusters. Outdoor recreationalists including skiers are prominent in that category. There might be profitable markets for casinos in places where those types congregate, such as Queenstown.

Would casinos foster more inbound sunlust tourism? Probably not, partly because casinos alone do not create tourist resorts. More significantly, New Zealand lacks a near neighbour where casinos are illegal: the border crossing principle cannot be applied. Ten years ago, before legal casinos opened in several Australian cities, New Zealand's tourism industry had an opportunity that was passed over. At that time, casinos could have been established along with other suitable resort facilities to exploit the gambler theme in the Australian international travel markets. Now no neighbouring country has the necessary attributes: relatively close, generating large numbers of international travellers, and lacking casinos.

However from this one cannot conclude that the proposal to establish casinos is not feasible. Sizable markets are on hand in the local population. Domestic holiday travel in New Zealand involves predominantly sunlust tourism. Popular destinations include resort regions in rural areas and in the major cities. Auckland hosts more domestic tourists than any other region in the country and that might be the optimum location in relation to the domestic tourist market. As the largest and wealthiest population centre in the country, Auckland would also be the optimum place in relation to the local resident market.

Betting on a range of gambling games is widely popular amongst New Zealanders. Casinos would find ready markets, the more so because they cater to

all types: scratchers and cinderellas as well as minority types. From a casino business perspective, that typographical analysis might be suitable for designing the product, promotion, and pricing, but it is not the analysis used for managing the overall business operations. Tyson (1979), Callnin (1979) and Gee et al (1984) all note how in casino jargon, gamblers are bisected into "high rollers" and "grinds". The three works cited all remark that American casinos derive the great bulk of their turnover and profits from the latter, the multitude who wager small sums (grinding away at a psychological itch or grinding away in the hope of a fairy tale win).

Survey Findings

A survey of 142 persons was conducted in Palmerston North in August 1988. The sample frame comprised households chosen by quasi-random method in 38 residential cells in the city and suburbs, with 4 interviews requested per cell. The sample quota was split evenly between persons aged 21 to 35 and persons aged 36 and over. The local population falling within the quota is approximately 40,500. That population is not wholly representative of the New Zealand total, but may be taken as indicative.

Nine questions, about aspects of travel, were posed in the survey. Two were about casinos. The first of those was: "Some people believe that gambling casinos should be built in New Zealand as a holiday or tourist destination attraction. If you were visitng a place where a casino was available, how likely is it that you would visit the casino to have a look ? Is it very likely, possible, or not likely ?"

Table 1
Likelihood of Visiting A Casino
During a Domestic Holiday Trip

Very Likely	43%
Possible	23%
Not Likely	34%

n = 142

The next question was: "And if you were to visit a casino whilst on holidays, how likely is it that you would spend more than $10 gambling ?"

Table 2 Likelihood of Spending More Than $10 Gambling in A Casino	
Very Likely	32%
Possible	15%
Not Likely	53%
n = 142	

The survey findings suggest that many people would visit a casino during a holiday trip, but that fewer are interested in gambling there. The survey did not attempt to distinguish between wanderlust and sunlust. Cross tabulated results revealed that persons who travel more frequently (domestically and internationally) are more likely to visit casinos and to gamble there.

THE POLITICS OF ESTABLISHING CASINOS

Proposals to legalize casinos can be a political risk in countries such as New Zealand, because of strong opposition from sections of the electorate. Carr (1984) reported a nationwide survey that found 47% of New Zealanders disapproving the idea of Government-run casinos in certain tourist locations; 43% approved and the remainder gave no opinion. Disapproval, presumably, is based on mixed social, moral and religious grounds. But stakeholders stand to gain substantially, so the pressures for legalization are strong. Shareholders and operators forecast profits, and the Inland Revenue Department draws up forecasts for a turnover tax. The pro-casino lobby requires a carefully structured case, which must convince the government that the casinos will be beneficial and that the opposing case can be rejected. A complication is that if a comprehensive market feasibility study were conducted, the major market source for casinos in New Zealand would be identified as the local population. The alleged social, moral and religious stigma associated with casino gambling would be borne largely by the local community. That implication would strengthen the opposition case.

"Tourism" seems to be a convenient way through that complication, a kind of Trojan Horse in the strategy of the pro-casino lobby. The strategy, underlying the public relations campaign while the proposals are being considered by the community and Government, is to persistently associate casinos with inbound tourism. Foreign visitors, not locals, are implied to be the casino's potential customers, the high rollers who will be attracted from other countries with money to spend on gambling and the services of the inbound tourism industry. Foreigners, not locals, will bear any gambling stigma. The strategy seems cynical, but recent media reports promoting the casino idea suggest that it is emerging in New Zealand. The same strategy seemed to be used in Australia, when casino proposals were debated in various States during the 1970s and early 1980s.

CONCLUSIONS AND FURTHER RESEARCH

A persistent link between political borders and casinos attracting sunluster tourists is noteworthy. Monaco, Nevada, Macau, Kathmandu, Genting Highlands, Tweed Heads, Lesotho and Swaziland are all places where casinos are situated close to a border where the neighbouring country or state prohibits gambling. An exception, Darwin, lacks close neighbours and its casino seems to have attracted relatively few tourists in its first few years of operations. Further research on the casino-border link might be useful. One possibility that could be investigated is whether border crossings add a small but significant dimension of wanderlust activity to a sunlust holiday. After casinos have been operating for a number of years in New Zealand, their tourism related role can be investigated. How many tourists will be found amongst the gamblers? Will the casinos shape their itineraries in any way? Detailed study of thinking behind the casino-tourist link coming from the pro-casino lobby could be informative. Is tourism being deliberately used as a Trojan Horse, or do the lobbyists have reason to believe their own argument? From reports in the New Zealand media, one could infer that the Trojan Horse ploy has been used. And to what extent, if any, is this a case of national and regional tourism promotors coming out in favour of any idea that might make a contribution, however small, to the cause of attracting tourists? Again, there are indications in media reports that such an attitude is present in some promoters' thinking.

Further research on the sunlust / wanderlust model is possible. At least two kinds of sunlusters can be identified. One kind are in a passive mode, taking it easy

on a cruise ship for example. The other kind are active, skiing or climbing mountains for example. Perhaps these variations in activity levels amongst sunlusters also influence susceptibility to offers of gambling games? Another possibility for empirical research is to investigate links between travel insurance and the two types of tourism. Do wanderlusters take out more insurance? That hypothesis, if confirmed, would support a central part of the argument set out above.

Various ways of analysing gambling behaviour have been explored. Gambling games with "real" action and relatively low stakes have been compared with the notion of life gambles where the action is drawn out and the stakes high. The comparison might explain the widespread popularity of gambling games as a venue for discretionary time and money. A simple model of touristic behaviour can be aligned with that analysis, leading to the conclusion that sunlusters are prone to gambling games but wanderlusters are not. Evidence from casinos in several countries appears to support that conclusion.

NOTES

(1) Scratcher gambling is best suited to games incorporating operant conditioning, such as bingo and slot machines. Ferster and Skinner (1957) described and analysed the behavioural basis of operant conditioning, which is now well known in the social sciences, having been applied in many fields such as education and training. Operant conditioning involves "schedules of reinforcement" of various kinds. With bingo and (especially) slot machines, the schedule is the most powerful kind, termed a "variable ratio schedule". This refers to the pattern of payouts to plays. A variable ratio schedule is the most powerful form of operant conditioning; it induces the player to make more plays than a fixed ratio of about the same mean level. In practical terms, the gamblers are induced, by their perceptions of the payout pattern, to believe, assume or hope that they will win soon. With slot machines the payout schedules can be managed by the casino, by adjusting the machine, but they cannot be managed by the player. Moreover, the players very seldom know (as the casino manager does) what schedule has been set in each machine. Consequently, the "odds" are dramatically stacked against the players in several senses. In the long run the player must lose. Moreover, the mechanical fixing of the payout schedules on each machine and the players' normal ignorance about those statistics mean that the players are, in a real sense, being manipulated. This explains basically why slot machines tend to induce habitual gambling, which can lead to pathological addiction, and why skillful gamblers avoid slot machines. It also explains why profit seeking casinos tend to have many slot machines.

(2) Wanderlusters might not personally recognize that distinction, because they express (sic) their motivations with phrases such as "a holiday, a break away from routine, as relaxation and recreation". However the adage about needing a holiday back home afterwards, to recover from a multi-destinational tour, illustrates that behaviour on wanderlust trips can be the opposite of recreational, it can be fatiguing, because of the dominant cultural motivations and the travelling required to satisfy those motives.

CHAPTER 7 : MAIN DESTINATION RATIOS:
ANALYSIS OF TOURIST FLOWS

INTRODUCTION

Considerable scope exists for developing new techniques for analysing flows of travellers and tourists. One such possibility is described and discussed below. The Main Destination Ratio is most suited to international systems, but in principle could be applied to domestic tourism as well. The technique relates to aggregated flows, largish quantities of movements in a given system, when a proportion of travellers visit more than one country during a single trip. In the discussion below the innovation is illustrated with statistical data about one year's international trip patterns to sixteen countries by residents of three countries (Japan, Australia and New Zealand) and with data about thirteen consecutive years for trips by Australian residents visiting Hong Kong and Singapore.

The methods used to collect and report basic statistics about international flows have been described elsewhere, so the detail need not be repeated here. References on that topic include publications from the World Tourism Organisation (1983,1985, etc.) and chapters in books such as those by Burkart and Medlik (1981), Robinson (1976) and Pearce (1987). One point warrants a note. Care must be taken when interpreting terms such as "tourist" and "visitor" in W.T.O. reports and their derivatives, where they carry technical meanings.

After setting out background comments, the discussion to follow explains the concept termed Main Destination Ratio (MDR) and its technical applications. Using case data, the applications are illustrated and interpreted. Implications for marketing management are suggested. MDR analysis seems relevant to the interests of national tourism organisations and other businesses concerned with monitoring inbound, outbound or systems-wide tourism. Suggestions are offered for initiatives by W.T.O. and its member national tourism organisations.

LIMITATIONS OF EXISTING DATA

Pearce (1987) and others have commented on the limitations of existing official statistics of international tourist movements. Only simple raw data are collected in each country (1) and subsequently documented in global reports by the W.T.O. The

consequence is that knowledge about international tourism patterns based on publicly available data is relatively superficial. In particular, very little precise or comprehensive information is available about patterns of multi-destination tourism, what might be termed circuit tourism. The innovations proposed in the present article offer a small step towards clarifying that deficiency. The MDR technique and its applications are similar in purpose to innovations developed by Pearce (1984) and by Pearce and Eliot (1983).

What is unique about the MDR approach is that it uses data collected at two points in each whole tourism system, at a generating point where trips begin and at a destination where tourists visit. Conventionally, statistics about tourists are based on data collected in only one geographical element in each system. "Tourist statistics" usually imply data about tourist visitors in host countries: arrivals quantities and related issues are the focus. Each country's tourism industry and its public sector supportive organisations primarily want to know how many tourists visit that particular country, and want information about those visitors and their visit within that hosting country. Tourism interests in each country make only sideways glances at how many of their visitors travel to other countries, for monitoring what are seen as competitive or market-wide activity levels.

At the national level, not much if anything is asked in official surveys about travellers' multi-destinational itineraries in a systems-wide sense. "Systems-wide" in this context refers to all the countries that have elementary roles in each traveller's itinerary: one traveller generating country (where the trip begins and ends), and one or more hosting countries, at least one of which will be a tourist destination country, where the traveller will be counted as a tourist. Thus, one can speak of the Japan-Korea tourism system (referring to trips by Japanese to Korea), to the U.S.A.-New Zealand-Australia tourism system (U.S.A. residents travelling to New Zealand and Australia during a single trip) and so on. Shifting from a national to a global context, the same deficiency is evident. Not much detail is known about the scale or trends of multi-destinational itineraries. Moreover, no organisation collects comprehensive statistics about international itineraries of world tourism systems.

From a superficial glance, the World Tourism Organisation seems to be doing that, but anyone who has given attention to its statistical reports will quickly discover their limited scope in that respect. In essence all that W.T.O. does with statistics is gather the different data sets provided by 150 or so separate countries,

and publish the collection in single volumes. W.T.O. technicians do refine and check the data provided, and they add arrivals statistics from separate countries to produce a global index, but they do not integrate data from different countries to produce reports of global patterns that take account of multi-destination trips.

Three reasons are seemingly behind the omission of such information in W.T.O. reports. W.T.O. is unable to collect comprehensive sets of primary data, because of the Organisation's limited resources. It can only draw on whatever data its member countries provide. In that respect W.T.O. is like some, but not all, other United Nations' agencies. And W.T.O.'s major priority to date in its statistical projects has been to improve the accuracy, reliability and standardization of the basic data collected by its member organisations around the world. Significant progress has been achieved in that last pursuit.

But how much multi-destinational tourism is there? Gray's (1970) concepts of wanderlust and sunlust types are useful for considering the question and, on the evidence of casual observations and various statistical reports, concluding that wanderlust types are a significant (perhaps major) proportion of total international tourists in several areas of the globe. In Europe especially, with the tradition of a Grand Tour, and in Asia and elsewhere, many wanderlusters visit a sequence of countries during a single trip. And a proportion of sunlust tourists also visit more than one country, although that practice is, probably, less common.

Excepting the limited information about itineraries that is collected in sample surveys in certain countries (such as the International Visitor Survey series sponsored by the Australian Tourist Commission) not much is known about the broad patterns of multiple visits. From a multinational or global perspective, the deficiency with the information derived from surveys such as Australian example is that each country uses its own methods. Alternatively, the advantages of official statistics channelled via W.T.O. are firstly, a standardized method applies globally, and secondly, the data generally stem from surveys of total traveller-tourist populations, not small samples.

THE MAIN DESTINATION RATIO

The Main Destination Ratio can be defined as the percentage of arrivals by tourists or visitors in a given place for whom that place is the main or sole destination in the current trip, to the total arrivals in that place. As an hypothetical

example, assume that Xanadu recorded 1,000,000 arrivals of international tourists in 1987. Of the total 500,000 were making a mono-destinational trip and another 200,000 regarded Xanadu as the main country visited during their multi-visit trips, while the remaining 300,000 spent some time in Xanadu before or after visiting some other place that was the main destination. The MDR is calculated as follows: main destination arrivals total 700,000 which is 70% of total arrivals. The gross MDR value for Xanadu in 1987 is 70%.

The gross MDR illustrated above incorporates arrivals of all sort and from all sources. A different type of MDR is some sub-index, the MDR calculated for any sub-set of total arrivals. For instance, the attribute for isolating a sub-set might be country of origin, or main purpose of visit.

Illustrative Examples

Tables 1, 2 and 3 show MDR values and their derivations for forty nine bilateral itineraries. The values range from 96% to 1%. A comment about the derivation of the statistics in those tables might be helpful. The first column ("Departures ... to each main destination") comes from data collected in the generating country where residents departing are required to nominate the country in which they will spend the longest time during their international trip. (In certain countries, residents returning from trips abroad are asked again, to nominate which country they actually spent the most time visiting while away.) The second column ("Total arrivals") comes from data collected in the destination country, where arriving visitors are required to state their country of residence. Figures in the third column ("Arrivals of <u>Secondary</u> ... tourists") are calculated by subtracting the first from the second column; these numbers represent tourists for whom that country is not the main destination but a secondary one. The figures in the fourth column (MDR values) are calculated by comparing column one to column two, expressed as a percentage.

MDRs for Japanese travellers in 1982 ranged from 96% (in Taiwan) to 8% (Italy) with a mean value of 63% for the sixteen destinations. New Zealand travellers show MDR values for 1984 ranging from 83% (in the Cook Islands) to 1% (Italy), averaging 46% across sixteen destinations. Australian travellers in 1984 show values averaging 44% across seventeen destinations, the high being 95% (in New Zealand) and the low being Italy at 14%.

The "selected" destination countries are not necessarily the ones visited by the largest numbers of Japanese, New Zealanders or Australians. Rather, they happen to be destination countries for which the appropriate data are available from official statistics gathered separately at two points in each system: on departure from the traveller generating country and on arrival in tourist destination counties. One example of a significant destination omitted is France, recording large quantities of visitors but one of many countries that does not distinguish between Australians and New Zealanders. In several tables in W.T.O. reports and other international travel and tourism publications, the Australian statistics include New Zealand. In the 1984 year a total of 276,000 arrivals by combined Australian and New Zealander residents were recorded in France.

Having described and illustrated the MDR concept, attention can now turn to potential applications. Three are discussed below: secondary arrivals, the scale of multi-destinational tourism, and time series analyses of MDR.

SECONDARY ARRIVALS

"Secondary" arrivals in this context refer to arrivals recorded by visitors to a country for whom that country apparently is a secondary destination, not the main destination of the trip. The qualification arises because there are two possible reasons behind the recording of secondary arrivals.

A proportion of secondary arrivals reflect genuine multi-destination trips when travellers visit a main destination plus other, secondary ones. However, a proportion reflect backtracking, when a traveller visits the same country two or more times during a single trip. One country where the latter practice is probably a significant component in total arrivals is Britain, notably in relation to visits by long-haul tourists from North America, Asia, and Australasia. Many of those tourists travel to Britain (one arrival recorded), subsequently leave and visit the European continent, and later return to Britain (a second arrival recorded) before returning to their homes in distant countries. Another country where the same pattern is apparent, on a smaller scale, is Australia. Airline executives in Sydney have remarked to the present writer that a proportion of long-haul tourists visiting Australia make a detour to visit New Zealand and return to Australia before leaving for their homes in distant countries.

In the global picture, backtracking is probably less common that genuine multi-destinational travelling. Accordingly, the incidence of "secondary arrivals" calculated along the lines presented in the present discussion may be taken to indicate the approximate scale of genuine multidestination tourism.

MULTIDESTINATION TOURISM

Data in Tables 1,2 and 3 can be used to calculate rough estimates of multidestination activity in various systems. One way of forming such estimates is from the sub-totals in the tables.

Japanese travellers in 1982 are shown as recording 5,819,000 arrivals in destinations from a base of 3,686,000 departures from the generating country. This gives a mean average 1.58 arrivals per trip. In other words, the average trip by Japanese included visits to 1.58 countries. In 1984, for New Zealanders the average was 2.16 countries and Australians 2.28 countries.

But technical flaws in those calculations should be noted. All three estimates are based on skewed samples. Precise figures would require total departures from the generating country to be compared with arrivals in all destinations, not merely the sixteen or seventeen used in these tables. Also, the data are unweighted, which distorts the broad patterns. For example, if the huge flow in the New Zealand-Australia system (typically monodestination trips to just the one country) was put to one side, other travel by New Zealanders would reveal a greater tendency for multidestination activity.

Speculative estimates can be made from the analyses in Tables 1, 2 and 3 about the quantities of tourists making multidestination tours in Europe. Those estimates are drawn from the secondary arrivals figures for Italy, which suggest that approximately 300,000 Japanese toured Continental Europe in 1982, and that in 1984 approximately 300,000 Australians and 100,000 New Zealanders toured the Continent. The rationale behind the estimates is that most wanderlust itineraries of Europe include Italy; one source for that assumption is an examination of the contents in several dozen brochures published by tour wholesalers.

Data presented in Tables 1, 2 and 3 indicate the spread of aggregated flows from each generating country into various destinations, and the approximate scale of multidestination tourism. But the data do not reveal how many individual

travellers visit only one destination, how many visit two, and so on. Nor are directional patterns revealed, although plausible guesses can be made.

TIME SERIES MDR

The discussion to date has dealt with a single year's flow patterns. Another application of MDR analysis is in time series. Tables 4 and 5 provide illustrations, showing data about Australian residents' trips to two destinations in Asia for the years from 1975 to 1987.

Singapore and Hong Kong are the two leading countries in Asia in terms of tourist arrivals quantities from all sources. Both are popular with Australian travellers. The Singapore Tourist Promotion Board and the Hong Kong Tourist Association and their respective allies in the travel and tourism industries promote the two constituencies vigorously in the Australian market, where they are regarded being in direct and strong competition. Broadly regarded, the competition's outcomes have been relatively even. Gross arrivals of Australian visitors in each country have been in the vicinity of 250,000 annually in recent years. Small variations from one year to the next are monitored closely and the gains and losses are reported along with assessments of the competition in trade magazines such as Asia Travel Trade. One refinement frequently offered is length-of-stay analysis and its associate, gross traveller-nights.

MDR analyses provide an alternative insight. Trends in MDR values over thirteen years leads to a clear conclusion, that Hong Kong has made a significant gain in one respect at least over Singapore. The MDR of Australian visitors in Singapore increased from 20% in 1976 to peak at 27% in 1983 and then decreased slightly to 25% in 1987. Over those years the upward trend has been slight. But a more dramatic picture is apparent for Hong Kong. From 24% in 1975 the MDR value has increased steadily to peak at 43% in 1986, falling off slightly to be 41% in 1987. Figure 1 depicts the two trend lines, illustrating the marked difference.

What do the findings mean? They demonstrate that Hong Kong has developed strongly as a main destination for Australian travellers during the past thirteen years. In 1975 only one in four visitors from Australia regarded Hong Kong as the main destination of their trip, but by 1987 almost one in two saw Hong Kong as the main destination. Singapore in contrast has not developed to any significant extent as a main destination for Australians. It is still merely a secondary destination, or a stopover point in transit, for the great majority.

IMPLICATIONS

MDR analyses are useful statistical measurements that indicate a hosting country's (or region's) role in travellers' itineraries. That suggests implications for the formulation of strategies by national tourism organisations. But there is a cautionary note to make. The MDR and bisection into main and secondary arrivals are not measures of success or failure. Italy provides a good illustration of need for care when interpreting the statistics. Italy's MDR values are the lowest of all the countries listed in Tables 1, 2 and 3, but that fact alone is not a measure of Italy's performance as a tourist destination for Japanese, New Zealanders or Australians. Rather, it indicates in quantitative terms something fundamental about the kind of destination or stopover the country is for portions of the visitor inflow, in the context of itineraries where many are multi-destinational. Italy is a successful competitor in the market for Japanese, New Zealander, and Australian tourists, but happens to gain the major portion of its share of those three markets as secondary arrivals.

That analysis would be useful for designing and monitoring marketing strategies in organisations within the travel and tourism industry involved with a particular country as a tourist destination. In practice, probably most businesspersons involved with tourism in a particular country recognises that only some visitors regard that country as their main destination. The point about MDR analysis is that the technique enables quantification, a necessary condition for scientific responses by managers and a desirable condition for efficiently co-ordinated strategies from organisations in different sectors of industry. The greatest potential for applying MDR data might be in strategic planning, in monitoring trends and in comparing destinations that are in competitive or symbiotic relationships. In marketing jargon, the concepts seem useful for work on product positioning.

MDR's Potential for Industrial Management

MDR data seem especially appropriate for marketing management by national tourism organisations, particularly to guide and monitor co-operative ventures between symbiotic destinations, two or more countries that share roles as destinations for certain groups of travellers. For example, Italy's role in relation to long-haul tourists from the Pacific-East Asia Region has been demonstrated to

depend very largely on secondary arrivals: the clear implication is that tourism interests in Italy should be co-operating closely with other European interests in managing those markets. Similarly, in reference to the Japanese travel market there seems to be scope for symbiotic marketing by Australian and New Zealander tourism interests, guided by time series data about Japanese MDR values for visits to those two countries and others in the Oceania area. MDR analysis seems a preferable method to the conventional approach, relying largely on raw statistics about gross arrivals to a single country; the latter approach can disguise the causal factors behind the apparent popularity of a destination.

This represents another example of the opportunities for interorganizational networks, discussed in Chapter 3, a basis of the industrial management necessary for binding a set of organizations into an industry.

Globally, the responsibility for collecting basic data about traveller and tourist flows is acknowledged by national governments. But to date, each nation remains concerned with its own internal interests. Instead, a collective and co-operative concern is required, because as long as each country only collects data about its role in tourism systems, none will know much about what happens internationally, at the multi-national level. Each country should, where feasible, collect basic and simple data about international travellers' multi-national itineraries, and pass on the data for other countries to use.

In practical terms, that innovation would not be difficult in many cases, and the costs would be small compared to the information gained. Where traveller populations are surveyed by passenger cards for example, one extra question is required: which countries have you visited/ will you visit for at least one night during your present trip? The findings can be published and included with returns to Madrid for inclusion in statistical reports published by the W.T.O. There, the possibility would be available for W.T.O. to integrate certain statistical sets, providing quantitative data about traveller-tourist flows split into mono and multi-destinational categories.

The additional detail will add a refinement to W.T.O. reports that should be increasingly valuable when the management of international tourism systems acquires more sophistication. All countries can benefit, because all are active to some extent in all elements of international tourism systems: as generators, as transit points and as destinations, both main and secondary. Managing many facets

of those systems (operational, marketing, environmental, policy, planning and so on) can only become more effective with relatively detailed and integrated data about the core "productive" activities: flows of travellers or tourists.

CONCLUSIONS AND RESEARCH IMPLICATIONS

The MDR and its extensions provide an additional set of techniques for collecting quantitative information about traveller-tourist flow patterns. By combining two data sets, from sources at two points of each tourism system, more precise understanding about flow patterns and trends can be derived. But the innovations cannot be extended far given the limited data currently available for many systems. In some multi-national systems, sufficient data will be available for applications beyond the illustrations shown above. More widely, the first priority will be to collect more detailed statistics about travel patterns.

Given the marked changes occuring in world tourism, that opportunity seems important. For instance, the current surge in travel by Japanese probably is being accompanied by a trend towards more multi-country itineraries. The effectiveness and efficiency of marketing efforts from destination countries would be helped if that trend is measured and monitored. During the 1980s the Japanese entered the world's top five national groups in terms of international tourist flows and now large numbers, high year-by-year growth rates, and seemingly high spending patterns are features noticed by business people looking for markets and by governmental officials looking for opportunities to earn foreign exchange. The next topic, in Chapter 8, looks at several issues relating to Japanese tourism.

Notes

1. In New Zealand, as in many other countries, this refers to statistics collected from the "passenger card" that persons arriving in (and departing from) the country are obliged to complete. The prime purpose of the cards is immigration control. A by-product is that they allow the compilation of information about travellers entering and leaving the country. A section in Chapter 2 described how technical definitions of "tourist" are used in extracting data about tourist movements from the data about travellers. The New Zealand Department of Statistics' bulletin External Migration Statistics is the primary publication of these data. Subsequently, the data appear in (New Zealand) Department of Tourism bulletins and in publications from the World Tourism Organisation and other international organisations.

Table 1 : Japanese Travellers' Visits To Selected Countries in 1982				
Countries	Departures from Japan to each main destination	Total Arrivals of Japanese tourists	Arrivals of secondary Japanese tourists	Main destination ratio
	'000	'000	'000	%
Taiwan	558	580 V	22	96
USA	1,389	1,447 V	58	96
Philippines	142	160 V	18	89
Korea	414	518	104	80
Australia	46	60 V	14	77
Hong Kong	329	515 V	186	64
UK	90	159 V	69	57
China	136	245	109	56
Singapore	189	378	189	50
Thailand	98	228	130	43
New Zealand	10	27	17	37
Canada	38	114	76	33
France	145	494	349	29
Germany (FR)	55	347	292	16
Switzerland	22	244	222	9
Italy	25	303 VN	278	8
Sub-total	3,686	5,819	2,133	63
Others	400	na	na	na
Total	4,086	na	na	na

Sources: Departures from Moritani, 1984, p 29; Arrivals from World Tourism Organisation, 1984, in which data represent arrivals of "Tourists" by country of residence unless specified otherwise in the Table above, where "N" refers to country of nationality, and "V" refers to "Visitors" as per WTO technical definitions of "Tourist" and Visitor".

Table 2 : New Zealand Travellers' Visits To Selected Countries in 1984				
Countries	Departures from NZ to each main destination	Total Arrivals of NZ tourists	Arrivals of secondary NZ tourists	Main destination ratio
	'000	'000	'000	%
Cook Islands	10.3	12.4 N	2.1	83
Australia	185.7	234.4 V	48.7	79
Tonga	2.3	3.3	1.0	70
New Caledonia	6.6	9.7 N	3.1	68
French Polynesia	2.3	4.0	1.7	58
USA	34.8	86.1	51.3	40
Japan	6.6	16.4 VN	9.8	40
UK	35.9	95.0 V	59.1	38
Philippines	1.0	3.3 V	2.3	30
India	1.3	4.9 N	3.6	26
Hong Kong	6.7	26.5 V	19.8	25
Canada	3.8	15.2	11.4	25
Indonesia	1.4	6.3 V	4.9	22
Malaysia	2.1	10.6	8.6	19
Singapore	7.0	58.9	51.9	12
Italy	0.7	80.6 VN	79.9	1
Sub-total	308.4	667.6	359.2	46
Others	73.9	na	na	na
Total	382.3	na	na	na

Sources: Departures from table 13 in NZ Department of Statistics, 1985; Arrivals from World Tourism Organisation, 1985 in which data represent arrivals of "Tourists" by country of residence unless specified otherwise in the Table above, where "N" refers to country of nationality, and "V" refers to "Visitors" as per WTO technical definitions of "Tourist" and "Visitor".

Table 3 : Australian Travellers' Visits To Selected Countries in 1984			
Countries	Departures from Australia to each main destination	Total Arrivals of Australian tourists	Arrivals of secondary Australian tourists	Main destination ratio
	'000	'000	'000	%
New Zealand	237.2	250.9 V	13.7	95
New Caledonia	24.2	26.5 N	2.3	91
Indonesia	87.9	107.3 V	19.4	82
USA	140.7	231.4	90.7	61
India	14.4	24.5 N	10.1	59
Malaysia	38.7	67.6	28.9	57
Philippines	26.7	50.3 V	23.6	53
Japan	26.3	52.0 VN	25.7	51
UK	194.8	456.0 V	261.2	43
Hong Kong	96.1	278.1 V	181.9	35
Greece	28.5	96.9 N	68.5	29
Israel	4.3	15.5	11.2	28
Thailand	19.8	78.3 VN	58.5	25
Canada	15.8	68.3	52.5	23
China	15.6	72.6 N	57.0	21
Singapore	61.3	291.1	229.8	21
Italy	39.5	281.4 VN	241.9	14
Sub-total	1071.8	2448.9	1377.1	44
Others	346.8	na	na	na
Total	1418.6	na	na	na

Sources: Departures from table 21 in Australia Bureau of Statistics, 1986; Arrivals from World Tourism Organisation, 1985 in which data represent arrivals of "Tourists" by country of residence unless specified otherwise in the Table above, where "N" refers to country of nationality, and "V" refers to "Visitors" as per WTO technical definitions of "Tourist" and "Visitor".

Table 4 : Australian Visitors in Hong Kong,
1975 to 1987 : Main Destination Ratios

Year	Departures from Australia to Hong Kong as main destination	Total Arrivals of Australian visitors in Hong Kong	Arrivals of secondary Australian visitors	Main destination ratio
	'000	'000	'000	%
1975	30	127	97	24
1976	40	157	117	25
1977	38	155	117	25
1978	40	164	124	24
1979	45	148	103	30
1980	58	171	113	34
1981	65	200	135	33
1982	73	197	124	37
1983	79	228	149	35
1984	96	278	182	35
1985	99	275	176	36
1986	119	276	157	43
1987	103	254	151	41

Sources: Departures from Australian Bureau of Statistics (annuals); Arrivals from Hong Kong Tourist Association (annual reports).

Table 5 : Australian Visitors in Singapore,
1976 to 1987 : Main Destination Ratios

Year	Departures from Australia to Singapore as main destination	Total Arrivals of Australian visitors in Singapore	Arrivals of secondary Australian visitors	Main destination ratio
	'000	'000	'000	%
1976	43	216	173	20
1977	39	216	177	18
1978	39	229	190	17
1979	43	206	163	21
1980	59	239	180	25
1981	69	258	189	26
1982	71	281	210	25
1983	55	259	204	27
1984	61	291	230	21
1985	62	301	239	21
1986	81	316	235	26
1987	84	330	246	25

Sources: Departures from Australian Bureau of Statistics (annuals); Arrivals from Singapore Tourist Board (annual reports).

Figure 1

**Main Destination Ratios of Australian Visitors
in Hong Kong and Singapore for the years
1975 - 1987**
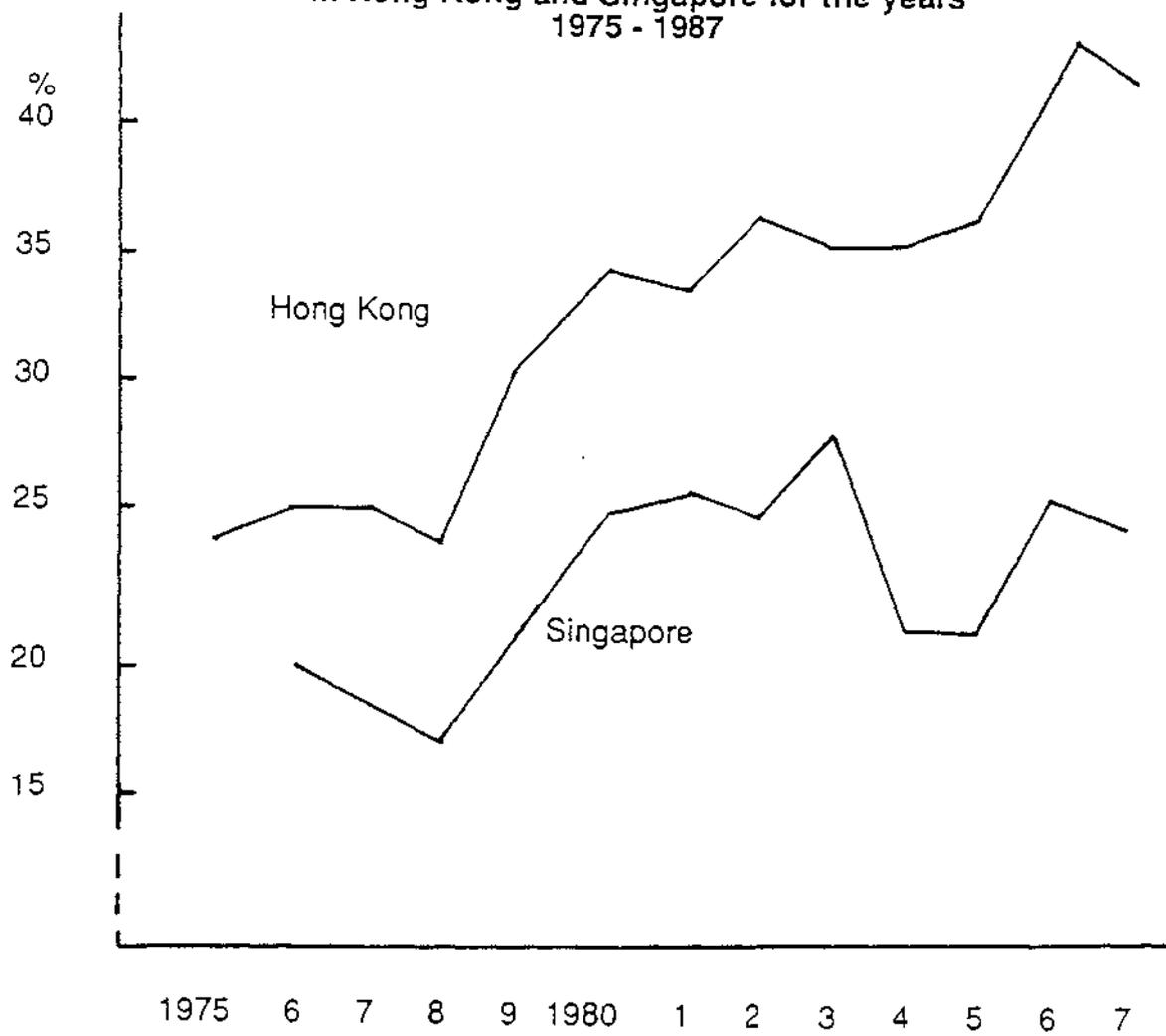
- CHAPTER 8 : JAPANESE TOURISM

INTRODUCTION

Japanese tourism is a topic receiving increasing attention by researchers in academia, the travel and tourism industries, the public media and governmental agencies. The topic suits the present study in three ways. It enables the preparation of a descriptive case of whole tourism systems with Japan as generating country, applying the model set out in Chapter 2. Second, it is a broad topic amenable to interdisciplinary research. Third, contemporary Japanese tourism represents what was described in Chapters 3 and 4 as highly industrialised tourism; this Chapter will allow further illustration of that concept.

The Chapter is arranged under five substantive headings. The next section below describes volumes and characteristics of Japanese tourists and their trips.

The second section introduces the travel and tourism industry, in a section describing that industry in terms of certain tourism systems originating in Japan. This discussion is divided into three sub-sections, dealing with the industry in three geographical elements in whole tourism systems: in Japan as traveller generating country, in selected transit routes (linking Japan with other places) and in selected tourist destination countries.

A third section discusses aspects of Japanese culture, the motivations of Japanese tourists, and certain marketing effects shaping their behaviour. This section's theme is, accordingly, about systemic and environmental factors in Japan that help determine how that country performs as a travel generator element in tourism systems. Those factors may be interpreted as a contributing <u>cause</u> of tourism. The fourth section discusses the economic value of Japanese tourism to overseas destination countries. That theme is about factors as environmental impacts in tourist destination countries, which can be interpreted as one of the tourism system's <u>effects</u>. A final section suggests certain features of how Japanese tourism is managed and a related issue, whether it represents imperialism.

Secondary sources form the major research base for the discussion in this Chapter, as indicated below. Incidental primary sources included discussions with managers of several inbound tour operators dealing with Japanese in Auckand and Sydney, with managers in Qantas Airways Ltd involved with Japanese tourism, and with managers of several resort hotels about their policies towards Japanese.

VOLUMES AND CHARACTERISTICS OF TOURISTS AND TRIPS

Data on volumes and characteristics of Japanese tourists and trips stem from official statistics collected in Japan, reported in bulletins such as the annual Tourism in Japan (Department of Tourism, Ministry of Justice), the monthly Travel Journal and other publications from Moritani Travel Enterprises in Tokyo, in occasional reports from Tokyo branches of national tourism organisations such as the Market Brief Japan series from the Australian Tourist Commission, and in similar reports prepared by the home bases of these organisations, such as the series under the title Japan Travel Market Report from the New Zealand Tourism Department in Wellington. Syndicated reports prepared for the Pacific Asia Travel Association, such as Moritani (1982 etc.) contain similar data. At the destination end of tourism systems, data on visits by Japanese can be found in reports such as the annual New Zealand Visitor Statistics from the N.Z. Tourism Department, in reports of surveys such as the annual International Visitor Survey: Japanese from the Australian Tourist Commission, and collations of national visitor statistics published by the World Tourism Organisation, such as the annual World Travel and Tourism Statistics.

Domestic Tourism

In Japan, as in many other countries, domestic tourist numbers far exceed the numbers of international outbound travellers. Japan's 125 million people have a high propensity for touring their own country but a low propensity for international travel. Each year in the middle 1980s every 100 persons in the Japanese population made on average 209 domestic trips (of at least one night away) and 3 international trips (Moritani, Japan Travel Blue Book, annuals). Domestic tourism can be described as a huge entrenched activity, contrasted with international tourism as a new and minor addition, similar in some respects since it stems from the same cultural environment. Graburn's (1983) study of domestic tourism contains illuminating detail about its customs.

Outbound Departure Volumes

Between 1945 and 1964 the Japanese Government allowed only a few privileged people to travel abroad, in order to conserve foreign exchange for industrial investments in the home country. When the restrictions were lifted about 150,000 departures were occurring annually. The volume rapidly escalated: in 1971 there were 1 million departures recorded; 2 million in 1973; 3 million in 1974; 4 million in 1979 (Moritani, Japan Travel Blue Book, annuals). Later however that 23% compounding annual growth rate was not sustained; 1983 recorded only 4.2 million. Experts' predictions in Tokyo then suggested that the boom was over (Nakamura 1984; Mile Post 1984). But in 1986 the value of the Yen soared, and the Government introduced a policy probably unique in world tourism: it began a campaign strongly encouraging more Japanese to travel abroad. Ostensibly this was a means of reducing the huge reserves of foreign currencies built up from international trade: countries with negative trade balances against the Yen could see a token effort by the Japanese Government to redress the condition. An estimated 5 million departures were recorded in 1988, and the Government announced a target of 10 million by the year 2000.

While total numbers seem certain to spiral upwards during the 1990s (baring a major collapse of the economy), the structural and behavioral patterns might not change significantly from the 1980s. This is because of intertwined conditions, but mainly because Japanese tourism systems are highly industrialized, creating relative stability in terms of itineraries and trip arrangements. So although predicting total numbers of Japanese travellers several years into the future might be difficult, and predicting arrivals in particular destinations even more difficult, making broad estimates of the composition of the tourist populations and their behavioral patterns in the 1990s is not so daunting. Accordingly, the following descriptions of patterns in the 1980s are probably adaptable to the 1990s.

Airports and Travel Generating Regions

In 1983 Narita (Tokyo) airport generated 58% of national departures, Osaka 27%, Fukuoka 5%, and others 17%; the Kanto region (Tokyo, Yokohama, Chiba, etc.) generated 44% of national departures, the Kinki region (Osaka, Kobe etc.) generated 19%, and other regions 37% (Japan Travel Blue Book 1984). This dissection is relevant to the placement of promotional and distributive activities by the travel trade.

Trip Purpose

83% of international departures in each of several years (1979-1983) were recorded as "sightseeing" trips, roughly corresponding to "holiday", "vacation" or "tourist" categories in data about other countries; the other 17% are mainly business trips (Japan Travel Blue Book 1984). Care should be taken interpreting the data about "sightseeing" trips. They include wanderlust types where sightseeing is a major activity and sunlust types where it might be incidental. Also, a portion of international "sightseeing" trips are paid for by employing organizations, as a reward for so many years of service (1).

Trip Duration

Brief trips are characteristic, the mean being 8 days out of Japan: only 14% of all sightseeing trips exceeded 10 days away (Moritani 1982). Allowing for transit times, the typical duration of visits in destination countries and regions is even briefer.

Travel Experience

Accurate data for dissecting the Japanese traveller population into first-time and repeat travel categories, and into frequency of trips, are not available. A lot of misleading statistics have appeared on this topic, as comparative analysis has revealed (Leiper 1985:13-15). Rough estimates are that those making their first trip abroad comprised 17% of the total in the early 1980s, a figure that probably increased slightly after 1986, and that the 4.1 million departures annually in the middle 1980s were made by 2.98 million individuals. About 0.3 million individuals can be described as regular frequent travellers, generating possibly as many as 1.4 million departures annually at that time. The first-time segment varies greatly for different destination countries. More research is possible on these topics, and would be academically interesting, but has limited practical value for marketers while total departures continue to increase rapidly.

Trip Arrangements and Air Fares

98% of total departures are by air. About 78% use G.I.T. ("group inclusive tour") fares and 22% use normal fares. "Normal air fares" include full price

economy, intermediate (such as business class) and first class. Charter flights, using I.T.C. ("inclusive tour charter") fares had a short boom in 1980, but they proved uneconomical and by 1982 had virtually disappeared as a significant segment (Mile Post 1982).

G.I.T. fares are used for two sorts of trip arrangements: organized group tours and packaged holidays. The former sort means a formal group (comprising mixed individuals and/or parties) touring as an ensemble. The latter sort uses a group air fare arranged by a travel agent, tour operator or wholesaler, but the tourists are independent of group conditions in their destinations; they might use certain land arrangements on a shared or group basis, such as transfers from airports to hotels and selected day tours, but are free to choose and vary what the Japanese travel trade terms their "course". There has been a trend away from formally organized group tours and towards semi-independent "packaged holidays" with flexible courses, according to Noda (1983) and others.

International Destinations

In 1982 Japanese travellers recorded 4.08 million departures from Japan and 6.45 million arrivals in countries visited (W.T.O. annuals). Thus the mean number of countries visited per trip (excluding transiting) was 1.6. This is fewer than is the case with international trips by many other nationalities; it reflects the brief duration typical of Japanese trips, which in turn stems from their limited leisure time. Of the total arrivals, 4.08 were main destination visits, leaving 2.37 million visits in secondary destinations. Table 8.1 shows primary destinations of Japanese tourists in 1982; Table 8.2 shows total Japanese arrivals in various countries in 1981-2 (2).

Since then, the numbers have increased hugely in some places. For example in 1985 Australia recorded 107,600 arrivals from Japan and over the next three years large increases to reach 352,315 in 1988 (A.B.S. annuals) and in the first half of 1989 arrivals increased further on the 1988 period (A.T.C. 1989). New Zealand also recorded significant increases: 79,928 arrivals in the year to March 1988 and 95,457 in the next year (N.Z.T.P. 1988,1989). Many arrivals in the neighbouring countries were by the same individuals: two destination countries in one trip.

Table 8.3 shows trends, over six years to 1983, of arrivals in the four main areas of the world. Asia remained the leading destination area with 50%. North

America (mainly Hawaii and west coast U.S.A) slowly consolidated its second position to 35%. Europe decreased very marginally to 10% while Oceania increased very rapidly but with a tiny share, to 3.5%. Since 1983 the Oceania share has risen further, especially due to the huge increase in Australia between 1985 and 1989.

Demographic Analyses

Middle class and upper class individuals make up the bulk of Japanese international traveller populations. Very few working class people go abroad (3). Males have dominated the traveller flows, accounting for 68% of the total in the early 1980s (Japan Travel Blue Book, etc.). Most of these are members of the sarariiman ("salaryman") class, described by van Wolferen (1989) and many others. Sarariiman dominate the occupations requiring travel for business purposes, and also dominante the wider category of employment positions in Japan qualifying for corporate sponsored "sightseeing" trips to foreign countries.

The female share has been increasing: 26% in 1975, 32% in 1981, probably around 40% by 1989, and this can be interpreted as a sign of change in a traditional society. In one age group females dominate: in the 15-24 year group in 1982 females numbered 63%, males 37%. And that group is the fastest growing demographic category in total departures (4).

The over 50 year age group (both genders) is also increasing its relative position: up from 20% of departures in 1976 to 24% in 1981. This stems from the aging of the national population and the increasing discretionary wealth of middle-aged and elderly Japanese in the middle and upper classes.

Japanese travellers/tourists are frequently categorized under the following labels for life style and life cycle categories by the travel trade. "OL" means office ladies, young white collar workers travelling overseas before marriage. In 1981 this category represented 11% of total departures, a proportion that increased in the next few years when OLs were identified as the fastest growing life style/cycle segment of Japanese traveller flows. "Silvers" (or "jukunen") refers to the 50 years and over category in both genders, comprising 23%. Honeymooners made up 23%. A honeymoon overseas is very fashionable amongst the middle and upper classes. Of the remainder, 38% can be termed "other males" (ie not silvers or honeymooners) and 5% "other females" (likewise).

The imbalance between the genders in those "other" categories (38% and 5%) allows additional analysis. About 14% of departures have been recorded as "business" purpose, and almost all are by males. Thus the 38% "other males" category can be dissected into 4% (say) travelling with spouses - corresponding to 4% of the 5% "other females", and 14% known to be recorded as "business purposes" - virtually all males, which leaves 20% of total Japanese departures by males travelling for "sightseeing" purposes either alone (uncommon) or in all male-parties.

THE TRAVEL AND TOURISM INDUSTRY

In Chapters 2 and 3, an analysis of travel and tourism industries was set out. It suggested that in highly industrialized tourism systems, an industrial element develops spread across all three geographical elements: traveller generating region, transit route(s) and tourist destination region(s). The following discussion is arranged under those three categories. It reveals that contemporary Japanese overseas tourism is supported by an industrial sub-system that is, to a significant degree, controlled by a small number of organisations and that, in particular, Japanese interests are tending to own and control the industry across the spectrum.

In Japan, the Traveller Generating Country

Japan has approximately 470 retail travel agencies selling international products plus 1,450 sub-agencies; there are another 4,800 domestic travel agencies, not active in promoting international trips (Mile Post 1982; Japan Travel Blue Book 1983). Many travel agencies are both retailers and wholesalers. In the latter role they design and market pre-arranged group tours and packaged holidays. However just three organizations were dominating the tour operator-wholesaler industry in the middle 1980s, the major brands being "Look" (owned jointly by Japan Travel Bureau and Nippon Express), "Jalpak" (owned by Japan Creative Tours, in turn 50.2% owned by Japan Airlines) and "Jetour" (owned by a ten member consortium of travel agencies under the corporate name World Tour Operators Inc.).

Analysis set out above revealed that almost 80% of trips use G.I.T. fares and about 83% record a main purpose of "sightseeing", which leads to a conclusion that about 80% of all trips abroad by Japanese involve purchase of a tour operator-

wholesaler's product, some kind of packaged (or inclusive) tour. Thus outbound tour operator-wholesalers are in a powerful position in the total travel market. And with just three big organizations sharing the major portion of the tour operator-wholesaler market, power is very tightly concentrated in the outbound travel industry, with Japan Airlines and a few other large corporations seeming to be very much in control. Most industries in Japan are like this, as commentators have observed (Ouchi 1984, etc.).

JCT's (Japan Creative Tours) customers use 16% of all seats sold on Japan Airlines. The major destinations in JCT's product line in 1984 were Hawaii (35% of sales), Guam (23%), other Asia (18%), Europe (13%) and USA mainland (10%), leaving 9% for others. In 1984 JCT saw its "growth markets" (5) as Australia/New Zealand - regarded as a single destination by Japanese, Bali, Fiji and New Caledonia, and the organization is "looking at" Burma and Nepal (Asia Travel Trade Sept. 1984).

Forty foreign N.T.Os (national tourism organizations) had permanent offices in Tokyo by 1985, each promoting its respective home country as a tourist destination. There were also thirteen offices of regional or provincial tourism organizations doing the same thing, such as two governmental agencies from Australian States: the New South Wales Tourism Commission and the Queensland Tourist and Travel Corporation.

Reports describing the Japanese market from the perspective of New Zealand include a few from the N.Z.Tourism Department (1986b,1987, etc.). A different perspective on N.T.O. activities, the details of one year's marketing campaigns, is found in a published report prepared by the Tokyo office of the Australian N.T.O. (A.T.C. 1985).

In Transit Routes

In 1985 there were 36 international airlines with on line services to and from Japan. As usual the home country's carrier (in this case Japan Airlines, "JL") has the biggest share of the market, because of the conventional consequences of bilateral air service treaties. JL carried 33% of international passengers to and from Japan in 1983; next were Northwest Orient (14%), Korea Airlines (8%), Cathay (6%), China Air (5%) and 30 others sharing 34% (A.T.C. 1983:15). Japan Airlines is jointly owned by the Government (35% equity) and private investors. Its

structure, performance and plans were described in <u>Asia Travel Trade</u>, September 1984. It has investments in airlines, hotels, tour operators, and a huge computer system known as Jalcom II.

The Japan-Australia transit routes are described below. Their characteristics are similar in many ways to transit routes between Japan and other countries. On the Japan-Australia routes, Qantas (QF) and JL in combination carry more than 60% of Japanese travellers and a similar proportion of travellers on this route who reside in Australia. This condition flows from the bilateral air service treaty between the national governments at each end of the route and is the usual condition in international aviation. A dozen or so other carriers on the routes, sharing the 40% remainder, are led by Singapore Airlines and Air New Zealand.

Total seat capacity of QF and JL on the routes in 1984 was 1,824 seats per week. Each carrier had three flights per week, QF configured 16/42/213 = 271 and JL 22/62/253 = 337. This refers to the numbers of first class, business class and economy class seats. In 1985 extra flights were added, with QF going for more economy class passengers (16/16/401 = 433) and the two airlines operating a joint all-freight service to free other planes for all passenger services. Capacity was increased again between 1985 and 1989, shared between QF and JL.

The huge increases in airline capacity that occurred after 1983 had been advocated strongly by Australian tourism interests for some years before then. However, the Japanese Government was not prepared to amend the bilateral air service treaty so neither JL nor QF could add flights. The reason for the reluctance is suggested later in this Chapter.

In Tourist Destination Countries

Japanese tourists abroad tend to be highly dependent on tourist-linked facilities and services in destinations, a point reflected in the fact that 80% of trips involve some sort of inclusive tour arranged pre-trip in Japan. Because Japanese tourism is organized on a mass scale, the facilities included in these arrangements tend to be large scale. Larger hotels tend to be chosen by the tour operator, because medium to small scale hotels and motels are unfeasible for the mass marketing and tour logistics of the tour operators that dominate the Japanese market.

The first organisation from the travel and tourism industry that typical Japanese tourists (the 80% using inclusive packages) encounter after arriving in an overseas destination is normally an inbound tour operator, when a representative from one of these organizations performs "meet and greet" services at the gateway airport (6). Later the inbound operator looks after the tourists while they are in that country, watching over their welfare as they travel and use the services of hotels, local tour operators, coachlines, domestic airlines, duty free shops etc. The inbound operator is appointed by the outbound tour operator in Japan, organizations such as those behind the big selling brands noted earlier ("Look", "Jalpak" and "Jetour"). Because most Japanese do not understand English well, they require interpreters for many aspects of travel logistics (eg transport arrangements) and touristic experiences (eg sightseeing). Inbound and local tour operators have tended to prefer Japanese nationals in these roles, although locals highly proficient in the Japanese language are also employed.

Until the late 1980s, inbound tour operators located in Australia (Sydney mainly) and New Zealand (Auckland) included no Japanese-owned organisations, so Australian or New Zealand owned companies handled all the Japanese business. In the late 1980s, Japanese tour operators began setting up their own inbound divisions in Australia and New Zealand. Managers from longer established companies in both countries, interviewed by this writer, seemed resigned to losing a substantial share of the Japanese trade, but pointed out that as volumes were increasing, a reduced share could still be profitable.

Because of their concentration into using a few brands of tours, Japanese tourists tend to concentrate in relatively few hotels in each region. This tendency is also induced by the special needs of most Japanese, for rooms with baths rather than (merely) showers for example. Watson (1986) has discussed some of these (and other) special needs. His hotel group, Quality Inns on Australia's Gold Coast, waged a successful campaign to gain large volumes of Japanese guests in the 1980s. A manager with a hotel group in New York has described Sheraton's methods of training personnel in relations with Japanese guests (Sage, 1985), an issue that many hotels around the world have dealt with.

Some hoteliers say they choose not to have Japanese on pre-arranged tours as guests. The present writer has encountered cases of this in Australia, New Zealand and Fiji, during broad-ranging discussions on hotels and tourism. The hoteliers

tend to give a combination of reasons for their policy: Japanese' length of stay is too brief, the special services and facilities demanded too onerous, and the financial return from the discounted rates demanded by Japanese tour operators too meagre. If a hotel or resort manager can achieve business targets from other kinds of tourists (including wholly-independent Japanese), the policy seems reasonable. Simultaneously, certain hotels are managed to cater, to some degree, to the Japanese market.

Shops tend to gain more revenue than any other kind of business organizations in destination countries from Japanese tourists. In Australia for example in 1986, average expenditure per visit by Japanese was $,1,435 and the largest component, $399, was for shopping; other large items included food, drink and accommodation ($380) and domestic airfares ($155) (Bureau of Tourism Research 1986:74). There is, as a result, fierce competition amongst specialist shops for patronage by the tour operators who decide or influence where large and constant flows of Japanese go shopping. Shopkeepers in Sydney have reported especially intense rivalry recently (pers. comm.). A study of tourism in Hawaii included a remark that Japanese tourists "patronize a number of retailers attuned to their tastes and patterns of buying, and would-be competitors attest that it is an extremely difficult market to crack. Selling to the Japanese is an art mastered only by a few" (Farrell 1982:336).

Taking a system-wide view, shops are not the kind of business gaining most revenue from Japanese tourists in many tourism systems. Tour operators in the generating country, Japan, and airlines in the transit routes, each tend to gain much more direct income than shops in destinations.

THE CULTURAL BACKGROUND, MOTIVATIONS AND MARKETING EFFECTS

Free Time

In 1980 average entitlements to holiday leave in Japan totalled 6.6 days per year, plus 10 single days. The legal entitlements are increasing slowly, bnt are far behind countries such as Australia (minimum 20 days annual leave, averaging more, plus about 10 single days) and France and other European countries (minimum 25 days annual leave, etc.). Moreover, most Japanese are very reluctant to take their full entitlements. Loyalty to employers, a strong work ethic (and a weak leisure ethic?), and unwillingness to leave the team of fellow workers all

contribute to this national trait. The effect is that most Japanese do not have the time for international holidays, and those that do have the time are unlikely to take that amount of time off work every year. Brief and regular domestic trips, a couple of days away a few times annually, are the normal alternative.

Constraints Influencing Destination Choice

Japanese tend to be especially constrained by personal concerns about security, cleanliness and comforts in relation to their choice of places to visit and facilities used there. Moritani's (1982) survey found that the top ranking factors influencing the choice of destinations were that they wanted to visit a place where "public peace is maintained" (93% agreement), where "sanitary conditions are in order" (92%), and where "there are superior hotels and other facilities" (80%). Other factors that might constrain these choices ranked much lower. Table 8.5 indicates impressions of 22 countries in relation to these issues. Low scores are shown for most countries (see the means) while a few countries are perceived as satisfactory. This points to one theme in promotional campaigns by N.T.Os in Japan, educating potential travellers about conditions in destination countries. The need for these messages varies amongst destinations.

Cultural Motivations

Two broad themes are major factors behind the motivations of Japanese touring abroad: culture and nature. Tables 8.4 and 8.6 give indications of how items that may be placed into one of these two themes shape choices about where to go and what to do there.

"The very idea of going abroad is part and parcel of the Japanese concern for his or her place in society" (Morean 1983:101). This assumes special significance for a type that might be termed "Juppy" tourists, ("Japanese Upwardly-mobile Professional and Para-professional Youth"), the office ladies and honeymooners from the upwardly-mobile middle class.

Cultural motivators have been discussed by Morean (1983) and Moore (1985), and appear as items in statistical research, such as the data presented in Table 8.4. International tourism is one means by which the middle classes in Japanese society are becoming modernized and Westernized, by visiting, if only briefly, places they perceive as centres of modern Western culture. This partly explains why the most

preferred destinations for Japanese are countries such as U.S.A., France, Switzerland, Australia, Germany, Britain and Italy, places they would most like to visit (Nippon Research 1984). Direct experience of modern western culture is a strong motivator for a Juppy, a sign (to themself and the world) that they are different from their more traditional parents.

Cultural themes are especially prominent in Japanese sightseeing. Comparing famous sites with their Japanese equivalents is common: the White House with the Diet, etc. Museums and art galleries, cathedrals, opera houses, historic relics are important. So are places like Disneyland, an especially strong symbol of modern Western culture for Japanese (Moore 1985). However tourism to Western culture means, if possible, visiting Europe, regarded as "the pinnacle of cultural prestige" (Morean 1983:103). In practice, limited time and money mean that many Japanese compromise, and look for Western culture in places closer to home, such as Honolulu, Los Angeles, Sydney, Melbourne and Christchurch.

Shopping is done mainly for gifts, the "omiyage bunka" custom, which Graburn (1983) has discussed in relation to its domestic, religious origins. On leaving home, the travellers are given a special kind of gift ("senbetsu"), usually money. They are obliged to return with gifts, "omiyage", given to those who donated the senbetsu. This explains why they become quite upset if their schedules do not allow sufficient time for shopping. The products sought extend beyond the usual Cognac and Marlboro, to more substantial items that desirably carry prestigious brand names linked with the destination: Burberry coats in England, Gucci bags in Italy, Rolex watches in Switzerland. These are, in terms of the theory of tourist attraction systems, special kinds of markers.

Photographs taken during a trip are used for personal souvenirs, for omiyage and, probably, for an underlying, sub-conscious reason:

Most tourists feel compelled to put the camera between themselves and whatever is remarkable that they encounter. The method especially appeals to people handicapped by a ruthless work ethic - Germans, Japanese and Americans. Using a camera appeases the anxiety which the work-driven feel about not working when they are on vacation and supposed to be having fun. They have something to do that is like a friendly imitation of work: they can take pictures (Sontag 1979:10).

Table 8.4 indicates that "appreciating beautiful scenery" and "coming into direct contact with nature" are the two top ranking preferences for activities in destinations, but the data also show that many other cultural and natural attributes are influential to a lesser extent.

Nature themes operate in two main ways with Japanese tourists. Traditionally, Japanese are not concerned so much with nature as a place for recreational activities in the literal sense. So Japanese are not like typical Western tourists with concern about "good weather" and strong preference for the Westerners' notion of an ideal climate for tourism (the Mediterranean climate found in southern Europe and a few other places). Rather, Japanese value distinctive features or characteristics of the natural world as phenomena to be experienced spiritually, for grandeur, beauty, artistic impressions, and unpolluted qualities.

Younger Japanese are beginning to use the natural environments of foreign destinations for active recreation: swimming, surfing, tramping and mountain climbing. And a few Japanese, a small proportion of middle-aged tourists, participate in games such as golf when away on trips. In Japan many are taking up sports, and there have been many comments about the high costs of golf and similar pursuits in that country, but this has not (yet) led to a boom in sporting activities amongst Japanese tourists in foreign countries where such activities are cheaper and more available. At present, they are more likely to regard a foreign golf course or a surfing beach as a place for sightseeing and photography. Slow beginnings of change are apparent however. For example this writer first noticed significant numbers of young Japanese (presumably tourists) actually surfing in Bali and Sydney in 1986, something not seen at those places in previous years. Admittedly, those surfers were in a minority, objects of sightseeing and photography by large numbers of fellow Japanese (tourists, presumably?).

Marketing Effects

Tables 8.5 and 8.6 show how Japanese planning to travel abroad perceived various places in the Pacific-Asia area as potential destinations. Since most of the individuals had not previously visited these places, their perceptions about the relative virtues of the potential destinations had been shaped by messages conveyed within Japan - from schooling, from stories in the mass media, from promotions by the travel and tourism industry, from personal acquaintances. After 1982-4, when the surveys behind Tables 8.4/5/6 were conducted, the Australian

Tourist Commission launched a series of major promotional campaigns in Japan, spending much more than most other N.T.Os, and cooperating with the Japanese travel trade and major organizations in the business of tourism back in Australia. The broad aim of those campaigns was to build on Japanese' existing interest in Australia as a potential destination, developing their knowledge about specific items, in order to convert interest into motivation to go there. The campaigns appear to have been quite successful, judging from the huge increases in Japanese tourist arrivals in Australia between 1984 and 1989. However, to what extent the increase was due to the A.T.C. promotion as against promotion by the Japanese travel trade is difficult to gauge.

Needs For Benefits and Value

All tourists seek personal benefits and value from their experiences, but Japanese may have particular needs in this respect. The typical brevity of their trips puts emphasis on the need for value (satisfactions) from as many days and hours as is possible. A wasted day, or a half-day not really satisfying, can be a major deficiency.

Individual Versus Group Culture

Within traditional Japanese culture, still permeating and powerful in modern society, people shun individuality and instead are highly dependent on affiliations (real and felt) with community groups. They avoid the anomalous state of outsider ("yoso no mano"). Groups tours of fellow Japanese allow them to maintain that affiliation while in foreign countries. The trend away from tightly structured group tours and towards a little independence in flexible packaged holidays can be seen as a weakening of that tradition.

Nevertheless the Japanese tour operators are attempting to manage the tension created by this evolution, the tension of a group culture becoming dispersed, temporarily, in foreign lands, according to one commentator: "Now, Japanese (tourists) are asked (via messages in tour brochures) to identify with the peoples they visit and hence avoid that anomalous state of outsider ... they can melt ("tokekomu") into the surroundings, in touch with the lives of ordinary peoples" (Morean 1983:104). If Japanese tour brochures are making that suggestion to tourists, there is also a clear message for people in hosting roles in foreign destinations. Japanese tourists who are publicly singled out as Japanese

(individually or as a group), perhaps by well-meaning locals, might be immediately shaken from a state of tokekomu and made feel yoso no mano. The tour guides and theme park hosts in Australia and New Zealand who publicly address "our friends from Japan" amongst crowds of mixed nationality tourists watching some display are probably embarrassing them.

This seems to be one of the reasons behind the policy of Japanese tour operators to establish wholly-owned subsidiaries as ground operators in foreign destinations. The policy was well established in Hawaii by the early 1980s, and its implementation was under way in Australia late in that decade. Locally owned tour operators in places in overseas destinations with increasing flows of Japanese tourists suddenly find Japanese operators set up in their markets. As noted earlier, managers of certain Australian and New Zealand owned businesses serving Japanese in the middle 1980s seemed resigned to losing at least some of that trade in the future.

Japanese Etiquette

Japanese etiquette puts great emphasis on being polite in front of hosts and guests, on never giving any reason for embarrassment, on never saying "no" if it can possibly be avoided. This has several implications for guest-host interactions in foreign tourism. One is that Japanese responses to questions and surveys about their satisfaction with a tour or some aspect of service have little validity. The Japanese are more likely to <u>say</u> they are satisfied than to reveal any contrary truth.

HOW VALUABLE IS JAPANESE TOURISM?

The economic value of a population of tourists to countries of destination depends on several factors, such as patterns and levels of expenditures. However the values accruing to different interests in the travel and tourism industry and in the macro economies of places visited varies. Japanese tourism is especially valuable to the outbound travel industry in the generating country - travel agents and tour operators in Japan. This is because a high percentage of trips, over 80%, involve pre-trip payments for some sort of inclusive package. Japanese outbound tourism is also especially valuable to international airlines, as happens with other travel generating countries that are islands whence virtually all international travel is by air.

Within foreign destination countries, Japanese tourism is most valuable to those particular tour operators who have established links with the major Japanese outbound tour programs, and to hotels and specialist shops that have managed to participate in that mass market. But for most businesses in destinations, Japanese are not prominent in the tourist market, for two reasons. One is that they are difficult to reach as a feasible market segment given that most of them are tied to a handful of tour operators. The case of The Summit Restaurant before 1985, discussed in Chapter 4, illustrates this access problem. Another reason is that length of stay by Japanese visitors in each country and region is brief compared with other nationalities in the tourist population.

Reflecting that second factor, Japanese rank quite low in terms of average expenditure per visit. In Australia in 1986 their average visit was only 8 nights mean stay and 4 nights median stay, versus all nationalities' 26 nights mean and 12 nights median (Bureau of Tourism Research 1986:39). Japanese mean average expenditure per trip in Australia in that year was $1,036 which was below all other reported nationalities, with the total average being $1,487 (ibid:73). On a per day measure, the Japanese ranked first - $137 per day versus a total average of $56. These analyses reveal why the Japanese are very valuable to the handful of businesses that deal with large quantities of them, but not so valuable to most business organizations in the tourism sector of the economy of destinations.

In systems terms, Japanese tourists generate huge flows but relatively small stocks. To illustrate: in 1986 the flow of arrivals and departures to and from Australia was 145,608 but with a mean average stay of only 8 nights, the average stock of Japanese visitors in Australia was only 3,191 per night, a stock distributed unevenly amongst dozens of destination regions around the country, with Sydney hosting the major share. By contrast, the flow of New Zealander tourists into Australia was 336,741 with a mean stay of 20 nights, so the average stock was 18,451 per night (7).

From a governmental perspective, Japanese tourists are valuable in that they rank highly among national groups in terms of total expenditures, the annual aggregates of the inflow. Moreover, because the flows have potential for massive increases in the 1990s, the Japanese tourist market is seen as having special potential for earning foreign exchange.

From the perspective of N.T.Os the Japanese travel market has the advantages of being tightly concentrated geographically and industrially. Promotional

activities do not have to be dispersed around a dozen or more regions, but can be focussed on two regions, Kanto and Kinki, where trade promotions need not be dispersed amongst dozens of tour operator-wholesalers, but can focus on a handful and cover the bulk of the market. Moreover, there are remarkable growth rates occurring. By 2000 these two neighbouring regions around Tokyo might well be generating 4 million extra international departures annually, above 1989 levels.

MANAGEMENT AND JAPANESE IMPERIALISM IN TOURISM SYSTEMS?

International tourism systems generating from Japan tend to be highly industrialized, as indicated above, and this has consequences for the management of those systems. The discussion on partial-industrialisation in Chapter 3 suggested that the management of highly industrialised tourism systems is very largely the responsibility of management teams in the travel and tourism industry, contrasted to non-industrialised systems where tourists themselves are the key managers. The bulk of Japanese tourist flows are highly industrialised: managed by the industry pre-trip, in transit and in destinations, and the only substantial decisions made by typical Japanese tourists are where to go and what to buy. They can accurately be described as consumers of tourism as a commodity.

There is another consequence. Japanese tourism systems tend to be relatively simple to manage, because they exhibit less variety than cases with lower degrees of industrialisation. In the Japanese case that characteristic is also helped by the highly concentrated condition of key sectors of the industry: the major influence in the market of Japan Airlines, and of just three outbound tour operator-wholesalers.

Arguably, the highly-industrialised feature of Japanese tourism, along with allied features of comparatively little variety and a highly concentrated industry, are all relevant to the controversial issue of whether Japanese tourism represents neo-imperialism in overseas destinations?

In Australia since about 1980, and especially since 1985, many people have become concerned about the growth of Japanese investments in that country. The investments include several kinds: existing businesses bought out, new ones established, and land acquisitions. Part of the concern is that the Australian Government seems unwilling or unable to check the trend, so there is understandable alarm that parts of Australia are becoming a colony for a rising

Japanese empire. The press has carried hundreds of reports about these concerns. The same pattern is beginning in New Zealand, where Cook (1989) talks of the beginnings of a "Japanese takeover". Similar concerns are being expressed in the U.S.A., Canada and other countries. Many sectors of the economy have been targets of Japanese investment, the tourism sector being just one. It is however one that seems to create particular concerns. The following discussion explores some of the issues.

Transnational tourism-related investments are not, in one respect at least, like investments in mining, agriculture, manufacturing or other services. The former tends to be much more visible than the latter examples in one important sense, since it usually leads to more nationals from the investor country visiting the country in which the investments occur, as tourists. This is especially noticeable in the Japanese case.

Unfortunately, part of the reason behind some peoples' concerns is their racial bias against Japanese. Such attitudes may be linked with unforgiving memories of the 1939-45 War, or may be mere racial prejudice. In any event, the presence of large numbers of Japanese at leisure seems to have kindled racist feelings in some people.

Those feelings are aggravated by reports about the behaviour of some members of a major category of Japanese tourists, the males travelling in groups of fellow employees. As noted above, this category might comprise as much as 20% of total departures from Japan, more than 1 million trips annually at present, mostly to nearby destinations in East Asia and the North Pacific. The concerns are the links between this activity and large scale prostitution in the destinations, with the tour operators providing large and regular flows of customers for brothels in which thousands of women and girls lead dismal lives. The Christian Church in Asia was an early critic of the Japanese on this issue (O'Grady 1975). Later the Japanese Government took steps to inhibit the blatant promotion of so-called sex tours (or "baishun" tours) after many stories in the Asian media, which were harming Japan's reputation. Subsequently, the blatant promotion of sex tours may have diminished, but commercialized sex continues to be a significant and growing feature in the activities of certain parts of the travel and tourism industry in Asia, with Japanese males the major target market (Holden, Horlemann and Pfafflin 1984).

In terms of the larger issues of Japanese tourism generally, in fact the numbers of Japanese tourists in many countries are not as nearly so large as many people assume. The Japanese just tend to be noticed more, for two reasons. First, they are the only non-European nationality in the more numerous national groups in global tourist flows, and so stand out at airports and other places where these flows congregate. Second, they are noticed because they tend to cluster in group or packaged arrangements. Moreover the numbers of Japanese tourists actually in a destination country or region at any time is quite small in comparison to the number coming or going. Their typically very brief length of stay means that the stock of tourists in destinations is small while the flows in and out (and along transit routes) are much larger. Official statistical reports about tourists are expressed in terms of flows (eg numbers of arrivals) and say nothing about stocks. Putting aside these statistical corrections to perceptions, there are aspects of Japanese tourism that do seem to have imperialistic overtones.

First there is a social issue. When a country becomes an international tourist destination, the normal assumption in the local society is that its members, local nationals, will perform hosting roles for the foreign visitors. But with the Japanese, inter-national hosting tends to diminish when their numbers increase. Instead of Australians in hosting roles in their home country, since 1985 there have been proportionately more Japanese in various hosting roles. Japanese visitors are tending now to use Japanese owned and managed hotels, under supervision of Japanese owned and operated inbound tour operators that are branches of Tokyo-based outbound tour operators, and to shop in department stores and duty free shops that are also owned in Japan. They increasingly face a series of Japanese nationals performing up-front hosting roles in their "Australian" itinerary . The main roles left for Australians is driving coaches, making beds, working in kitchens. Those conditions contradict any notion about tourism involving inter-national exchanges with nationals presenting their country and its cultures to visitors. Instead, there seems to be an emerging condition of Japanese interests merely using "Australia" as a location for tourism as a commodity. Allied with that issue is the fear that most of the better jobs in Australia dealing with Japanese tourists will become the preserve of Japanese nationals.

Considering these issues objectively, one must recognize that a similar pattern has been evident with all nationalities involved in mass tourism to foreign destinations. Especially when the practice of foreign tourism is new, or the destination visited is perceived as strange or "foreign", each nationality in tourist

populations has exhibited a preference for being looked after by fellow nationals. The English use of Cook's tours, the Americans' dependence on Hilton Hotels and American Express, and young New Zealanders' dependence on tour operators such as Contiki, are all examples of this syndrome. The Japanese are not unique in this respect.

Second is a related economic issue. Because Japanese tourists are tending to use the services of Japanese-owned organizations at all stages of their itinerary - pre-trip, in transit and in destinations, much of the revenue and profits accrue to the generating country, Japan, with not so much accruing to interests owned in destination countries. Precise data about the proportions of Japanese tourists who use Japanese-owned services are not available, but in places such as Hawaii and Australia the proportion has increased. Farrell (1982) provides estimates of the Hawaiian case.

Third is an investor issue. Transnational investment involving Japan is rather one-sided, with foreign organizations finding setting up in Japan to be a difficult or impossible process. This is not just because of cultural or economic differences faced by (say) a New Zealand-owned travel agency or tour operator that wants to set up in Tokyo, but because the Japanese Government and bureaucracies put impediments in the way of foreign investors to preserve the Japanese market for Japanese interests. Thus, the Japan case is seen to be unlike trans-national investment between countries such as U.S.A., Canada, Australia and New Zealand, where there may be national imbalances but where fairly even reciprocal rights to invest are found. This issue has been discussed by Abegglen (1984), Zengage and Ratcliffe (1988), van Wolferen (1989) and others, although no scholarly research on the issue has been found that specifically deals with tourism matters.

Fourth is the question of flow-on aims to establish large scale settlements in foreign countries for retired Japanese. Plans for these in Australia existed as early as 1975, in a project sponsored by Mitsubishi. That Company held an option to buy a large tract of land near Jindabyne, and had Japanese architects design a town with an airport, hotels and a retirement settlement. The project was put into abeyance because no Australian company could be found willing to put up 51% of the equity. The plans were not publicized in Australia (8). In 1988 and 1989 several similar plans for retirement centres were widely publicized, with the Japanese now demanding 100% equity. These proposals are stirring up considerable alarm in the Australian media.

In the 1970s and early 1980s, Japanese companies seeking investments in the Australian tourism industry sought joint ventures with Australian partners, the latter having at least 50% equity. This was publicly accepted by Japanese interests, speaking at annual Tourism Seminars held by the Japan-Australia Business Federation in Sydney. In 1985 the Japanese policy changed, quite dramatically. At that year's seminar, a series of Japanese speakers all said that joint ventures were no longer acceptable, but that 100% Japanese equity was necessary for future investments in tourism resources in Australia. Superficially that might be interpreted as a confident announcement of imperialist intent. There is, however, an additional factor.

Japanese want control over all the links in the travel and tourism industry serving mass tourism by Japanese because that enables Japanese styles and standards of management across the system. Vertical integration, from the travel retailers in Japan to the shops in Honolulu or Melbourne, means that one coordinated system of management can be imposed on a series of organizations, even though there might be several (Japanese) investors involved. This enables high standards of efficiency, a most important factor when trips are so brief and rushed, when efficient use of time is critical for customer satisfaction. Managers in Japanese tourism companies have been reported as saying that the Australian and New Zealander owned tourism industry is inefficient by Japanese standards, and citing the relative absence of vertical integration as one factor.

With that approach in mind, the Japanese, via intra-industry associations and industry-government agencies such as the ones described by Abegglen (1984), Ouchi (1984) and Zengage and Ratcliffe (1989), decide in concert the schedule for mass investments in their national interest. If that occurs in other major sectors of the economy, as those writers have demonstrated, one might presume it occurs with tourism. So in the 1970s foreign destinations such as Hawaii were targeted for massive investments, and the flows of tourists to those places increased. Australia was "on hold", which appears to be why the Japanese Government and Japan Airlines were unwilling to add flights to Japan Airlines' and Qantas' services on the Japan-Australia routes. In 1985 the national plan brought Australia into target, for integrated investments: extra flights, hotels, inbound tour operators, duty free shops, department stores, and retirement villages. Presumably similar plans affect New Zealand.

The probability is that in the 1990s, Australian and New Zealand investors will be offered shares in some of the Japanese ventures in tourist-related businesses in these countries, as has occurred in other sectors of the economy. This will help the long term interests of parties at each end of the systems, and would dampen concerns about becoming Japanese colonies. Whether that is the optimum solution, and whether the offers will be more than token are, however, other questions.

Three points can be made in conclusion. First, the enthusiasm voiced by some in Australia and New Zealand about Japanese tourism certainly has validity, but there are several aspects of the topic that should offset myopic or open-armed attitudes. Second, perceptions that any particular country is uniquely favoured as a destination for Japanese tourists, and corresponding investment from Japan, must be put to one side. Japanese industry planners have wider targets, indicated in a report about the national airline. Japan Airlines is expanding the size and spread of its hotel subsidiary, JDC (Japan Airlines Development Co.). In 1984 JDC owned four hotels, managed nine others, and helped market ninety more. Plans were to add forty more managed hotels by 1994. The locations, named in Asia Travel Trade (Sept. 1984), are Mexico, Saipan, Bangkok, Beijing, Singapore, Tokyo, Sapporo, Fukuoka, and in resort zones of West Malaysia, Bali, Taiwan and Okinawa.

The third point is that the forms of industrialized tourism currently popular with Japanese might not be permanent. These correspond with what in Chapter 3 was called the **third phase** in the industrialization of tourism systems: high levels of industrial dependency, and thus established markets for the travel and tourism industry with opportunities for tightly integrated industrial processes across all geographical elements in these systems. As indicated above, other nationalities have gone through this phase with their foreign tourism, but have tended to progress beyond it. By the early 21st century the typical Japanese abroad might be relatively independent of the Japanese travel and tourism industry, and Japanese tourism might be shifting further into the fourth phase, when volumes remain high but the role of a specialized industry diminishes.

That condition would dramatically change the issues that are causing concern at present; if, when and to what extent it will occur are questions that cannot be answered with confidence. Pessimistic conclusions by van Wolferen (1989) and Zengage and Ratcliffe (1989) concerning Japan's ability to fit into the international world as a responsible power suggest that much will have to change inside Japan,

within Japanese society and politics, before the concerns in other countries will disappear.

Zengage and Ratcliffe (1989) came to especially pessimistic conclusions. Like several other commentators, they referred to "Japan's game plan for domination of key strategic industries worldwide" (ibid:19). And their analysis of trade data led to a view that despite publicity about Japan in the late 1980s responding to calls and opening its markets for foreign participation, this has not occurred to any significant extent. They suggested that the Japanese economy is managed with fundamentally different priorities to those in the West:

> **The U.S.A. will essentially let anyone supply its markets. The underlying philosophy is that competition is good, and the best way to give the consumer the best deal. In Japan, the consumer takes a back seat to two other priorities, expressed as "kuni no tame" (for the country) and "kaisha no tame" (for the company) ... This ethos is shared by management and employees, not to mention the bureaucracy (Zengage and Ratcliffe 1989:195).**

CONCLUSIONS

This Chapter has used theoretical content from several chapters in this study, applied to the topic of Japanese tourism. Its description of travel volumes and characteristics applied what in Chapter 2 was termed a broad technical definition of "tourist", and used the three-element model of the geography of tourism systems, also from Chapter 2, for describing tourist flows. The statistical technique of main destination ratios, introduced in Chapter 7, was applied to provide extra detail in the analysis of Japanese tourist flows. The travel and tourism industries involved with international tourism generating in Japan has been discussed in terms of the sector analysis and geographical structure set out in Chapter 3. A discussion about cultural background, motivations and marketing effects can be interpreted as an illustration of the partial-industrialisation concept introduced in Chapter 3, in that the causal agents of tourism stem in part from the environments and in part from a systemic element, the industry. Contemporary international tourism from Japan has been described as highly industrialized. This is relevant to the question of how Japanese tourism is managed, and to the issues of social impact in overseas destinations.

In competing for customers as valuable as Japanese, persons involved in managing any country as a tourist destination benefit from understanding how tourist attractions function and, from this, determining which attractions are most likely to succeed. The next topic, in Chapter 9, is attractions.

NOTES

1. The practice is said to be common in Japanese organisations, where many employees are given recreational trips abroad as a reward for service. Analyzing statistical data set out in the present study suggests that 30% or more of all departures from Japan in the middle 1980s may be in this category. Most of the trips are to nearby destinations, in East Asia and the North Pacific. In Western countries the same practice of employer-paid holiday trips occurs, but for a much smaller portion of privileged employees. Also, with Westerners the trips are usually justified by having a minor (or token) business-related component, so the travellers are induced to record "business" or "conference" as the trip purpose in cards used for compiling statistics.

2. Chapter 7 (Main Destination Ratios) explains the meanings of "primary" and "secondary" destinations.

3. Mile Post (1982) provides statistics supporting this observation. Japan is like many other countries in this respect: international tourism is, world-wide, more a middle and upper class activity while relatively few working class persons go abroad for leisure-related purposes. MacCannell (1976) suggested that the explanation is cultural rather than economic; in other words, working class persons might have sufficient money to travel abroad but lack motivation. The issue of social class in Japan is a complex one, with 90% of people identifying themselves as middle class, and with income distribution relatively equitable compared with many other countries (Zengage and Ratcliffe 1989:10). However, van Wolferen (1989) has argued that this is deceptive, and that in fact a substantial base of the population are comparable to the working classes in other countries.

4. Young males in Japanese white collar occupations conventionally devote their attention to building a career, and most do not travel overseas until their honeymoon, and then later with their male colleagues from the company.

5. Jargon in the travel and tourism industries, in Japan and other countries, occasionally refers to "markets" in the sense implied in this quotation, jargon that can confuse the issue. A clearer analysis would recognize that JCT's markets are located in Japan; that is where JCT's customers live and where JCT's promotional and selling activities are placed. On the other hand, the places listed in the quotation are tourist destinations outside Japan.

6. "Meeting and greeting" is a common component item of inclusive tour products that the outbound tour operator might choose to include, by arrangement with the inbound operator. If so, it is costed into the product by the operator and subsequently paid, as a hidden cost to the tourist in the packaged price.

7. That stock comprises visitors from New Zealand; it excludes another 400,000 or so persons of New Zealand origin residing in Australia in 1986.

8. The present writer worked as a consultant in 1974-5 to a joint venture, comprising Mitsubishi and two Australian companies, investigating the project's economic, marketing and political feasibility. Mitsubishi's management was undeterred by advice to postpone the plans for a decade or more but the Australian partners withdrew and, given the prevailing policy on foreign land acquisition, Mitsubishi was thus obliged to stall plans for beginning construction.

**Table 8.1 : Primary Destinations, Departures
By Japanese Travellers 1982**

East Asia & North Pacific	'000	Share
Hawaii	718	
Taiwan	558	
Korea	414	
Hong Kong	329	
Guam	264	
Singapore	189	
Philippines	142	
China	136	
Thailand	98	
Other	120	
Total	2,968	73%
South Asia & Middle East		
India	15	
Other	40	
Total	55	1%
Americas Mainland & Carribean		
USA Mainland	407	
Canada	38	
Other	40	
Total	485	12%
Europe		
France	145	
UK	90	
Fr Germany	55	
Other	133	
Total	423	10%
Oceania		
Australia	46	
New Caledonia	19	
Fiji	18	
New Zealand	10	
Other	28	
Total	121	3%
Africa	27	1%
Other	7	-
Total Departures	4,086	100%

Sources: Moritani, Japan Travel Blue Book '84, p 29; data for some significant destinations not included there are total Japanese visitor arrivals for 1982 from World Tourism Statistics, Vol 36, 1983, World Tourism Organisation; this includes data for Hawaii, Guam, New Caledonia, Fiji.

Table 8.2 : Total Visitor Arrivals From Japan,

Selected International Destinations 1981-2

Destination	Japanese Visitor Arrivals		
	1981	1982	Change
	'000	'000	
Hawaii*	690	718	+4%
Korea	505	518	+3%
Hong Kong	508	516	+2%
China	223	245	+10%
Singapore	355	378	+7%
Taiwan	603	579	-4%
Philippines	193	160	-18%
Guam*	255	264	+3%
Malaysia	129	131	+1%
Indonesia	67	73	+9%
India	29	29	-
Egypt	20	22	+10%
France	445	494	+11%
Italy	263	303	+15%
UK	164	159	-3%
FR Germany	326	347	+6%
Switzerland	227	244	+7%
Austria	73	84	+15%
Greece	75	75	-
Netherlands	66	79	+20%
USA (mainland)*	224	464	+106%
Canada	114	114	-
Mexico	58	53	-9%
Brazil	19	19	-
Australia	54	60	+11%
New Zealand	25	27	+8%
Fiji	11	18	+63
New Caledonia	16	19	+19%

Source: World Tourism Statistics Vol 36, 1981-1982, World Tourism Organisation.

* Total USA arrival from Japan were reported as 1,170,000 (1981) and 1,447,000 (1982); some change in data collection method seems to have occurred, to explain the huge apparent increase for USA mainland.

Table 8.3 : Trends in the Patterns of Primary Destinations of International Trips by Japanese

Year	Total Depart-ures	Proportion of Total Trips Having Primary Destination in Various Areas of World			
		Asia	N.America	Europe	Oceania
	'000	%	%	%	%
1976	2,853	53	33	11	0.9
1977	3,151	54	33	11	1.1
1978	3,525	54	34	11	1.5
1979	4,038	52	34	11	1.5
1980	3,909	51	35	10	2.0
1981	4,086	51	35	10	2.5
1982	4,086	51	35	10	2.9
1983	4,232	50	35	10	3.5

Source :Official reports from Japanese governmental departments, as presented in Japan Travel Blue Book, etc.

Table 8.4: Japanese Preferences For Activities

In International Tourist Destinations

Activity, and Percentage of Positive Responses

		%
1.	Appreciate beautiful scenery	85
2.	Come into direct contact with nature	80
3.	Enjoy local features such as stores and houses on a street	76
4.	Taste food and drink unique to the locality	68
5.	Appreciate vestiges of ancient civilizations and historic buildings	66
6.	Visit famous parks and recreation grounds	60
7.	Buy local/indigenous products or folkcraft	57
8.	Shop at duty free stores	55
9.	Visit museums and art galleries	54
10.	Stay leisurely at famous resorts	53
11.	Enjoy meals in famous restaurants	49
12.	Make friends with locals, learn customs	48
13.	Enjoy open sea and beach (and water sports)	47
14.	Watch wild animals and birds	44
15.	Purchase quality goods at lower prices than in Japan	43
16.	Enjoy music, theatre, dance	42
17.	Ride on sightseeing boat, cable car etc	41
18.	Driving a car	38
19.	Appreciate festivals, sports events	31
20.	Observe manufacturing of indigenous products	29
21.	Cruising [water]	26
22.	Sports such as golf or tennis	22
23.	Winter sports such as skiing	19
24.	Enjoy "night life" in cabarets, night clubs	17
25.	Gambling	10

Source: Moritani, Study of Japanese Holiday Travel To The Pacific Area Past and Potential, Pacific Area Travel Association, 1982, p 24 (survey, n = 2,200).

* Percentages are the proportions of respondents saying that they "wish to participate by all means" in that activity if holidaying overseas.

Table 8.5 : Japanese Travellers' Pre-trip Impressions in 1982 of

Countries in the Pacific-Asia Area

Item	Leading Scores		Mean Score
Public place & order is maintained	Australia Canada Hawaii	18% 13% 11%	5%
Sanitary conditions are in order	USA Canada Australia	19% 14% 13%	4%
Superior hotels with modern facilities	USA Hawaii	46% 34%	9%
People are kind to Japanese tourists	Hawaii China	28% 16%	8%
Feel comfortable familiar	Hawaii China USA	38% 33% 25%	14%
Exciting country to visit	Australia Canada China New Zealand	35% 34% 32% 29%	16%

Source: Moritani (1982) p. 115 Research for PATA (n = 1,069); respondents all had intentions to holiday overseas within three years. Respondents were shown a list of 13 'Impressions' and were asked to nominate as many as they felt applicable to each of the 22 destinations (Hawaii, Hong Kong, Macau, Guam, India, Indonesia, Bali, Korea, China, Malaysia, New Zealand, Australia, Philippines, Singapore, Sri Lanka, Thailand, USA, Mexico, Canada, Fiji, Tahiti). The scores thus represent the proportion of respondents citing that impression as applicable to that destination.

Table 8.6 : Japanese Travellers' Pre-Trip Opinions

in 1982 About which Activities are Feasible

in Countries in the Pacific-Asia Area

Activity	Leading Scores		Mean Score
Appreciate beautiful	Australia	63%	29%
Scenery	Hawaii	61%	
	USA	42%	
	N.Z.	37%	
Come into direct	Australia	73%	19%
contact with nature	Canada	55%	
	USA	53%	
Shop duty free	Hong Kong	32%	10%
	Hawaii	26%	
Buy indigenous	Australia	22%	14%
products, crafts	Hawaii	19%	
	India	18%	
Make friends with	Australia	20%	10%
locals	USA	16%	
Enjoy open sea,	Hawaii	70%	14%
& beach sports	Guam	55%	

Source: As for Table 8.5

CHAPTER 9 : TOURIST ATTRACTION SYSTEMS

INTRODUCTION

What are tourist attractions, how are they constructed and how do they operate? Broadly, these are the themes of the discussion in this Chapter. Drawing together threads from various writers' works, this study proposes a construct for a theory of tourist attractions. The aim is a set of concepts and principles that describe and explain the structure and functions of a component in all tourism systems: an hypothesis is that a general model of attractions is possible. And for research purposes attractions can be regarded as systems, sets of interconnected elements; they can be treated as sub-systems present in all whole tourism systems.

Gunn (1972,1979,1980, etc.) and Lew (1987) are amongst the writers who have stressed the centrality and importance of attractions in the study of tourism. However both agree that it is a relatively neglected topic. Lew observed that "Although the importance of tourist attractions is readily recognized, tourism researchers and theorists have yet to fully come to terms with the nature of attractions as phenomena both in the environment and the mind" (ibid:554). Despite the fact that the literature on tourism frequently mentions attractions, the treatment is usually less detailed than that given to other topics. Moreover, according to another commentator, the treatments given attractions in much of the literature often lack scientific qualities: " Most of the literature on tourist attractions is descriptive, case-specific, and not explanatory in either the general or specific case. A preponderance of teleological interpretations posing as scientific explanations plagues this issue" (Stear 1981:91).

What follows has been developed against that background. Selected ideas from works by several writers have informed the innovations set out below. Of these the major foundation is MacCannell (1976). His study was not primarily about attractions, but it included a new model of sightseeing, used for analyzing his central theme, modern consciousness or world view reflected in the mass touristic leisure of the international middle class.

The discussion below begins by reviewing Lew's (1987) study. Next, a systemic model of a tourist attraction is set out. Its three elements (tourists, nuclei,

markers) and their contexts are discussed in turn. The relationship of attractions to the travel and tourism industry is considered.

LEW'S FRAMEWORK

Lew's (1987) study, which "summarizes the range of approaches employed in the categorization of attractions, as revealed in recent tourism literature" (ibid:554) is a useful contribution to that literature. Reviewing several dozen earlier studies, Lew identified three approaches to the topic and he called these the ideographic perspective, the organizational perspective and the cognitive perspective. The first, the ideographic perspective, is the most common way of conceptualizing attractions in laypersons' consciousness and in scholarly writings. Lew cited several studies as examples, including the widely quoted works by Ritchie and Zinns (1978) and Ferrario (1979). This first perspective refers to general attributes of a place, attributes which could include for example natural beauty, any named site, climate, culture, and social customs or characteristics. In the present writer's opinion, "ideographic" might be an inappropriate label since Lew's first category includes classifications by name, whereas the strict meaning of "ideogram" is symbolism without naming. Perhaps "formal perspective" is a more suitable label. The second category, the organizational perspective, refers to geographical notions, not managerial notions of organization. It focuses on spatial, capacity and / or temporal nature of attractions to develop typologies. Spatial classifications for example can range from a small object (the painting of the Mona Lisa for instance) to a very large area (such as France, a whole country), both regarded as types of attractions. Third, the "cognitive" approach, involves categorizing attractions according to "tourist perceptions and experiences" (Lew, 1987:560).

Parts of Lew's discussion can be criticized for their tendency to stereotype tourists, reiterating the notion that tourists are homogeneous in terms of motivation and behavior via references to "the" tourist in comments such as "One of the goals of the tourist is to penetrate into the insideness or back region of the attraction in order to experience the authenticity of a place" (ibid: 560). As Cohen (1979) and others have emphasized, references to "the" tourist as a general behavioral type can be mistaken and pointless. Rather than stereotyping, scholarship should be acknowledging that there are different types of tourists in terms of motivational and behavioral patterns. A tendency to stereotype in parts of Lew's presentation contrasts with his classifications, within three perspectives, which imply that tourists are motivated by a wide range of needs and that their behavior is anything but homogeneous.

Putting aside those minor criticisms, the value of Lew's work is that it effectively identifies and describes a three-sided framework for perceiving and categorizing phenomena associated with tourist attractions. Accordingly, the framework has potential utility in further studies, empirical and theoretical.

But another point on which the present writer departs from the ideas in Lew's work is fundamental to the themes under consideration, for it concerns the essential concept of a tourist attraction. The definition he offered was: "In essence, tourist attractions consist of all those elements of a 'non-home' place that draw discretionary travelers away from their homes. They usually include landscapes to observe, activities to participate in, and experiences to remember" (Lew 1987:554).

Although that reflects ideas common in the literature, it can be misleading in connotations. A problem is the suggested literal meaning for "attraction" and related key terms such as "draw" (in Lew's definition), and "attract", "magnetism", "gravitational influence", and "pull factor" (all found scattered widely elsewhere in the literature). These imply that the thing itself has the power to influence behavior, that an attracting force is exerted from within some immanent attraction.

One assumes the implications are not seriously intended, for since the late 17th century no educated person would intentionally suggest that a physical force emanates from within a sight, an object or event and cause people (tourists) to move towards or direct their view towards that phenomenon. As Jaynes (1973) sums up his historical review of scientific understanding about the causes of movement: "Newton's laws of motion make it all the more clear that physical behavior is a quite distinct thing from animal behavior" (ibid:178). But the way many modern writers define tourist attractions, alongside sparse explanations of how attractions function or operate, might lead to inferences of a pre-Newtonian or metaphysical kind. Besides Lew, other writers who tend to convey those inferences include Lundberg: "tourist attractions - by definition anything that attracts tourists" (1985:33); Burkart and Medlik: "attractions might be site attractions or event attractions ... both of which exert gravitational influence upon non-residents" (1974:44); Gunn: "by definition an attraction is magnetic. If it does not have the power of drawing people to enjoy its values it fails be an attraction ... The true test of being is pulling power" (1972:37), and "sometimes natural and historic features have intrinsic attracting power" (1979:71); and Schmidt: "I believe that tourist spots do have some inherent unique quality which attracts tourists ..." (1979:447).

Taken literally, such statements are nonsense in scientific terms, which is behind Stear's (1981) criticism quoted above. A partial solution is to add a caveat, by placing inverted commas around the expressions (eg "attraction") or by a note such as "It is important to recognize that magnetism is not somehow an inherent quality" (Pigram, 1983:193). Pigram's note emphasizes that in the context of Tourism Studies, as in other social science contexts, certain words are used as metaphors. "Tourist attractions" are phenomena that can be likened to real attractions studied in Physics, but the former category do not operate in the same manner as the latter. The Tower of London does not literally "draw" discretionary travelers, nor "attract" tourists, nor exert "gravitational influence" over people; it has no "magnetic power" over travelers, and is not inherently a "tourist attraction". But the Tower of London, the Grand Canyon, the Mona Lisa, France, surfing at Waikiki, the sunset over Kuta Beach and millions of other phenomena around the world certainly appear to do or be those things, they create that image in observers' minds.

Metaphors are natural in everyday language and are therefore useful and appropriate in promotional messages from the travel and tourism industry or any other industry. But they can be a minefield for students if presented in a way that reinforces the literal meaning, and are therefore risky in scholarly writings unless presented carefully. Metaphors are a rich part of language ("a minefield for students") and indeed, writers such as Jaynes (1982) have demonstrated that metaphors are the means by which languages evolved and have continued to develop. But problems emerge when metaphors are used in scholarly discussions in ways that cloud or seemingly contradict the truth. For example Jaynes, dissecting flaws in ideas about consciousness, concluded that "most of the errors about consciousness ... are errors of attempted metaphor" (ibid:53). The errors about tourist attractions noted above are also errors of attempted metaphor. A valid theory of tourist attraction will require putting aside those instances of metaphorical device.

Caveats of the sorts indicated above are helpful, but are insufficient for a comprehensive treatment of tourist attractions because they imply how the thing does not operate, not how it does. What is required is a different sort of perspective on the structural components of attractions, from which a plausible theory of how they operate can be developed. Lew (1987) cited MacCannell's (1976) definition, but he did not pursue its potential for structural analysis. MacCannell proposed a

concept radically different from those offered by other writers, a concept that can be rephrased to form the core for attraction systems.

THE ATTRACTION SYSTEM

MacCannell's construct is a suitable beginning for formuating a general model of tourist attraction systems. His definition was as follows: " I have defined a tourist attraction as an empirical relationship between a tourist, a sight, and a marker - a piece of information about a sight" (MacCannell 1976:41). One crucial difference between MacCannell's definition and other writers' is noteworthy. MacCannell defined an attraction as having three components, whereas Lew and other conventional thinkers regard just one of those components (a sight for example) as constituting the attraction. A three-unit set conforms to a basic idea of Angyal (1969) and other writers on system theory, who see two-unit links as relationships while regarding systems as arrangements of three or more interconnected elements. So MacCannell's definition can be rephrased in systemic form: a tourist attraction is a system comprising three elements: a tourist, a sight, and a marker.

However, this does not embrace all categories of tourist attractions, just the most common or obvious, involving sightseeing. Lew's framework and studies by several other writers suggest other categories. Sightseeing is a very common touristic activity, but it is neither intrinsic nor essential: many places are visited by large numbers of tourists but lack any significant sights, and many tourists complete trips successfully without ever indulging in more than incidental or token sightseeing. Tourists who return to the same place for annual vacations year after year might do no sightseeing after the first trip: sightseeing behavior is essentially that of first-time visitors to a place. Arguably it is, in the first instance, orientation behavior although it often seems to be also motivated by other needs such as status, to be able to say one has "been there, seen that" and also, as Crompton (1979) has shown, needs for novelty and for education.

Recognizing that attractions have a scope beyond sightseeing, Gunn (1972 etc.) avoided words such as "sight" for his theoretical model and in their place, used "nucleus", literally meaning the central component of the attraction, in the center of what he called inviolate belt and the zone of closure. Gunn's word choice seems most appropriate, for the "nucleus" of an attraction in principle can stand for any attribute of a place. The nucleus might be a sight (for sightseeing attractions) or an

object, or a person, or an event and so on. So, by substituting Gunn's "nucleus" for "sight" in the systemic adaption of MacCannell's definition, a broader and more general model of an attraction system can be formulated:

A tourist attraction is a system comprising three elements: a tourist or human element, a nucleus or central element, and a marker or informative element. A tourist attraction comes into empirical existence when the three elements are connected.

Treating tourist attractions as systems allows them to be integrated conceptually within systemic models for the total tourism-related phenomenon. A tenet of systems theory is the hierarchical principle: each system can be regarded as a sub-system of its superior systems. Accordingly, tourist attractions can be regarded as sub-systems of whole tourism systems.

The next sections are presented under three main headings: travellers and tourists, nuclei, markers. The aim is to describe and analyze the structure of the three elements and explain how they connect as functioning systems.

TRAVELLERS AND TOURISTS

As discussed in Chapter 5 and others in this study, an intrinsic link between tourism and leisure has been argued by several writers, including Clarke (1975), Bodewes (1981), Pigram (1983), Leiper (1985), Hamilton-Smith (1987) and Krippendorf (1987). Five assertions can be made about the tourist / leisure link, all pertinent to the function of tourist attraction systems. First, the essence of touristic behavior involves leisure, which is to imply that touristic leisure is leisure sought and optimally derived during trips away from one's home region. Second, touristic leisure means a search for suitable attractions, or to be more precise, a search for personal (in situ) experience of attraction systems' nuclear elements. Third, the process depends ultimately on each individual's mental and non-mental attributes such as needs and ability to travel. Fourth, the marker or informative element has a key role in the functional links between each tourist and the nuclear elements being sought for personal experience. And fifth, the process is not automatically productive, because tourists' needs are not always satisfied or not always fully satisfied by personal experience in an attraction system. In other words, in practice these systems may be functional or dysfunctional, to varying degrees.

Leisure experiences can be broadly classified into two categories following Dumazadier's (1967) analysis, discussed in Chapter 5. Recreational leisure is that which restores the individual; it re-creates via rest, relaxation and entertainment. Creative leisure brings about a new state. Empirical studies by Pearce (1982) and by Stear (1984) have demonstrated that tourism can be recreational. Although no empirical studies are known that deal with the potential links between tourism and creative leisure, literary sources suggest such links. Examples can be found in the writings of certain travel literati, such as William Hazlitt (1821 / 1970). His opinion of travel as a medium for leisure is contained in the widely quoted lines "One of the pleasantest things in the world is going a journey ... The soul of a journey is liberty, perfect liberty to think, feel, do just as one pleases" (Hazlitt 1970:136). Hazlitt's words indicate that he conforms to the notion of "tourist" proposed for the present study. His essays reveal that his pleasures came from certain kinds of landscapes, solitary walks, and wayside inns where he could dine on chicken over a bottle of sherry while reading the classics. While those experiences are in themselves recreational, the peaks of what are essentially touristic experiences seem to have been the creative stimulation he reports, which seem to have been brought about by particular combinations of pleasurable experiences in a refined and artistic individual. Samuel Butler's travel essays about holidays in Piedmont (c.1880 /1968) contain similar evidence, reflecting higher orders of creative leisure discussed by theorists such as Pieper (1962) and de Grazia (1962).

Several writers, such as MacCannell (1976), Graburn (1977), Cohen (1979) and Mannell and Iso-Ahola (1987) have provided arguments opposing any notion that regards touristic behavior as being inherently trivial or superficial. Instead, those writers have shown that tourism can have cultural significance for the tourists themselves, deriving from cultural experiences focussing on particular types of attractions. Although agreeing with those arguments, the present study is taking a broader perspective. As Cohen (1979) has emphasized, tourists are not a homogeneous type in behavioral terms, in motivations and activities. Hamilton-Smith (1987) came to similar conclusions, from analyzing tourism's links with leisure. Across the total spectrum, taking in recreational and creative or cultural needs of touristic leisure, a very diverse range of attractions is implied.

NUCLEI

A nucleus, the central element in a tourist attraction system, might be any feature or characteristic of a place that a traveler contemplates visiting or actually

visits and experiences touristic leisure. The needs and motivations underlying such experiences are individualistic and therefore nuclear elements in attraction systems are correspondingly varied. However to simply imply that nuclei are amorphous and ubiquitous is not much help in research and scholarship. Rather, it increases the desirability of categorization. In the context of the model of attraction systems presented above, Lew's (1987) work can be regarded as a study of three useful approaches or perspectives for categorizing nuclear elements. Alternative approaches can be suggested, providing additional insights.

One approach, akin to Lew's "cognitive perspective", is to frame the classification of nuclei types from a basis of tourists' experiential attributes. This could be sub-divided in several ways, reflecting many possible ways of analyzing behavior. A categorization beginning with needs, psychological factors underlying motivations, would provide a theoretically comprehensive and thorough approach. Each "need" category implies a range of nuclei. For instance the need for social interaction requires people willing and able to socialize; the need for rest implies, as nuclei, environments that are peaceful and conducive to recovery from fatigue.

The distinction between needs and wants helps explain why practical research into links between traveler behavior and tourist attractions has tended to be descriptive and case specific, two attributes criticized by Stear (1981) in his remarks on the literature, quoted earlier. In fact, needs are the underlying factors. But a single need might be expressed in dozens of different motivations and wants and, conversely, a single want might reflect any of several different needs, a principle relevant to tourists' behavior (Mill and Morrison 1984: 4 et seq.) as it is to leisure behavior generally (Kelly 1982:1-2). Descriptive research, about actual cases, is useful for identifying the range of possible wants. The underlying problem to which Stear alluded is that descriptions do not provide explanations of function. That issue is taken up later.

Another approach, akin to Lew's "ideographic (or formal) perspective" is to follow an environmental analysis. Various environmental categories of actual or hypothetical places can be listed and alongside each one, classifications of the formal features and characteristics that it implies noted. Every place regardless of scale (country, region, zone, city, site, etc.) has multiple attributes than can be classified in environmental terms with varying degrees of scope and detail. The natural environment encompasses topography, landscape, flora and fauna for example. The built environment encompasses factors such as cityscape, specific

buildings, monuments and archaeological sites. The socio-cultural environment includes ordinary people and famous individuals, language and dialect, customs, music and dance, cuisine, historical artifacts and collections, artistic objects and collections. The technological environments include applications of science, in incidental or staged displays. Extra details, and other kinds of environmental categories, could be added. Another variation on Lew's ideographic perspective is Schmidt's (1979) typology, structured under five headings of "emphasis": geographic, social, cultural, technological, and divine (1).

Relevance of Alternative Approaches

Multiple approaches to categorizing nuclei help researchers recognize the many facets of the phenomena, in theory and in the field. Moreover alternative approaches may correspond to different practical applications by, for example, managers in the travel and tourism industry and planners dealing with its resources. Those differences are indicated from considering the two approaches above (experiential versus formal) in terms of marketing theory.

Nuclear categories framed in relation to touristic experiences can be expressed as lists of what (different) tourists might want to experience. Formal categories of nuclei are lists of the types of attributes that places might have available for tourists to experience. The subtle difference corresponds precisely to the basic distinction emphasized in Marketing between a customer orientation and a product orientation, a distinction sometimes referred to as a "marketing" emphasis versus a "sales" emphasis. Business organisations' policies and practices reflect those leanings to some extent and a principle of Marketing Management is that the former orientation ("customer / marketing") is the optimum path to serving customers' needs and to long term business success (Levitt 1960 / 1985; Kotler 1986; etc.).

The distinction would seem to have implications for regional and national tourism organisations, whose managers deal with the attractions in their geographical constituencies. In marketing activities, such as designing services and facilities and promoting a destination, the place's attractions should be approached from the perspective of tourists' experiential attributes. Planning the development of a place as a tourist destination, the formal perspective might seem to be the most obvious and relevant because it refers directly to the actual phenomena that can function as nuclei in attraction systems. However, marketing theory dictates that any application should begin with the needs of potential customers, so the

experiential approach should precede a formal approach in planning as in other managerial applications.

The Nuclear Mix and Hierarchy

An individual tourist might be part of just one attraction system in the course of a particular trip. That is, a person might set off from home with just one experience in mind, to see or do something specific or just to be in a particular place or a particular type of environment, and might focus on that single experience for the duration of the trip. However a far more common condition is, arguably, that each tourist is involved with a range of nuclei. The nuclear mix is a useful expression for referring to the combination of nuclei salient to the experiences of a tourist during a trip.

Within a nuclear mix, different nuclei are likely to have quite different degrees of significance. Put simply, some attractions are more important than others, for an individual tourist and for a collection of tourists. This can be acknowledged by classifying nuclei in a hierarchy, comprising primary, secondary and tertiary categories relevant to a specific tourist or similar collection of tourists.

A primary nucleus is an attribute of a place, a potential tourist destination, which is influential in a traveler's decision about where to go. That implies information available to the traveler, about the attribute and active pre-visit in stimulating the motivation in the person to travel to the place where the attribute can be experienced. A secondary nucleus is an attribute known to a person pre-visit but not significant in decisions about the itinerary. A tertiary nucleus is an attribute unknown pre-visit, but discovered by the individual after arriving in a destination region. Analyzing nuclei into primary, secondary and tertiary categories can help explain behavior patterns of individual tourists and, by extension, a collection. Some surveys of visitors conducted for national and regional tourism organisations suggest categories along these lines, but no surveys or other empirical research works are known that have used the three-part analysis suggested here.

On the surface, the interests of a tourism organisation would seem best served if large numbers of potential tourists were well informed pre-visit about all the potential nuclei. The broad aim of promotional activities by regional and national tourism organisations, in terms of the hierarchy, is to create primary nuclei. But opposing any assumptions that this is wholly desirable, a suggestion can be made

that some types of touristic experiences are (more) pleasurable because they involve a tertiary nucleus, something <u>discovered</u> by the individual. In such cases tourists become, in experiential terms, explorers, mastering what was beyond their cognitive domain. Phillip Pearce's (1982) research found widespread evidence of needs relevant to such experiences.

Spatial Distribution of Nuclei

Lew's (1987) organizational perspective included the concept of analyzing "attractions" (nuclei) in spatial terms. However Lew did not relate the spatial categorization to any model of whole tourism systems. In that context, nuclear elements of attractions might be found in two of the three geographical elements of whole tourism systems. Their major role and location is in tourist destination regions. A secondary role is along (or at points on) transit routes. The nucleus of a tourist attraction is never located in a traveler generating region, places where trips originate, because axiomatically tourism means leaving one's home environment. In practice, particular sights, sites, objects, events etc. will often be the focus of experiences for tourists (visitors) <u>and</u> local residents but for the former group the phenomenon is an object of tourist attraction and for the latter group an object of leisure-related experience in the home locality.

Within a tourist destination region, different types of nuclei have different spatial patterns, as Lew (1987) and several other writers on the geography of tourism have shown. Some nuclei can be described as regional, meaning that they may be found throughout area of a designated region. For example features and characteristics of Tuscany's cultural and physical environments may be found and experienced throughout Tuscany. Other types might have spatially narrower distribution, limited to a zone, city, town, suburb, precinct, site, room, etc. Each distributive scope has its implications for understanding tourists' behavior, linked to the structure of itineraries.

The model of tourism systems presented in Chapter 1 is geographically structured in regional terms, implying that a region is the elementary spatial unit. But larger as well as smaller units are relevant in certain respects. Some nuclei extend beyond the region and permeate a country or continent. Long haul travelers making touristic trips to Europe for instance might perceive nuclei associated with that Continent in general, not merely the (typically) small portions of Europe actually experienced in person.

Clustered Nuclei

Certain nuclei are so significant to the motivations of certain tourists that they can stand alone, spatially or in time, functioning as the central elements of attraction systems without other supporting nuclei. Highly popular sights (The Grand Canyon, The Taj Mahal) and events (Olympic Games) are examples. But at the level of the individual tourist, a unique nucleus might be in the same category: one person might travel especially to experience something that interests no other individual. For contemporary tourism systems in general, <u>clustered nuclei</u> functioning symbiotically seem to be more significant than any unique feature. The concepts of <u>nuclear mix</u> and <u>nuclear hierarchies</u> are linked with this notion of clustering. Symbiosis among clustered nuclei can be observed in spatial terms at various levels: continent, nation, region, city, precinct and so on. To illustrate clustering, the following discussion notes certain characteristics of precincts.

For example "tourist precinct" seems a useful expression for describing a small zone within a town or city where tourists are prone to cluster because of clustered nuclei with some unifying theme. Some older cities have several parts functioning in that role. Paris is the best example. Guide books often present information about Paris under headings for "quarters" or districts or precincts. And as MacCannell (1976) discussed, tourists do not really "see Paris" but from personally experiencing the Champs-Elysees, Montmartre, Marais, St. Germain-Des-Pres they form an image about Paris that it is an amalgam of images formed about certain precincts.

While a precinct's distinctive character may have evolved over decades or centuries without any influence from tourism-related interests, in recent years planners in many cities have taken into account various tourism-related interests. Also, promoters of cities as tourist destinations are using selected precincts in advertising and other promotional messages. The Marais in Paris is an interesting example. A few blocks dating back to the 17th century, it was largely irrelevant for all but a handful of tourists until the 1970s. Following a restoration of the precinct begun in the 1960s, the Marais has been promoted widely in media promoting Paris as a tourist destination, and has become a distinctive part of the city which significant quantities of tourists now visit. The planning and other managerial processes that led to the restoration of the Marais (and its subsequent promotion to

tourists) make it different from older precincts that acquired a notable touristic role without significant inputs from tourism interests in government or industry. In recent years, many precincts <u>are</u> being planned and otherwise managed by organisations concerned with those interests, amongst others.

What is notable about precincts in terms of the present discussion is that although they include many potential nuclei, they might lack a single component nucleus capable of interesting the majority of tourists. In practical terms, this is suggesting that relatively few tourists go to the Marais or similar precincts in many cities just to visit one or another of the buildings, sites or events. What is significant is the combination, the synergistic effect of experiencing many phenomena with some unifying theme, such as 17th Century Paris in the Marais. Each item (a building, site, object, performance, display, etc.) might not in itself be regarded by most tourists as sufficient to influence their itinerary at a trip or daily level. But together the items might be synergistic, forming the basis for satisfying experiences. What is also relevant is the time frame: generally a tourists' precinct can be explored relatively comprehensively in less than a day. Tourists' precincts with some distinctive theme are only one example of clustered nuclei. Other examples can be found in shopping centers, art galleries, entertainment theme parks, and zoos.

While all nuclei have a spatial dimension, in some cases temporal dimensions are most relevant, when the event is the thing. Festivals, sporting events, meetings of families and friends from scattered residences are examples of nuclei that transpire in certain time frames. The clustering concept also seems relevant to some of these events. For example a "tourists' festival" may be regarded as an event-based nucleus structured in a similar manner to a "tourists' precinct". A typical festival is structured as a collection of sub-events that have been clustered into a designated time interval; each sub-event might have no significance for a tourist (or, for that matter, a resident of the locality) while a cluster with some unifying theme is more likely to be significant, through synergy.

That analytical approach to researching nuclei can also help unravel what is behind the "atmospheric attraction" of a place. Merely citing atmosphere, or some kind of atmosphere, as an attraction is not conducive to scientific understanding. More useful is identifying various nuclei that, in combination with one another <u>and</u> with particular tourists and markers, can create overlapping attraction systems involving perceptions of "atmosphere".

The Surrounds of a Nucleus

Gunn's (1972 etc.) work has concentrated on physical aspects of nuclei and their surrounds. He introduced the important concept of the "inviolate belt" to designate the area immediately around a nucleus, noting that "every attraction has place, both by physical location and by association" (1972:36). A nucleus is accessible "only by passing through some entering space (the location of) physio-psychological conditioning and reflecting (because) a person's mental set or anticipation of an attraction has much to do with his reception and approval when the feature is reached" (ibid:40-1, parentheses added). Gunn's message includes the point that unless designers and managers give proper attention to the inviolate belt, a nucleus might be less than optimally effective in satisfying tourists' expectations and might in fact fail to be noticed by tourists. Gunn's writing include several examples. A similar message runs through a lot of commentaries about tourism which slate excessive commercialization in the immediate vicinity of attractions. What distinguishes Gunn's work is his theoretical constructs, which allow commercialization, in its place, beyond the inviolate belt.

Commercialization is associated with most support facilities and services used by tourists but should not, according to Gunn's principle, violate the core processes of tourism, processes involving experiences of nuclear elements of attraction systems. Even in cases where the support facilities themselves form the nucleus, as in a resort hotel for instance, overt commercialization can be managed in ways that set it apart from recreational experiences. The successful Club Med organization seems to be managed with this principle very much in mind, applied in various ways. For example its holidays are sold as a comprehensive package at an inclusive price, and anything bearing an extra cost is paid not in cash but in tokens. But Club Med's major distinction in this respect is that operations personnel (are instructed to) behave and dress, not in the normal commercialized styles of hotel and resort staff, but in ways that help make them indistinguishable from guests.

An inviolate belt may perform several roles, and thus may be designed or managed with any of several functions in mind. Gunn referred to the conditioning role. He also noted a protective function: a fragile and valuable nucleus, such as an art work or wildlife park, can be protected by its immediate surrounds from the undesirable intrusions from more distant environments. Additional categories are

suggested in MacCannell's discussion about the evolutionary phases of attractions. To illustrate some of those phases relating to inviolate zones, the historical pattern of religious phenomena visited by pilgrims (and later by secular tourists) can provide examples, drawing on Sumption's (1975) study of pilgrimage. A salient point is that Sumption described medieval pilgrimage as the tourism of the era.

At first pilgrims (a type of tourist) came to communicate with the revered dead, via the relics of holy people. Jaynes (1982) is detailed on that point. To protect those saintly relics (a type of nucleus) buildings were constructed over their tombs. Thus the buildings initially functioned as inviolate belts. The buildings, chapels or churches, were given names, often derived from the name of the principal saint interred inside. This represents MacCannell's first phase of "sight sacralization ... naming" (1976:44). With time and with increasing veneration by larger numbers of pilgrims, the tombs were displayed more prominently, framed off and placed on pedestals. This is MacCannell's second or "framing and elevation phase" (ibid). Later, the buildings themselves came to be venerated. That third phase ("enshrinement") means, in theoretical terms, that a new nucleus has emerged from the environment of an earlier nucleus, so now there are two attraction systems, and what could be termed a molecular structure of nuclei. Subsequently the outer system's nucleus, the building, acquired its own inviolate belt in the forms of a landscaped entrance, forecourt and grounds. Later, in some cases, this too evolved to become a nucleus, as a third system formed. Those processes, involving multi-system or molecular compositions, provide an analytical explanation for the evolution of a tourists' site or precinct.

The evolution can only occur around an original nucleus that remained popular for large numbers over a lengthy period. Religious objects, sites and events are a particularly good example, especially due to their contemporary popularity, as "cultural" attractions in an allegedly secular era with large scale tourist flows. But any nucleus relevant to just one tourist, representing a literally unique attraction system, would not evolve in that way.

MARKERS

Markers are items of information, about any phenomenon that is a potential nuclear element in a tourist attraction. MacCannell's (1976) use of the term emphasized that "markers" in this context should be distinguished from their media. A sign post is not a marker, but might be the medium by which a marker

(the sign, the information) is conveyed. MacCannell referred to two kinds, "off-sight" and "on-sight" markers. That original bisection suggested a more detailed analysis, several geographical categories, for the purposes of the present study.

Detached marker is a suitable expression for information functioning apart, spatially, from the nucleus to which it refers. These can be sub-divided into generating markers and transit markers. The former expression refers to markers in traveler generating regions and the latter to markers located along an itinerary path leading to (and from) the nucleus to which they refer. A typical generating marker is the information a person receives in their home environment about the attractions (nuclei) in other regions or countries, in potential tourist destinations. Contiguous markers are at the nucleus to which they refer.

Certain kinds of medium typically convey certain geographical categories of markers, because of the typical location of those media in the context of a tourism system. For example, consultants in retail travel agencies, whose main activity in this context is telling clients about the attractions in places they might visit, are trying to convey generating markers. Advertisements and publicity on television, radio and in the public press, aimed at motivating people in their home environments to travel to particular places, also are usually trying to convey generating markers. Stories from one's neighbors about the attractions of the places they visited on vacation are also generating markers. An example of a transit marker in a typical medium are the pictures of beaches and fish on roadside billboards leading to a seaside resort. An example of a contiguous marker are the signs on plaques attached to monuments and beneath paintings in an art gallery. The information in a commentary by a tour guide conducting people around a site or interpreting an event is also a contiguous marker.

Some media are portable, and can convey different categories of markers. A guide book might be read pre-trip, again on route, and again while actually experiencing the sights, sites, objects, events or whatever. Tour escorts often provide their clients with information about a specific nucleus on several occasions during a trip. Other travelers and people met along the way may be media for all kinds of markers.

Roles and Functions of Markers

Every tourist attraction includes at least one functioning marker. Broadly, markers act as the catalytic element, linking the human and nuclear elements of an

attraction system. Many systems have multiple markers, with overlapping or diverse functions and roles, all referring to one nucleus and potentially received by an individual tourist. An attraction might be defective because its markers are too many, are conflicting, or deficient in some respect. These general principles become clearer after considering the range of roles and functions that markers can have. The first three items to follow are presented to represent an individual who first becomes motivated to travel, who next decides where to go, and who then plans an itinerary. Some travelers make all three decisions in a single phase, if their initial motivation relates to some specific nucleus.

(i) Trip motivation

A person must have information about what might be experienced somewhere before they can form positive expectations about the prospect of traveling to visit another region or country. Positive expectation, that a need will be satisfied, is a necessary condition for motivation. The principle from this is that at least one generating marker is necessary, referring to some kind of phenomenon that acts as a primary nucleus, before an individual can become motivated to set off on a touristic trip.

(ii)Destination selection

At least one detached marker referring to a specific nucleus is necessary before an individual makes decisions about where to go or where to visit for touristic leisure. This refers to "destinations" at all levels: the regions or countries in a trip and the precincts, sites etc. within the region a traveler is currently visiting. The detached marker in this function can be either the generating or transit category, because a traveler might decide about destinations pre-trip or after setting out from home. The explanation is the same as for trip motivation: a necessary condition of destination selection is information relating to potentially satisfying experiences.

(iii) Itinerary planning

A series of detached markers is necessary for planning itineraries of multi-destination trips. That activity involves contemplating which places might be visited for touristic leisure, an activity that involves a series of potential primary and secondary nuclei on the basis of detached markers. A subsequent consideration in planning an itinerary involves the supportive facilities and services and other aspects of travel logistics.

(iv) Activity selection

Markers can influence tourists' decisions about the activities they will undertake. In other words, markers often invite participation in or attention to phenomena that a tourist had not previously contemplated during a trip. On vacation, a person might see or hear an advertisement for a golf course and consequently become motivated to play a round. Many ski and seaside resorts issue daily weather bulletins, information that helps tourists at the resorts to decide their day's activities.

(v) Nucleus identification

Most markers name the nucleus to which they refer. This piece of information enables the nucleus to be identified, distinguished from other similar phenomena.

(vi) Finding the nucleus

Certain information about nuclei, in media such as maps and roadside sign posts, is used for locating the nucleus that a tourist is seeking.

(vii) Name connotation

Certain names of nuclei have connotations that affect tourists' perceptions of the experiences in prospect. Positive connotations can contribute to the satisfaction, which is why organizations trying to promote a place to tourists often coin new names for the place with tourist markets in mind. Monte Carlo, coined to promote Monaco, is an example (Cameron, 1975). Sometimes the chosen name has authentic associations with the nucleus it connotes, as in Costa del Sol. In some other cases, the name coined for tourism promotion can be effective in that function despite dubious authenticity relative to the nucleus is connotes, as in Surfers Paradise. That highly promoted place is one of the most popular seaside resorts on the east coast of Australia, but has never been rated a paradise for surfers according to several veteran surfers interviewed along that coast (pers. comm.).

(viii) Souvenirs

Certain markers, in durable media, help people remember touristic experiences. Photographs are probably the most common media for this function. Indeed the

technology of photography was invented in 1839 by an English tourist, Fox Talbot, wanting a method of recording the scenery of Lake Como (Sontag 1979).

(ix) The Meanings of Tourism

Some sort of information is necessary to give meaning to any touristic experience. MacCannell (1976) discussed this principle in detail with reference to sightseeing, and showed that a sight lacking a marker is not necessarily meaningless to tourists, but rather the sight becomes a marker for the place being visited. And certain phenomena are meaningful (and thus of interest) to tourists only because of markers, not because of anything remarkable in the sights. MacCannell gives several examples; the principle is implicit in guide books. E.M.Forster is explicit in the Introduction to his guide to an ancient city:

The "sights" of Alexandria are in themselves not interesting, but they fascinate when we approach them from the past, and this is what I have tried to do by the double arrangement of history and guide (Forster 1922/1982:xx).

How does this suggestion, that every attraction includes a meaningful marker, extend beyond sightseeing to attractions generally? The history of a popular recreational activity provides evidence. Only during the past two hundred years has swimming been regarded as a pleasurable recreation, a point made by several writers including Turner and Ash (1975). Before about 1800 the only reason for entering the sea voluntarily was for health reasons. After about 1850, swimming became popular as a recreational activity and therefore popular among tourists, with seaside vacations becoming common. In recent years Urry (1988) has discerned a reverse trend, away from those forms of tourism. The trends are not because of any intrinsic factors, but depend on certain values and tastes conveyed through society in a variety of cultural messages. According to Urry's analysis, societies transmit signals or markers to their individual members that continuously reinforce or change the meanings attributed by individuals to alternative leisure experiences, and those meanings shape individuals' preferences and wants.

A MODEL OF AN ATTRACTION SYSTEM

Figure 1 presents a diagram model of a common example of tourist attraction systems. Its elementary structural composition and the linkages between those

A tourist attraction is a systemic arrangement of three elements: a person with touristic needs, a nucleus (any feature or characteristic of a place they might visit) and at least one marker (information about the nucleus).

person with touristic needs	- - - -	generating marker

nucleus	contiguous marker

information reacts
on needs/wants,
leads to positive
expectation
and motivation

transit marker

travel
decision ————————————————→

person is pushed
by own motivation
to seek want satisfaction
from the nucleus

other causal
conditions for
travel (time/
money, etc.)

The generating marker is information received before setting out for the place where the nucelus is located; the transit marker is information received on route; the contiguous marker is at the nucleus. The diagram depicts how "attractions" really operate: tourists are never literally "attracted", "pulled" or "magnetized", but are motivated to experience a nucleus and its markers when a marker reacts positively with needs and wants.

Figure 9.1 A model of a tourist attraction system

components, its elementary functions, are shown. Other aspects can be imagined, the non-elementary aspects such as inviolate belt and commercial support services and facilities.

The diagram shows how the empirical linkages occur, how a tourist attraction comes into existence and what its motile processes involve. There is no implication of teleology. Tourists are not depicted as being "attracted" in any literal sense; there are no "pull" factors, no "magnetic" forces functioning. Instead, past and present conditions are determinants for future behavior and states. Tourists are pushed (an appropriate metaphor!) by their own motivation towards the places and / or events where they expect their needs will be satisfied. The motivation depends on information, received from at least one detached marker, matching the individual's perception of needs, the individual's felt wants. Traveling towards the nucleus, additional (transit) markers might be noticed and at the nucleus, contiguous markers might also play a part in the experience. At least one meaningful marker (in any of those places) is necessary before the three components become connected to form an empirical entity, an attraction system.

INDUSTRIALIZATION OF ATTRACTIONS

The discussion to date has put to one side the issue of industrialization. How does the hypothesis that tourism systems tend to be partially-industrialized, presented in Chapter 3, apply to attractions? Many writers have alluded to the idea that some attractions are industrialized and others are not by the common bisection into "natural" and "man made" categories. Usually this seems to refer to nuclear elements. The construct developed in the present study allows a different perspective. Attraction systems may be industrialized or non-industrialized, to varying degrees, and the variables relate to every element in any empirical system. This can be described as follows.

Nuclear elements can be highly industrialized. A theme park such as Disneyland and recreational facilities in resorts are examples. Alternatively, nuclei might be non-industrialized, as is the case with natural scenery and pleasant climate, not products of any industry. Marker elements too might be industrialized in relation to tourists, conveyed by some medium of the travel and tourism industry such as a tour brochure, guide book, tour escort or travel agent. Other markers are not industrialized in reference to tourists, but are conveyed in media such as a news story in the press or advice about where to go from friends and casual

acquaintances. Finally, human elements in attractions, tourists, can also be classified in that way. A highly industrialized tourist is one making extensive use of services and facilities provided by the travel and tourism industry: travel agents or tour organisers pre-trip, airlines or some other public carrier for transport, hotels or similar accommodation, a guide or host from a tour operator company, or using an all inclusive package. At the other extreme, some tourists are relatively non-industrialized, in the sense that they are not dependent on such providers but on their own personal resources (arranging trips themselves, using private vehicles, private accommodation) and on resources available from business organisations who are not in the business of travel and tourism, organisations for whom "travelers" and "tourists" are incidental attributes of customers.

The differences are not usually absolute. In practice, in the course of a trip a tourist might relate to a combination of industrialized and non-industrialized nuclei, might be informed by a combination of industrialized and non-industrialized markers, and might use a combination of supports, from the industry that is strategically managed for tourist markets and from other sources. In practice too, the line of demarcation between industrialized and non-industrialized for a particular item might not always be clear cut, so that tourists, nuclei and markers can be relatively industrialized. A matrix of 8 types emerges (2).

CONCLUSIONS AND FURTHER RESEARCH IMPLICATIONS

Using selected ideas from several writers with differing disciplinary and thematic links to the topic, the present work has proposed constructs for a theory of tourist attractions. Attractions can be regarded as systemic constructs, sub-systems in all whole tourism systems. They have elementary parts extending beyond the phenomena that are popularly thought of as being "tourist attractions". Tourists are part of these systems, not merely consumers or users of some discrete phenomena. If no tourist ever visited the Tower of London, the Taj Mahal or any other example, the phenomena would not be thought of as tourist attractions; the tourists are necessary parts. Markers too are an elementary part, not merely promotional or operational devices relating to some sight or event.

A principle argued from the construct, and from a consideration of scientific concepts, is that "tourist attractions" do not operate or function in a literal sense. The expression is a metaphor, and a risky one in research and scholarship. The three part construct allows a different interpretation about the motile processes, one more appropriate to a social science approach to understanding tourism.

Another principle argued above is that the elements in tourist attraction systems are highly differentiated. Behaviorally, there are many types of tourists, and individual tourists might relate to virtually any feature or characteristic of places as nuclei. Informative elements, markers, are likewise found in very diverse media and may perform many functions in the attraction system.

A third principle is that attraction systems may be industrialized or non-industrialized, to varying degrees. An eight part matrix indicates the range of hypothetical possibilities.

This study contains several possibilities for future research, theoretical or empirical. Field research using this body of theory as foundation could be focussed on any particular element (a nucleus or collection of nuclei, or markers, or tourist or set of tourists) but would integrate the other elements in a systematic manner.

Potential applications would appear most suited to organisations concerned with fostering particular places as tourist destinations, since the theory provides a broad-based understanding of how a destination really "attracts" tourists. The system-wide model can be applied in Operations Research to guide managerial policies and strategies. Geographically, O.R. projects using this model would extend from selected generating regions (travelers' home regions, the primary market places of the travel and tourism industry) to specific nuclei in tourist destinations. Functionally, such projects can account for different types of tourists, different forms of nuclei and different media and roles of markers. Because detached markers often stem from a wide range of sources, the messages are not usually consistent and there may be gaps in the information a traveler requires, and markers that are erroneous or misleading in various ways. Some systems seem to be less than effective because of deficient markers while others seem to have excessive quantities of markers, which might be regarded by tourists as excessive commercialization.

The analysis of attractions by type and degree of industrialization seems particularly relevant for practical applications. Organisations attempting to develop or promote a region or country as a tourist destination are always constrained by limited resources. Thus a useful first step would be to evaluate the non-industrialized components of attraction systems. To the extent that those components are found to be adequate, less resources are required for industrialized

components, for investments in nuclei, in markers and in purpose-designed facilities to support tourists' leisure experiences.

When large numbers of tourists visit a particular nucleus, detrimental impacts on environments are possible, a condition that those with long term interests in tourism and/ or environmental issues cannot ignore. The next topic, in Chapter 10, is the environments of whole tourism systems.

Notes

1. Probably very few tourists have both the range of interests and the time necessary to consciously experience every category of environment or emphasis in places they visit. The broad ranging interests of a minority seem all the more notable, exemplified in the full title of Smollett's (1766 / 1979) book ...

    Travels in France and Italy, Containing Observations on Character, Customs, Religion, Government, Police, Commerce, Arts and Antiquities, With Particular Description of the Town, Territory and Climate of Nice

    ... published in modern editions as Travels in France and Italy. And the Introduction to a modern edition contains the remark, "This title, long as it is, lists only a few of the numerous subjects which aroused the author's lively interests during his travels" (Hibbert in Smollet, 1979:9).

(2) At one extreme is a type that can be termed a non-industrialized attraction system, in which all three component elements are in that condition. An example would be a wholly independent tourist, such as William Hazlitt on a walking trip in Wales in 1821, experiencing the natural scenery rendered more enjoyable (meaningful) because of the poems he is reading. The opposite type is a wholly industrialized attraction system. An example would be Neil Leiper as a member of an all-inclusive packaged tour group on a walking tour in the Himalaya in 1977, experiencing a performance of Nepalese dancing staged by the tour operator, which is more enjoyable (meaningful) due to the interpretation provided by one of Sherpa tour guides. Practical examples of intermediate types can be imagined.

CHAPTER 10 : THE ENVIRONMENTAL IMPACTS AND

ECOSYSTEM OF TOURISM

INTRODUCTION

A large quantity of literature exists on the subject of tourism's environmental impacts. It has stimulated rather more comment and research than other tourism-related themes. Considered in terms of the model of whole tourism systems presented in Chapter 2, the focus of attention across the literature tends to equate impacts with environmental consequences in places visited by tourists. In this Chapter, a wider perspective is taken, reflecting an attempt to use systemic concepts. Whole tourism systems are "open", to varying degrees, so there are interactions, two-way relationships, between each system - a set of connected elements - and the environments of that system (Ackoff 1971; Bertalanffy 1972; August Smith 1982). Its surrounding circumstances or "environments" influence each element's activities and the activities of the whole system; simultaneously, the activities of each element and of the whole system have impacts on their environments. Those concepts can give a different appreciation of how tourism and interacts with environments. A comprehensive study of tourism's impacts would not focus exclusively on environments of tourist destinations. It would also consider environmental impacts in relation to tourists, the industry, transit routes and traveller generating regions.

The discussion to follow is divided into two main sections. The first is about environmental impacts on places visited by tourists, the major focus in the literature. The discussion is presented under three sub-heading: economic impacts, socio-cultural impacts, and physical impacts. Besides summarizing what selected writers have offered, points raised by certain writers are criticized or extended.

The second section takes up certain concepts introduced in previous Chapters, suggesting how they may help in analyzing environmental impacts of tourism. These stem from the model of whole tourism systems presented in Chapter 2 and analyzed further in later Chapters, especially 3, 5, 6 and 7. The discussion then applies the whole system model presented in Chapter 2 to the question of how different categories of impacts, on different parts of a tourism system, might be understood in an integrated sense. This amounts to a suggestion of an ecosystem of

tourism. In particular, this raises issues about environmental impacts in traveller generating regions, an issue ignored in the mainstream literature.

IMPACTS IN PLACES VISITED

Virtually all the literature on the impacts of tourism is about environments of places tourists visit. Certainly that is where the most obvious and dramatic impacts occur although, as Mathieson and Wall (1982) remark, impacts on other phenomena could be studied, and they cite tourists as a possibility. Evidence supporting the assertion that the researchers and commentators have focussed almost exclusively on what happens to places visited, ignoring impacts on environments of other elements, can be found from a literature review.

Mathieson and Wall's (1982) comprehensive study based largely on a review of studies on all kinds of impacts (economic, social, etc.) is one example. The collection edited by de Kadt's (1979) for U.N.E.S.C.O. is especially relevant to developmental issues, and focuses exclusively on places visited. Others studies with this focus include, in the economic sphere, research into the theory of multipliers by Archer (1982) and into applied multipliers by Khan, Seng and Cheong (1990); Chris Hall's (1988) study of economic impacts in Australia; Bull's (1988) study on impacts of tourism-related foreign investment; ten national studies on economic impacts in Europe in the collection edited by Williams and Shaw (1988); Fletcher's (1989) study of input-output analyses; Fish and Gibbons (1989) study of balance of payments issues; and Heng and Low's (1990) study of macroeconomic impacts in Singapore.

In the sphere of socio-cultural impacts, studies have included Noronha's (1979) review for the World Bank; collections edited by Valene Smith (1977,1989); general studies by Pizam (1978) and by Belisle and Hoy (1980); studies on aboriginal cultures by Gale and Jacobs (1987) and Altman (1989); studies of Pacific Island communities including the collection edited by Rajotte and Crocombe (1980) and a general study of Pacific islands by MacNaught (1982); Farrell's (1982) study of Hawaii; studies in Australia by Craik (1988); in Canada by Brayley and Var (1989); and Scrimgeour's (1990) research on social impacts in New Zealand.

A recent review of tourism research concludes "(t)he impact of tourism is the most common theme to emerge from these disparate studies, with varying

emphasis being given to economic, social, cultural and environmental issues depending on the background of the writers concerned" (Douglas Pearce 1989:5). This conclusion came after discussing 23 studies on the theme, all of which were concerned with impacts in places visited. In his chapter titled "Analyzing the Impact of Tourist Development" Pearce (1989:183-243) discusses a wide range of issues associated with tourist destinations. He does note, briefly, that impacts also occur in traveller generating regions, drawing on a study by Thurot (1980). The issue is taken up later, in the third section of this Chapter.

Mathieson and Wall's (1982) study contains a comprehensive review of impacts on environments in places visited by tourists. They divide these impacts into three broad categories: economic, socio-cultural, and physical. Those categories will be used as sub-headings in the discussion to follow. Extra categories could be suggested, but the threefold dissection is useful for indicating the breadth of the impacts. Any division of impacts into different environmental categories is merely a way of focussing on topics because "the distinction is somewhat artificial for, in reality, the boundaries between the categories are indistinct and their contents merge" (Mathieson and Wall 1982:3).

Economic impacts in places visited

In the places they visit, tourists can be thought of as temporary consumers. They come to a region for a while, use its resources and facilities, usually spend money, and then leave. A flow of tourists passing through a region or country typically means money is spent on a wide range of items so the economic impacts of their presence may affect, directly and indirectly, virtually every part of the economy. These impacts can be divided into several kinds; each is discussed in turn:

- Foreign exchange earnings and balance of payments credits
- Business incomes
- Personal incomes
- Governmental incomes
- Employment
- Multiplier effects
- Leisure facilities for locals
- Economic benefits and costs

Foreign exchange earnings and balance of payments credits

Foreign exchange earnings are a direct consequence of international visitors. In most countries foreign exchange earnings from tourists are a minor item in the nation's earnings of foreign exchange (1). In a handful of countries they are a major item. The latter cases include Australia and New Zealand, countries whose economies traditionally had earned their largest portions of foreign exchange from other items but which, in the late 1980s, were reporting international tourism as the top ranked item. The New Zealand statistics for the year to March 1989 are shown in Table 10.1.

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Table 10.1 Major Sources of New Zealand's

Foreign Exchange, 1988-9

Item	Amounts ($mill.)	
Airfares*	752	
Inbound international tourists' expenditure within NZ	1,524	
Total from foreign tourists		2,277
Meat		2,195
Raw wool		1,811
Dairy products		1,793
Agricultural manufacturing		1,256
Other manufacturing		1,733
Other		na

* Foreign visitors' fares on Air NZ

Source: Official statistics reported by N.Z.T.P. (1990:3)

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Theoretical and empirical studies of tourism's impacts in terms of foreign exchange earnings and balance of payments include general descriptions such as by Pearce (1989) and Collier (1989), and specific empirical research such as studies by Fish and Gibbons (1989) and Heng and Low (1990). Positive foreign exchange earnings usually mean a healthy balance of payments which allows national economies to import the range of goods, services and capital needed to sustain material well being. Earnings from inbound international tourists are recorded as a credit to one of the "invisible" items in the balance of payments accounts of each country, following the standardized recording techniques used worldwide. "Invisibles" are not recorded as a trade item; the "balance of trade" (part of the balance of payments) records only the debits and credits of international trade in goods, such as the five items other than tourism in Table 10.1.

Outbound international travel by residents of a country also affects the national balance of payments, since expenditures abroad are debits to that account, a cost to the national economy of the traveller generating country. Many commentators have drawn up national "tourism balances", which compare the foreign exchange earnings from foreign visitors, credits to the balance of payments, with foreign exchange spending by locals on trips abroad, debits, to derive a "tourism gap" - the difference between the two amounts. On this issue Collier (1989) remarked "(i)t should not be assumed that a deficit on the tourism balance of payments is always a bad thing" (ibid:268). However Collier, like some other commentators, may have understated the point. Rather, as Gray (1970) pointed out, the so-called "tourism gap" arises from comparing two variables that are not really related, so the "tourism gap" is an abstraction; its measurement and consideration in national policy is irrelevant and potentially misleading. There is no damage to a national economy if the "tourism gap" is in debit. It is merely an internal book-keeping issue about two opposite items that appear to be related, among the many that determine the economy's balance of payments. A description of the book-keeping methods in national foreign exchange dealings (Reserve Bank 1966) shows how this occurs. Harm may be done to a national economy if the total balance of payments is seriously in debit; what happens between two artificially isolated components on opposite sides of the ledger is irrelevant.

Business incomes

Tourists' expenditures help form the revenues of many business organizations. Because a flow of tourists may be prone to purchase a very wide range of goods

and services on offer, a vast array of business organizations earns revenue from tourists, either directly or indirectly. Collier (1989:264) draws on data in a report from the N.Z. Tourist and Publicity Department to describe many kinds of businesses involved. Stephen Smith (1989) uses corresponding data in Canada to identify a similar list for that country.

Personal incomes

People earn incomes from tourists' expenditure if they are employed in paid jobs in organizations that derive revenue from tourists. People earn income from the same source if they are shareholders in companies that earn profits from tourists. Incomes are a secondary impact, since the primary impact is the business organisation's revenue, passed on in part to its employees as wages and salaries and to its shareholders as dividends. In the economies of Australia and New Zealand, the majority of employees and shareholders is in this category, to varying degrees. A person employed in a resort hotel may be earning 100% of their income from tourists; a person employed in a general retail shop where tourists provide a small portion of the revenue may be earning 1% or so from that source.

Governments' income

Governments derive income from tourists in several ways, and the huge amounts obtained helps explain why governments have shown increasing interest in stimulating the flow of tourists to and within their geographical constituencies. Leiper (1980) identified a range of tourist-related sources of income for governments in Australia, probably applicable in other countries with similar mixed economies. A major portion is in tax. Most of this is usually indirect, the main example being company taxes on the profits of organizations deriving revenue from tourists. Another source, usually minor, is government-owned businesses that earn revenue (and perhaps profits) from tourists. Governments in New Zealand were pioneers of this, although the reason was not so much to earn income for the Government as to stimulate the influx of tourists to New Zealand by developing destination regions that private sector investors regarded as uneconomic. Watkins (1987) and Collier (1989) have described the backgrounds of the Tourist Hotel Corporation and other examples of that policy.

Governments also derive direct taxation revenue from tourists' spending if there is some sort of transaction tax. In several countries a "service tax" of about

10% is imposed by governments on market transactions in hotels and restaurants, particularly those where foreign tourists are prominent. In a few countries, such as Britain and New Zealand, there is a general tax on all market transactions, known as G.S.T. ("goods and services tax") in the latter case. G.S.T. currently takes 12.5% from everything purchased in New Zealand, and comparing this with estimates of expenditure by tourists allows the calculation of interesting estimates. Foreign visitors spent $1,524 million within New Zealand in 1988-9 (see Table 10.1), indicating G.S.T. tax of $190 million.

Employment

Many persons' employment is sustained, to some degree, by the tourists amongst the customers of their employing organisation. In Chapter 3, this issue was discussed in relation to the partial industrialization of tourism systems, showing why care is required when interpreting statistics purporting to represent the number of jobs in the tourism industry. The argument there was that a portion of the employment created and sustained by tourism will be discrete positions and a portion will normally be fractions of positions. The ratio between the two forms of employment will vary.

Multiplier effects

Many studies have dealt with the multiplier effects of tourism, either generally or in reference to particular macro economies. Archer (1982, etc.) is the most widely-cited authority. Recent discussions on the subject include those by Mill and Morrison (1985:225-229), Pearce (1989:205-211), Collier (1989:257-264) and Khan, Sing and Cheong (1990).

Economic multipliers are measures of flow-on effects, the consequences of successive rounds of economic activity. When a tourist spends - $1 or $1,000 - the money becomes income for the recipient, such as a shopkeeper. The shopkeeper later spends all or, more likely, a portion of that revenue, on items such as purchasing new supplies of goods to sell, paying wages to employees, paying dividends to the shop's proprietors. A third round of spending is then triggered off, when those recipients spend their incomes. In each round, over time, the original sum of money circulating in a given economic system (a country or region) gets smaller because the recipients may save some of it, or use some of it for imports,

and /or send some of it abroad, out of the economy, as happens for example with profits remitted to international shareholders. Diminution of the total in successive rounds is termed "leakage", meaning that some of the expenditure "leaks" out of the economy. Eventually, because of leakage, the rounds of activity cease. The ratio of the total amount spent in all rounds of spending to the original sum is the multiplier. For example, $1,000 may generate aggregated amounts in successive rounds amounting to $1,250 in which case the expenditure multiplier is 1.25. Econometric techniques for making the calculation are highly complex, used by only a handful of specialist researchers. Collier (1989:257-264) provides a basic explanation of the techniques that non-specialists could understand. A broad understanding of what the multipliers are about is useful for all managers or professionals who offer advice on governmental policy and who should understand how such policies are decided.

There are several kinds of multipliers associated with tourism: expenditure, employment, income. They may have different values in a given system. Each will almost certainly change its value over time, when patterns of economic activity by tourists alter.

Multipliers are not unique to tourism. They can be (and are) calculated by economists for all sorts of items in regional and national economies. This is the major practical use of the multiplier calculations, a point that many writers on tourism ignore. Knowing that the tourism expenditure multiplier in a certain country was 1.792 in 1990 might be an interesting academic fact, but the knowledge on its own is useless.

The practical gist of measuring economic multipliers is to calculate more than one, from different sectors of the economy, for comparative purposes, to inform decisions about alternative strategies of governments. For example in Fiji inbound tourism was contributing about 12% to Gross Domestic Product in the middle 1980s, a large contribution by international standards, and market indicators were that more growth in tourism was feasible. However "the tourism income multiplier was estimated at about 0.94 which is much lower than sugar, at 1.47" (Central Planning Office, 1985:88). Fijian tourism has high leakages, with about a quarter of total receipts spent on imports (2), and with many resorts owned by foreigners residing overseas there are also leakages caused by dividends remitted abroad.

Measuring the two multipliers is a useful guide to Government policy. Practicalities mean that both major sectors receive support and stimulation from the Government. But the sugar sector should be given higher priority and more stimulation than tourism if a boost to Fijian incomes is wanted.

Leisure facilities for locals

Tourists and local residents of places visited often share facilities for many kinds of leisure. In some cases, tourists make a critical difference in the economics of these facilities, with flow on benefits for locals' use and enjoyment. Examples are myriad. Well-known theatre districts in cities such as London are one kind. Without tourists, local residents would have fewer theatres, fewer productions, briefer runs, and /or higher admission prices. New York provides a similar example, with the guests staying in the huge Waldorf-Astoria and other hotels in its vicinity being a significant market segment behind the development, early this century, of Times Square and Broadway as the centre of New York's entertainment industry.

This economic benefit is a good example of the links between different kinds of environments. Tourists' use of theatres has direct economic advantages for theatres and therefore on the economics of leisure for locals, which carry over as social and cultural benefits for locals. And the structural presence of theatres partly supported by tourism also illustrates how tourism impacts on physical environments.

This category of economic benefits also illustrates the principle that the advantages of tourism are not intrinsic, but arise from particular forms of tourism systems linked with particular attributes of their environments. Leisure facilities will be shared by tourists and locals if the two sets have common tastes and comparable incomes. This is so in places like New York and London. But in Third World countries in particular, the locals and the tourists tend to be quite different in those two (and other) respects, so this economic benefit is uncommon: tourists and locals tend to use separate leisure facilities.

Economic benefits and costs

The economic impacts identified above are all positive ones, beneficial contributions to the overall welfare of the economic environments of places visited.

Alongside positive or beneficial economic impacts there may be negative economic impacts, sometimes referred to as economic costs. Compared to the extensive and detailed research findings that have been published about tourism's economic benefits, "much less is known about the economic costs ... Costs mentioned in the literature include:

- The danger of over dependence on tourism;
- Increased inflation and higher land values;
- An increased propensity to import;
- The seasonality of production;
- Creation of external costs" (Mathieson and Wall 1982:52).

Socio-cultural impacts in places visited

Of the three broad kinds of impacts identified earlier, socio-cultural impacts have generated the greatest quantity of comment, from laypersons and academics. Examples of academic research on the theme, a selection identified in a literature review, was presented earlier in this Chapter.

Societies and their cultures tend to be changed as a result of visits by any outsiders, and tourists are one category. Societies are groups of human beings: culture may be understood as the mix of beliefs, values, knowledge, customs and activities that exist in a society. Most of the writings on the topic of tourism's socio-cultural impacts are concerned with host societies in Third World countries or with minority communities in the industrialized counties of the First World, such as Maori in New Zealand and Indians and Amish in the U.S.A. Articles on this theme in journals such as <u>Annals of Tourism Research</u> and in books such as those edited by Valene Smith (1977,1989) seek answers to questions such as (i) what are the characteristic of tourist-host interactions? (ii) how does tourism change host societies and cultures? (iii) are the changes beneficial or detrimental?

Unlike research into the economic issues, where there tends to be similar findings of net benefits to places visited, research on socio-cultural issues has produced noticeably contrasting findings. Some writers claim that in certain places and given certain conditions, there are beneficial social and cultural impacts, while other writers emphasize damage. Certain writers, such as Scrimgeour (1990), have reported a mix of positive and negative impacts. Therefore the first accurate answer to the question "Does tourism bring socio-cultural benefits to tourist destinations?" is "It depends".

Tourist-host interactions

Central to assessing the social impact of tourism is the nature of interactions between tourists and local residents, their apparent "hosts". Mathieson and Wall (1982) suggested five general characteristics of such interactions. First, they tend to be transitory. They are not long lasting or permanent, so there is seldom a personal commitment to the relationship of the sort often found in non-transitory relationships. An exception is with repeat visitors, tourists who may be more likely to develop friends in places they habitually visit. Second, the interactions are typically brief, occurring over a few minutes or days. Third, in mass destinations, a local resident might personally encounter a continuous flow of tourists, having transitory and brief interactions with each one. Simultaneously, tourists have brief interactions with the sequence of locals they encounter along their itinerary. Fourth, the interactions tend to be unbalanced in certain respects. The hosts are in a familiar environment, going about familiar routines, while the tourists are in unfamiliar environments and are not going about their normal routines. And while the tourists are at leisure, supposedly just enjoying themselves, the hosts are often at work. Fifth, many of the social contacts between hosts and tourists lack spontaneity. Many are brought about by artificial circumstances with the travel and tourism industry presenting its employees in hospitality roles or in staged entertainments for tourists.

Although it said nothing specific on tourism, Goffman's (1964) work on stigma may be useful for extending Mathieson and Wall's (1982) analysis. The combined effects of any of the five characteristics suggested by Mathieson and Wall is that the tourists and their hosts both experience conditions that lead to and reinforce stereotyping. The visitors form stereotyped notions about "the locals", while the hosts form stereotypes about "the tourists". And the central problem about stereotyping, as Goffman has shown, is that it involves attributions of inferiority based in stigma. Because of this, the common forms of contemporary tourism, especially in international systems, are not conducive to fostering mutual understanding between the peoples of the world. They learn little about the reality of one another, as individuals or as societies (3). Tourists may be valued by a host society for the economic benefits they bring, but the tendency in interrelationships between hosts and guests means that the economic value is not complemented with a socio-cultural one.

From the locals' perspective, there are several reasons for pessimistic findings about the general impacts of tourism on host societies and cultures. These reasons include:

(i) Strains of hospitality

In mass tourist destinations, the strains of hospitality can become intolerable to locals. Their home environments seem to be no longer theirs, but used by visitors from outside in such numbers that any economic benefits seem hardly worth the "invasion". Doxey (1975, cited by Mathieson and Wall 1982) found conclusive evidence for this in Niagara and Barbados. The issue is one of carrying capacity, a concept widely used in research on tourism's impacts, having been carried over from pastoralism. Just as farmers can assess how many sheep can be carried on a piece of land without damage to its pasture, assessments can be made as to how many tourists can be carried in a place before the limits are reached in terms of social strains on the locals.

Doxey found that over time, as the numbers of tourists in a region increased towards and past its social carrying capacity (4), the typical attitude of locals towards tourists changed. He identified an "index of irritation by tourists" which describes the stages of the change: euphoria (tourists welcomed wholeheartedly); apathy (neutral attitude); irritation (the beginnings of strains); antagonism (anti-tourist attitudes emerging); xenophobia (intense dislike of outsiders' presence).

The issue is sometimes associated with the world's most popular tourist destination regions, cities such as Paris and London, and with its most popular destination countries, Spain and Italy, claiming that the carrying capacities of these places have been exceeded. Research in London has repudiated the claim there (5) and the findings may be adaptable to other large cities. Some Londoners have moved to the irritation or antagonistic stage because their personal precinct (or local pub) seems to be overrun by tourists. Most Londoners are indifferent, and see only positive benefits, economic and other. Claims about Spain and Italy at the national level stem from abused statistics, confusing flows and stocks and ignoring the dispersal of tourists within the country (6).

(ii) Debasement of local culture by commoditization

Greenwood (1977) describes how the "Alarde", a traditional festival originating in the 17th century with great cultural significance to the residents of the Spanish town of Fuenterrabia, was debased, destroyed in terms of local significance, after it became an "attraction" featured in promotions by the travel and tourism industry. He, and many other writers, have drawn attention to similar debasement or destruction of local culture in many parts of the world.

The commoditization of culture does not require the consent of the participants ... Once set in motion, the process seems irreversible and its very subtlety prevents the affected people from taking any clear cut action to stop it ... Perhaps this is the final logic of capitalist development, of which tourism is an ideal example (Greenwood 1977:137).

Again however, exceptions exist, and these give support to the opinion that tourism per se does not necessarily destroy cultures, or have any other particular impact. It depends on circumstances. There are also ways by which a society can resist being damaged by tourism and ways by which tourism can contribute to a culture's preservation. These two possibilities seem to be linked. Manning (1977) discussing Bermuda, Noronha (1979) on Bali, and Andonicou (1979) on Cyprus all point to factors that can resist damage to cultures exposed to mass tourism, that can mitigate against cultures becoming commodities (7). A major factor is the social strength of the communities, the degree to which they value their own cultures and the way their customs are used by them. But it is much more than a question of pride or self-esteem. Noronha remarked:

Most careful observers of Bali have maintained that tourism has not destroyed Balinese culture. Why is this so? One possible reason is that customary ties with the bandjar (8) are strong ... A second is that tourist routes are well defined, and tourism only touches the fringes of Balinese life ... A third and probably most important reason is ... tourism offers the Balinese an opportunity to profit from what they have always done: dancing, painting, and carving (Noronha 1979:201).

Despite inevitable changes and modernization from tourism and other influences, Balinese cultures seemed to have remain unchanged in many ways

throughout the past few decades. But not all local cultures are as resilient as those in Bali, Cyprus, and Bermuda, and not all societies have been able to comfortably and profitably develop tourist-oriented businesses as have Balinese and Cypriots. Possibly Greenwood's Spanish case is more typical of what is in fact happening worldwide. The Report of the Maori Tourism Task Force (Butterworth and Smith 1987) provides interesting material on the New Zealand case, particularly its photo-essay which shows how Maori cultures have been commoditized by publicity campaigns for more than a century. Gale's (1987) study on Australian aboriginal art and some of its links with tourism is also noteworthy.

(iii) Damage to local society by demonstration effects

Demonstration effects are another impact especially pertinent to destinations where the tourists and the locals differ in terms of income and life-style. Tourists, just by doing the things that tourism involves and by being themselves, demonstrate certain types of lifestyles, behaviour and attitudes to the locals. Many examples could be described. A few examples are arranged under four categories below.

First, tourists demonstrate a life of leisure. They are not seen working, but are seen in self-indulgent pleasure. An extreme form is in resorts where some tourists demonstrate an idle lifestyle while others demonstrate a life of play from dawn to late at night. Locals, seeing a continuous turnover of tourists behaving in these ways, might be unable to recognize that many of them had just escaped from long periods of work and other routines. The locals might assume that continual leisure in any of its apparent forms (idleness, playing) is a normal attribute of modern Western civilization.

Simultaneously, international tourists the world over typically demonstrate a materially rich lifestyle. In many places the average tourist is seen spending rather more money than the typical local resident, being away from home and using hotels, restaurants and other facilities and services. Many tourists wear fashionable clothes and accessories. Compared with many locals in destinations of the Third World, tourists eat and drink copiously. Tourists staying in hotels have servants, doing housework and preparing and serving meals.

Third, tourists demonstrate a highly mobile lifestyle. Locals who seldom if ever travel beyond the next town must be impressed in some way by the demonstration of tourists' ability to range freely from country to country.

Fourth, many tourists behave in ways that transgress local traditional customs. Many instances could be given. The following list itemizes a few examples, each demonstrated many times every day by Western tourists in Asia: not showing reverence towards older persons, appearing semi-naked (or naked), being intoxicated in public, refusing to haggle or bargain over prices in places where that is expected, displaying inability to bargain in the expected manner, kissing in public, displaying emotions in public, and behaving in a sacrilegious way in holy places. Virtually all tourists make at least token efforts to respect local customs, but only a few are able to avoid transgressions of some sort.

Demonstration effects are the impacts on members of local communities. The primary effect is that constant demonstrations of the sorts outlined above create and reinforce stereotypes. Locals form stereotyped impressions about tourists, not as tourists per se but as members of the societies and nations they represent, the tourists' home region or country. Secondary effects can be divided into two opposite reactions, most relevant where the destination is an undeveloped country and the tourists are affluent Westerners. Teenagers and other impressionable locals may be inclined to envy tourists, and to think up ways of copying the demonstrations, desiring the material wealth, mobility, leisure, and the self-indulgent freedom from traditional customs. If so, the problem they then face is how to achieve the ambition ? This leads to tertiary effects. Locally, in communities with unemployment rates of say 40% or more and with the jobs available paying only a few dollars a day, the tempting options for those wanting easy money might be crime or prostitution. A better option might be emigration for which tourists can be perceived not only as a stimulus, but as potential sponsors. And a feeling that the ambitions cannot be fulfilled in any acceptable way may lead to frustration, anomie and apathy.

The opposite reaction to the tourists' demonstrations is more prevalent amongst older and more traditional members of local communities. In them the secondary effect may be that they come to regard tourists as a decadent influence on local societies and cultures, a group useful for local commerce and employment, but a group whose influences on the society and its culture should be minimized. The tertiary effects include frustrated dismay if those damaging influences persist.

Thus tourists unwittingly become the catalysts of change, division and frustration. Demonstration effects lead to changes in locals' attitudes and behaviour. They lead to divisions in the host society. Where they lead to aspirations that cannot be locally achieved by more than a minority of locals, the secondary effects may be frustration or emigration which, in large quantities, breaks up local communities.

(iv) The kinds of jobs created by tourism

In destinations where tourism is in mass proportions, the majority of jobs created are in relatively low paid service occupations. They tend to be avoided if other kinds of work are available. Most are backroom jobs (in kitchens or cleaning) or up-front jobs directly serving tourists in some way. The relative appeal of the latter category soon palls for many; in parts of Asia hotels are finding increasing difficulty attracting and retaining up-front service personnel, because service work means "loss of face" and because now there are better alternatives more readily available (Anon, 1989). A proportion of tourism-related jobs are seasonal, with workers hired for the busy months only. And inevitably in a labour intensive field (many operatives and few managers), the chances of an individual being promoted to managerial status are smaller than in other kinds of work.

(v) Neocolonialism

More than 100 nations have become independent, nominally at least, since 1945. Previously they were colonies of British, French, German, American and other empires. In any newly independent nation there will be particular concerns about re-emerging imperialism, about slipping back to colonial status.

Certain activities of the international travel and tourism industry are said, by some commentators, to represent neocolonialism. This refers to foreign interests using a country as a place for investment, to be exploited by foreign interests with only token regard given to the aspirations and sovereignty of the "national" government. The best jobs are typically occupied by members of the imperial nationality. Land is bought up by the imperialists for various purposes. The issue has been summarized as follows:

Although the legal ties between metropolitan powers (U.S.A., Europe, etc.) and tourist destinations have changed as many developing countries have received independence, the economic relationships between them remain the same. This condition has prompted the charge that tourism is a neocolonial activity (Mathieson and Wall 1982:147).

Until recently this allegation was confined to Third World countries. Now, however, allegations in the U.S.A., Australia, New Zealand and elsewhere about the scale and nature of Japanese investments in those countries and about the absence of significant reciprocal investments in Japan show that this political issue has a wider scope (Bull 1988; Cook 1989).

Chapter 3 introduced the index of tourism industrialization. When that index in a destination increases as a result of foreign investments, the economic benefits to the place are diminished by proportionately greater leakages. A comparative study of three different scales of enterprises in Bali supports that claim. Rodenburg (1980) studied three kinds of tourist accommodations: (a) "large industrial" referred to international standard 5 star hotels, owned by interests outside Bali; (b) "small industrial" were economy class, smaller hotels, some of which are locally owned; (c) "craft" were home-stay guesthouses, smaller again and all owned by the resident operator. The leakage from the Balinese economy was found to be 40% for the first category, 20% for the second, and zero for the third.

The Balinese economy gets best value per dollar spent from tourists staying in simple homestays, because virtually all those sums remain in the Balinese economy. Tourists staying in expensive hotels usually spend more per day, but almost half that expenditure leaks out of the Balinese economy.

(vi) Tourism and immoral conduct

Turner and Ash (1975) discussed prostitution and crime briefly in several chapters of their book. Farrell (1982) discussed the topics in reference to Hawaii. Walmsley, Boskovic and Pigram (1983) have looked at the crime-tourism link in Australia; Hong (1985) presented a collection of press stories about links of tourism-prostitution and crime in South East Asia; Chesney-Lind and Lind (1986) focussed on tourism and crime in Hawaii.

Increasing the scale of tourism in a destination is said by some to lead to an increase in those and other activities that are normally regarded as immoral. There is no doubt that in many places, mass tourism is directly linked prostitution. Both genders are involved, both as users and as prostitutes, in various places.

In many cases, tourists may be relatively easy targets for thieves and robbers, either personally or via hotel rooms where they leave money and possessions. Thefts on the last day or night of a stay are more common in resorts because this gives the thieves an advantage: chances are the victims will not postpone departure in order to make official reports to the police.

Three parties gain from crime against tourists: the criminals, and two parties located as a rule in the traveller generating country: the insurance industry, and travel agents who earn high commissions by selling travel insurance policies. Two parties lose. Tourists lose directly as victims, and indirectly, collectively, by paying high insurance premiums. And business interests in any destination lose if crimes against tourists there are perceived to be common, because the perception deters visitors. Because this last issue depends on perceptions rather than facts, it is a sensitive one for mass media reports.

(vii) Tourists as invaders: Origins of hospitality

Another item in the list of detrimental impacts has not been suggested in the literature to date. It is a minor impact, usually temporary, but a pervasive one because it occurs whenever a stranger arrives in a place. Tourists, on arrival, are invaders of territory that locals regard as their own, because the arrival challenges what Ardrey (1967) termed the "territorial imperative". One lone stranger is sufficient; in mass the threat is amplified. Territorial imperative relates to inner space where locals have their houses and to its regional periphery used for leisure, "the border region where the fun goes on" (ibid:170). Tourists invade that periphery, so locals have to deal with them in some way. Ardrey's work is useful not only for identifying this point but for inferring its implications. The negative impact, the threat, must be eliminated if the locals are to tolerate the presence of tourists. How do locals retain their sense of territorial imperative following an invasion by a tourist?

One way is by recognizing the invader as a temporary visitor, not come to stay permanently, not come with the intention of causing harm, and not likely to cause

harm individually. This is achieved by recognizing that the invader is "a tourist". Once an individual stranger is recognized as "a tourist" he or she no longer constitutes a threat to territorial imperative. This is, perhaps, another reason why the expression "tourist" is often disparaging: applying to an individual it signifies a false threat to territorial imperative.

A related way by which locals retain their sense of territorial imperative is by being hospitable. A display or inner feeling of hospitality to strangers entering one's territory is behaviour, instinctive or learnt, for dealing with outsiders. Ardrey believes it is instinctive and showed (Ardrey 1967:269 et seq.) how threats of enmity by invaders produce expressions of amity by residents. If the invader responds positively or neutrally to the display of amity (to the hospitality), the local perceives that the threat is over, and the visitor has accepted the "welcome". Thus the disruption to the local society is temporary, in this respect.

Over time, a local community may be able to adjust to a certain quantity of tourists by this means. The acculturation process may take a lengthy period, as any dramatic change requires. Correspondingly, damage to a host community might be severe if the year-by-year rate of growth in tourist arrivals is high. Thus "tourism" in a mass sense contains an opposite reason for disparagement to the comment above about "tourist" applied to an individual: "tourism" can signify a real threat of territorial loss when the strains of hospitality become aggravated by excessive numbers.

Socio-cultural benefits in places visited

While arguments and evidence exist for many sorts of damage or threats to socio-cultural environments, there are examples of societies and their cultures benefiting when places are visited by tourists. Mutually beneficial exchanges at the individual level can occur everywhere, leading to pleasure and understanding for both parties, host and guest. In certain places, tourists provide a rationale for preserving local cultures, as a form of attraction, which can benefit those cultures.

Political uses of tourism in places visited

Stock's (1977) research showed how the Israeli Government has used inbound tourism in various ways as an arm of policy, to help its own international strategies

and to bring various benefits to the population. Enzensberger (1976) has described in detail a similar policy, but one with rather different tactical implications, pursued by several socialist governments since just after the 1917 Revolution in Russia, when Lenin began using tourism as a means of influencing foreign opinions about the Soviet Union. Many governments, of different political persuasions, seem to be active in this respect in a token way. Few have been so assiduous as in Israel and the U.S.S.R.

Case-by-case differences: socio-cultural impact in places visited

A study for the World Bank and U.N.E.S.C.O. concluded that "Tourism can make a substantial contribution to the economic and social development of many countries (as destinations)" (de Kadt, 1979:339). The crucial word is "can". There are wide differences case-by-case, as different chapters in the report edited by de Kadt show. Some countries have gained economically by becoming tourist destinations; in others any economic benefits seem to have been outweighed by economic costs and by socio-cultural damage. The conclusion must be that the critical questions are the forms of tourism, the alternative roles of the travel and tourism industry, the rate of growth and change, and other factors.

Impacts on physical environments of places visited

The physical environment comprises the "natural" and the built. Cohen (1978) has provided a useful theoretical discussion, as have Pearce (1989) and others. Bosselman (1978) discussed eight cases, seeking management principles for protecting places from tourism-related damage. Budowski (1976, cited by Mathieson and Wall, 1982:96) pointed out three possible relationships between tourism and the physical environments of places visited: independence (no impact); conflict (damage to the environment); and symbiosis (mutual benefits for tourism and the environment). The first possibility is only found in places visited by a very few tourists. The discussion below deals first with conflict, and with symbiosis second.

Conflict: damaging impacts

Damage attributed to tourism (systems) has been reported for several aspects of physical environments: water, vegetation, air, wildlife, aesthetics, and fragile

ecosystems. A huge range of literature can be found on this issue. Papson (1979:254) quotes from the United Nations' 1979 State of the World Environment Report which noted that "countless hotels, roads and other facilities provided for tourists ruin the beauty of the sea coast, disturb the peace of the country, and rob the mountains of their grandeur". This points to a commonly-made observation: Tourism (implying mass tourists and /or facilities created for them) often damages or destroys the very qualities in a place that made it seem attractive. Examples have been cited in virtually every country.

Using the model of tourism systems, one can argue that damage may stem from tourists, or from the travel and tourism industry, or from commerce in the environment on the fringes of that industry, or from all these items, interacting in a system and its environments. The next two cases illustrate this. Clare's (1971) study of the Barrier Reef off the Queensland coast included a section about one of the few parts of the reef easily accessible from the mainland, Green Island, near Cairns. This is an example of a point made by Cohen (1978), that the worst environmental effects occur in the least resilient ecosystems. By 1971 Green Island's coral was mostly dead and discoloured, and a remarkable link in the ecosystem, the coral reef fish, were very rare. Large numbers of tourists in a small area were partly responsible for killing the coral, by walking on the reef and by collecting shells. Support facilities for tourists did the rest of the damage: raw sewage pumped into the sea when the salt-water septic system breaks down, and oil spills from boats. The second case, not about an especially fragile ecosystem, comes from a report on London, illustrates how detrimental impacts on physical and social environments are linked:

> **The level of hotel activity in these areas has led to considerable loss of local amenity to remaining residents, through vehicular obstructions, high traffic flows, lack of parking space because of competition from hotel guests and staff, and late night activity and noise ... In many cases the use has had a greater adverse impact on the environment that the visual effect of the hotel buildings (City of Westminster, Hotels and Tourism, cited by Young, 1973:122).**

The comments support the point made earlier about large cities. Generally these are quite resilient to socio-cultural damage from visitors and instead, are well placed to gain economically since they are a highly popular form of tourist

destination. But precincts within large cities bear environmental costs, since tourists and their support facilities are prone to cluster.

Mathieson and Wall (1982:102-116) describe damage to several kinds of physical environments. Vegetation can be damaged when (too many) wildflowers flowers are collected, a point not always apparent to the individual collector. Chopping trees for firewood and disposing rubbish along or near the tracks in parks are similar examples. Pedestrian and vehicular traffic, in sufficient quantities, can damage vegetation in off-road environments. Both hunting and photographing animals in the wild can destroy local communities of those animals. Including photography with hunting in the comment reinforces the principle that the damage is dependent on circumstances. Constant flows of tourists photographing wildlife may disrupt feeding and breeding, and disrupt the natural predator-prey relationships. The ecosystem breaks down, even though each tourist thinks she or he is not causing any damage.

Bosselman's (1978) report, In The Wake of the Tourist: Managing Special Places in Eight Countries, discusses London, Jerusalem, Ayers Rock, Cote d'Azur, Amsterdam, Cancun (Mexico) and other places. He stressed that damage will occur if places "develop" in an unplanned or badly planned manner. He pointed out how some of the worst damage to the built environments has come from greedy and short-sighted organizations within the tourism industry. He showed that superficially well-meaning sentiments from governments and pro-forma planning processes are both insufficient.

Five kinds of damage to the built environment have been linked with badly designed or inadequately administered resort development (9). These are architectural pollution (ugly buildings, or buildings inappropriate to their situations); ribbon development, (where resorts sprawl along a coast); overloading of infrastructure (insufficient sewerage, roads, power, etc.); segregation of local residents (as described above, under "Leisure Facilities"); and traffic congestion.

A modern activity that is damaging the environments of many national parks is the increasing use of helicopters for transporting tourists for sightseeing or for skiing etc. and for transporting park rangers going on routines. Obviously helicopters should have a role in wilderness parks, a limited role, for essential services. The problem is when their use extends beyond what is really essential.

For the minority of park visitors (and employees) who use helicopters, the activity might be an efficient use of time. For the majority, other visitors who have a primary desire for passive or active recreation in a special setting, helicopters buzzing overhead are intrusions which destroy the very qualities that bring people to national parks - environmental qualities of peace and nature totally away from the shocks of modern technology. "Shocks" of that type are detrimental, as Schivelburch (1986) showed in an analysis of industrial technology's human impacts. Thus the utility of the park for the majority, the common wealth, is diminished because of the privileged status of a minority.

This should concern anyone wanting to conserve the touristic use of national parks, especially in wilderness and semi-wilderness areas. Yet the tourism industry in Australia and New Zealand seems to be largely acquiescent about more helicopters operating in the national parks of these countries. For instance, at the 1987 Annual Conference of the N.Z. Tourist Industry Federation the head of one of a company using helicopters for sightseeing tours and skier transport presented a speech arguing in favour of even greater freedoms for helicopters in national parks: most delegates indicated support and none raised criticisms.

Symbiosis between tourism and physical environments

In a great many cases there is symbiosis between tourism and the physical environments of those places. A symbiotic relationship is a mutually beneficial one, advantageous to both interests. Mathieson and Wall (1982:98-101) describe four forms of symbiosis where tourism serves conservation and vice-versa. Adding examples different from those in that source, the four forms are as follows.

Tourism has stimulated organizations to rehabilitate existing structures such as historic sites, buildings and monuments. Hundreds of examples could be found. Borobodur, the famous temple built a thousand years ago near Jogyakarta, was falling in decay recently but was rehabilitated in the 1980s at huge expense to U.N.E.S.C.O. because of two factors, its significance in World Heritage and its importance to Central Java's role as a tourist destination. The Marais quarter in Paris has been undergoing rehabilitation (at the expense of French taxpayers) since the 1960s. Its new and growing role in Parisian tourism is a major stimulation for these projects. The Rocks in Sydney is a case like the Marais, an old part of the city

that was revitalized. In 1969, in all probability many residents of Sydney did not know The Rocks' location, and relatively few tourists went to the maze of old streets north west of the central business district. By 1980 it was one of the most visited zones in Australian tourism, according to official surveys.

Second, tourism has stimulated organizations to transform old sites and structures into new forms useful for tourists. The Argyle Arts Centre and the Old Sydney Hotel are two examples amongst many in one part of The Rocks, Sydney. Both were unused warehouses. Today the first is a multi-story array containing arts and crafts workshops, shops and restaurants; the second has been transformed inside to become a hotel. Both are popular sites for tourists' activities. The Powerhouse Museum in Sydney is another example. In 1980 its central building housed an unused power generator; in 1988, transformed into a museum of technology, it recorded several million visitors.

A third symbiotic link is where tourism is an impetus for conserving natural resources. In New Zealand especially, and to a lesser degree in many other countries, tracts of the country have been set aside as national parks with tourism being a major rationale. This has been a prominent theme in policies of New Zealand governments from the late 19th century to the present.

Fourth, tourism issues are partly behind the introduction of organizational and managerial processes designed to maintain the qualities of environments. The Victorian Alpine Commission is a good example. It has wide-reaching authority to manage many aspects of human activity in the mountains north of Melbourne, which contain several tourist resorts. In its designated geographic area, the V.A.C. has far greater authority and responsibility than ordinary governmental departments of tourism in Australia and New Zealand, which have little authority, only advisory roles, in relation to most aspects of tourism.

TOWARDS AN ECOLOGY OF TOURISM SYSTEMS

The discussion to date in this Chapter has followed the main theme in the literature, viewing impacts of tourism as environmental consequences in places tourists visit. In this section, a different approach to the impacts of tourism is followed.

A model of whole tourism systems, such as that proposed in Chapter 2, offers a framework for developing theories of their ecology. This is similar to Thurot's (1980) approach, who used a simpler variation of the model (lacking an industrial element) to suggest how certain impacts occur on environments of generating regions. Besides Thurot's suggestion, the ecology of whole tourism systems does not seem to have been addressed in the literature. What follows is speculative since ecological theories are fraught with the problems of any rapidly evolving discipline (Saarinen 1982). Ecology differs from conventional sciences in its objective and approach:

Where sciences such as physics, and even much of biology, seek to reduce the world to its simple elements, ecology seeks to understand how the simplest constituents interact to give rise to the living world we actually perceive with our senses (Flanagan 1988:167).

Ecology, therefore, is fundamentally similar in its approach to general systems theory: "The main objective of systems thinking is to reverse the subdivision of the sciences into smaller and more highly specialized disciplines through an interdisciplinary synthesis of existing scientific knowledge" (Schoderbeck et al 1975:7).

Proposing a system of tourism ecology would involve suggesting how environmental impacts are inter-connected across different elements in a whole tourism system. Whole tourism systems comprise five elements. To date in this Chapter, just one of the five has been considered. In the following sections, all five elements are discussed: Tourists, Tourist destination regions, Transit routes, Traveller generating regions, and Travel and tourism industries. A final section (An ecological balance) describes how impacts are integrated across a whole system.

Tourists

Are there impacts of tourism on the central participants in tourism systems, tourists? Research by Crompton (1979), Cohen (1979), Phillip Pearce (1982), Krippendorf (1987) and others have shown that tourists are not homogeneous in terms of their motivations, preferences and manifest behaviour. While this indicates a risk in making generalizations about typical impacts, it does not mean that such generalizations are deficient. For example Trachenberg, writing in the

foreword to Schivelbusch's <u>The Railway Journey</u>, described the general impacts on people in the 19th century who took up using the new mode of travel:

> **Compared to what it replaced, the journey by stage coach, the railway journey produced novel experiences - of self, of fellow travellers, of landscape (now seen as swiftly passing panorama), of space and of time. Mechanized by seating arrangements and by new perceptual coercions (including new kinds of shock), routinized . . .**

> **by schedules, by undeviating pathways, the railroad traveller underwent experiences analogous to military regimentation - not to say 'nature' transformed into a 'commodity' (Trachenberg, in Schivelbusch, 1986:xiv).**

Schivelbusch's context, industrialized transport, is directly relevant to the industrialization of tourism. When highly dependent on the tourism industry tourists are, literally, resources of an industrial process and also the outputs or main products of an industry, a point expressed succinctly by analogy: "The timber industry processes timber. The metal indusry processes metal. The tourist industry processes tourists" (Krippendorf 1987:19). The "commoditization" referred to by Trachenberg, and also by Greenwood (1977) and other writers on tourism, can be seen to hinge on the industrialization of tourism. In a non-industrialized context, tourists are beyond that commoditization process, following the argument proposed in Chapters 3 and 4.

Irrespective of whether or not tourism is industrialized, tourists tend to be changed, in diverse ways, by their experiences. The changes are not always profound or long-lasting, and they are not always or necessarily beneficial. They might be pleasurable and beneficial, such as a person returned home after a holiday feeling relaxed and refreshed or satisfied that they have gained knowledge about the places visited. The changes in certain cases might also be unpleasant and disadvantageous: a person returned home suffering from a disease acquired while away. The changes might be related to the satisfaction of the motivations for making the trip, or might have stemmed from incidental experiences encountered while away from home.

Any change brought about in a person as a consequence of them going on a touristic trip can be regarded as an impact of tourism.

Tourist Destination Regions

In Chapter 6, two broad types of tourism, wanderlust and sunlust, were used to analyse patterns of gambling. Do the two types have implications for the sorts of environmental impacts incurred in destinations? The literature on impacts does not appear to have used this dichotomy, but a speculative suggestion can be offered. In a predominantly sunlust destination, the length of visit tends to be longer and, over the years, a significant incidence of repeat visitation could be expected. These two patterns should lead to greater attention being given to conserving the environmental qualities of the place, by tourists and by the tourism industry. Where a place is predominantly a wanderlust destination, length of visit might tend to be briefer and repeat visitation could be expected to be less. As a consequence, compared with the sunlust destination, tourists might feel less involved personally with conservation issues in the region. Simultaneously, interests in the tourism industry might have less commitment to conserving environmental qualities in a region where most of the visitors are first-timers, unable to gauge change from a series of visits. Empirical research in selected places could investigate these possibilities.

In Chapter 7, two categories of tourist destination were identified, labelled "primary" and "secondary". Does the distinction affect the kind of impact on a place's environments? The literature on impacts has not considered the issue to date, but a speculative suggestion can be offered. A place which is largely a primary as against secondary destination may have more attention being given to environmental impacts (optimizing benefits, minimizing damage and costs) by all interest groups: tourists, managers in the industry, local residents) than a place which is predominantly a secondary destination. This is because of the relatively greater significance of tourism-related activities in primary destinations. Specific research, focussing on selected regions, could investigate this possibility.

Transit Routes

A literature review on impact studies indicates that researchers on this topic do not appear to have distinguished between transit routes and tourist destinations. Rather, the common approach has been to treat all places visited by tourists as a destination or tourist centre. Thurot (1980, cited by Douglas Pearce 1989) is an exception, describing how certain impacts occur in transit routes. The more

common approach was followed for example by Scrimgeour (1990), whose research ignored the demonstrable fact that a significant proportion of touristic visitors in Ohakune are passing through, going somewhere else, while for a minority, the town is a place they have chosen to stay for a day or more. The implications for the present discussion are fundamentally the same as those suggested in the preceding paragraphs about different kinds of destination regions.

Traveller Generating Regions

Thurot (1980, cited by Douglas Pearce 1989:189-191) suggested that certain impacts are manifest in generating regions. These impacts are consequences of unsatisfactory experiences in a destination, termed by Thurot the destination region's saturation / loss of amenity. Such consequences have negative impacts on the travel market in the corresponding generating region (where the trips began) manifested in limits to propensity to travel in future, changing choice of destinations, and a search for better quality experience on future trips.

Arguably, the points raised by Thurot and discussed by Pearce are not comprehensive and ignore a major impact on generating regions.

A more comprehensive approach to understanding impacts in traveller generating regions is to focus on the fact that this is where trips end. Tourists' trips begin here, and end here. The generating region is also the ultimate travel destinations of tourists, so it is where any final impacts of the process manifest in tourists themselves will be recorded. Whether or not tourists go on future trips, and whether they choose to visit a new destination and search for quality experiences, three points raised by Thurot, are not fundamental issues; they are relevant only in terms of explaining patterns of future tourism.

What, if anything, does a region or country gain when its residents return at the end of touristic trips? The answer must be qualified. It depends on the characteristics and condition of individual travellers, on their experiences while away, and on their circumstances back home after the trip. However, certain broad and general answers can be suggested. Assuming that tourists' motivations are satisfied, to some extent at least, during their trips, the generating region gains the following benefits. Certain of its residents are changed, as a consequence of their trips, by having leisure-related experiences.

In Chapter 5, the characteristics of tourism as a form of leisure were analysed. Broadly, the argument was that tourists seek, and optimally derive (!), satisfactions of recreational and / or creative experiences. They return home changed from their condition pre-trip, being re-created in some way (eg rested, relaxed, entertained) and possibly having achieved some creative experience besides (learned something about the world, about them self). The socio-economic environments of traveller generating regions may benefit from this impact in a number of ways.

Kaplan's (1975) analysis of leisure functions is appropriate here. Leisure as a social instrument includes workers returning to work after recreational holiday trips who may be more productive workers, as a consequence of recreational experiences which give energy and a sense of belonging to their home (working) society. Secondly, leisure as an end in itself includes people generally returning to their home and work environments feeling better as people as a result of leisure-based experiences while away on trips. A third function of leisure is the "development of personality - a willing cultivation of the physical and mental self over and above utilitarian considerations of job and practical advancement" (Kaplan 1975:144). This too, may often transpire with tourism, accruing to the socio-cultural environments of places as a consequence of their earlier role as traveller generators.

Do these benefits occur, in fact? No conclusive evidence exists, since the question has not, apparently, been investigated scientifically. Circumstantial evidence can be offered however. Arguably, a factor behind patterns of repeat tourism, a well-established fact (Young 1973), is that individuals are motivated to go on trips because they found previous trips satisfying. The causal link has not been proven, although Stear's (1984) field research did find evidence for it. Alternatively, motivations for trips might not be significantly connected with previous travel experiences, but might be based on present mental states and expectations of future satisfactions formed from extraneous sources, such as advertising and conversations with acquaintances. Dann's (1977) findings about the significance of anomie and ego-enhancement as travel motivators would lend weight to the latter possibility.

Assuming that individuals and their home societies do, as a general rule, gain advantages after individuals return from trips, are there costs to the environments of travel generating regions?

The **first** impact of tourism on a travel generating region is, usually, an economic cost, represented by the money and free time accumulated in the environments of that region by its residents at work, and later consumed (used up) by them on trips outside the region. This economic cost may be offset in part if a portion of the trip's expenses are paid pre-trip to an organisation, in the local vicinity, for arranging the itinerary. In such conditions a portion of the economic cost might be retained in the travel generating region, with its consequential economic effects: business and personal income and employment in the travel agency, airline and /or tour wholesaler.

Feedback in tourism systems

Feedback is a key concept in systems theory (Bertalanffy 1972; Beer 1975; Tompkins 1981; August Smith 1982). It is a minor part of a system's outputs which becomes one of its inputs: "Feedback input represents only a very small portion of a system's output" (Schoderbek et al 1975:35).

Whole tourism systems and their indeterminate sub-systems have many functional feedback processes. The most significant may be termed "pure feedback" functioning at the whole system level. This refers to the seemingly universal habit of people talking about their trips after they return home. Information passed on to acquaintances then influences the recipients' knowledge and perceptions about tourism in general and about specific places and services. The reactions may be positive, negative, or a mix. This process is described as "pure feedback" because it is not usually solicited, but occurs spontaneously when the dynamic element in a tourism system (a tourist) interacts with the social environments of a static element in the same system (generating region). Beer (1975:107), emphasized a distinction between feedback which occurs spontaneously or automatically in a system (as with a thermostat, for example) and another kind of information sometimes called "feedback" which depends on requests for certain information. Managers in organisations often use the expression in the latter sense: "Give me some feedback on ...". Beer suggests that understanding systems is helped by keeping "feedback" for spontaneous or automatic cases.

The significance of pure feedback at the whole system level is indicated in Nolan's (1976) research. He did not use terms such as "system" or "feedback", but

these concepts can be applied to his work. His research measured the frequency of use, and the credibility, of each source of information used by two samples of tourists (n = 626; and n = 1,105) in the U.S.A. The sources included personal acquaintances, guidebooks, travel agents, governmental tourist offices, commercial tourist information, promotional publications, and automobile clubs. Nolan found the most frequently used **and** the most credible source was personal acquaintances.

The travel and tourism industry

The survival of organisations forming travel and tourism industries is evidence of positive economic impacts accruing to this element in tourism systems. Specifically these impacts include sufficient revenue gained by each organisation to pay wages and cover other costs, generating sufficient profits for the owners. In practice, as with most industries, in tourism certain enterprises are profitable and others unprofitable. This leads to turnover as new organisation enter and a proportion of existing organisations exit, so shaping evolutionary trends of the industry.

Simultaneously, the forms of tourism preferred by tourists in the market are another impact on the environments of the industry. If fewer tourists want pre-packaged group tours, demand for this type of product decreases and the supply offered in the market is likely to shrink, so changing the pattern of the tour operator sector and the industry at large. Simultaneously, other forms of tourism may be increasing in popularity, so that market-related environments give signs to organisations in the business of tourism to add supply. The growth of "back-packer hotels" in New Zealand during the 1980s is an example. The trend is apparent from field observations, although no formal research on the subject has been reported to date.

Nolan's (1975) research, discussed earlier, is another facet of environmental impacts on the industry. Nolan's findings can be interpreted to mean that the most significant form of feedback comes from non-industrial sources, from the environment, found to be more widely used and more believable than sources within the industry. This represents further evidence for the argument in Chapter 3 about partial-industrialization. Simultaneously, it corresponds with the concepts of attractions systems discussed in Chapter 9, showing the importance of non-industrial detached markers.

The discussion in Chapter 3 about partial-industrialization argued that impacts on environments should not be attributed entirely to the industry. This point bears reiteration in the present discussion. For example $2,277 million is estimated to have been earned as foreign exchange by the New Zealand economy from tourists in 1988-9 (N.Z.T.P.1990:3). Attributing the sum to work by the travel and tourism industry requires assuming that all the direct recipients of that expenditure were in the business and industry of tourism. The probability is that a portion should be attributed to non-industrialized businesses in New Zealand's tourism systems, organizations in the environments rather than systemic elements.

An ecological balance

| traveller generating region | transit routes | tourist destination regions |

cost: economic cost
of trips

benefit: economic
gains from tourists'
expenditure

benefit: humanistic
and socio-cultural
gain of returned
tourists

cost: environmental
costs from tourists'
and industry's
activities.
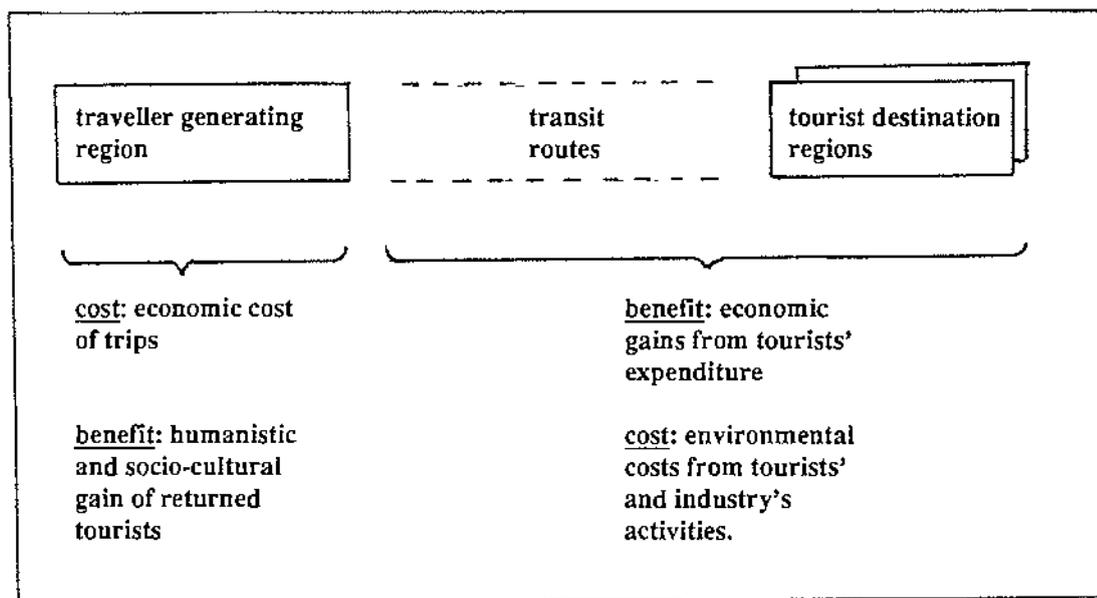
Figure 10.1 Ecological balance in a whole tourism system

Figure 10.1 depicts the ecology of a simple tourism system. From the discussion above, this hypothetical arrangement can be suggested. It has the following assumptions: (a) tourists spend nothing on their trips pre-departure; (b) all expenditure remains in the destination and transit route, with no leakage of the sort discussed by Archer (1982) and Chan, Seng and Cheong (1990); (c) any environmental costs incurred by the destination and transit route are balanced by expenditures received there; and (d) tourists derive satisfaction from the trips,

positive benefits accruing to them as individuals and to their home society and economy.

Ecology was described above as a way of bringing together the simplest components (of some system) to describe the living world as perceived by our senses. The living world of tourism is, arguably, often seen myopically, by looking only at what happens in places visited by tourists. A broader perception, taking into account the framework of whole tourism systems, gives a different kind of understanding.

In practice, complications to the basic model are many. The simple ecology is distorted for example when signficiant leakage occurs out of destinations, with tourists' expenditures flowing back to generating regions in the form of remitted profits and payments for imports. The discussion in Chapter 8, about investments by Japanese tourism interests in overseas destinations, indicates the complication. These issues have not been researched extensively, either in theory or empirically. The discussion in this Chapter includes a basic theoretical model which may be useful as a foundation for more refined theory and field research.

Environmental issues, important as they are, represent only one concern for those with managerial, policy and other interests in tourism. The next Chapter, "Management in Tourism Systems", discusses certain broader issues.

Notes

1. Every country in the world is visited by tourists, so foreign exchange earnings from tourism contributes to every country's balance of payments.

2. Imports to Fiji include many items widely demanded by tourists but not made locally, including such things as processed and packaged food, wines and spirits, inner-spring mattresses, western style bathroom equipment and plumbing, air-conditioning units, cars for rent.

3. Excepting long periods immersed in a foreign country and its culture, such that it creases to be "foreign", the best method for gaining knowledge and understanding of a foreign culture may be formal study, from books. Tourists on classic Grand Tours used both methods (Towner 1985). Many tourists these days are denied the former method, being unable to spend weeks or months away, and perhaps unwilling to pursue the latter.

4. A different concept which can also be measured is physical carrying capacity, a quantity of visitors that a place can accommodate in a certain sense (number of beds, number of spaces).

5. Several research reports from official tourism organisations in England, such as the English Tourist Board, are examples.

6. Turner and Ash (1975:12-13) noted that arrivals in Spain increased from 7 millions in 1961 to 34.6 millions in 1973 and claimed that since the Spanish population is "a mere 34 millions, some social impact is inevitable". Their data are doubly misleading. First, Turner and Ash compared a flow (arrivals per annum) with a stock (the resident population). This can be corrected. The annual influx of 34.6 million arrivals in 1973 resulted in an average daily stock of about 800,000 tourists, given the average visit of 9 nights (W.T.O. annuals). So for every tourist there were more than 40 Spanish residents, not one for one as Turner and Ash claim.

Second, Turner and Ash ignored the different geographic dispersals of the two populations. The 800,000 tourists were concentrated in certain places on the Mediterranean such as Mallorca, Costa del Sol and Costa Brava (Pearce 1987:136). The resident population has a different pattern, concentrated in scattered cities and towns throughout the country: Madrid, Barcelona, Seville, Saragossa and others.

7. "A fundamental characteristic of the capitalistic system is that anything that can be priced can be bought and sold. It can be treated as a commodity. This offers no analytical problem when local people are paid to perform for tourists (when) they are being reimbursed for performing a service consumed on the spot. It is not so clear when activities of the host culture are treated as part of the 'come on' without their consent and are invaded by tourists who do not reimburse them for their 'service' (Greenwood 1978:130).

8. 'Bandjar' has several related meanings in Balinese. It is the principal unit of society, a collection of one to two dozen families. It is also the main meeting house of that community (also used in certain cases for staging dance and music shows for tourists). It is also the administrative unit, over the community's residential and farming land, for allocating resources. One village may have several contiguous bandjars. Kuta for example, a village famous as a tourist region, comprises more than a dozen bandjars.

9. Any new business project tends to be called "a development" which may be misleading since the expression connotes something of general value. In certain cases this is questionable.

CHAPTER 11 : MANAGEMENT IN TOURISM SYSTEMS

INTRODUCTION

A comprehensive discussion on the management of a given field would require too many topics for one chapter in a study such as this. Accordingly, the scope of the following discussion is restricted to certain aspects of managing in tourism systems. The topics were selected to provide a multi-themed basis for comparing managing in tourism systems under two conditions: high and low levels of industrialization, concepts introduced in Chapter 3. Both extremes are hypothetical, neither will be proposed as ideal. The purpose of the bipolar framework is to clarify aspects of management under partial-industrialization, the condition which normally exists with tourism.

The discussion is arranged under seven headings. The first topic, drawing on the management literature and material from earlier chapters in this study, is the scope and limits of management in tourism systems. The second is seasonal fluctuations, the basis of a widely-acknowledged problem about tourism. Third, the concept of proliferating variety and its managerial implications, discussed in works by Beer (1959,1966,1975,1979,1985), are applied to tourism. Fourth, marketing management and the use of feedback are discussed, integrating material from earlier chapters. Fifth, the organisational foundations for an industry, discussed in Chapters 3 and 4, are considered in terms of Mintzberg's (1979,1983) managerial concept, "structure in fives". The sixth topic reviews an issue introduced in an earlier chapter. Who, in fact, manages tourism? This leads into a discussion about the role of governments in tourism systems. A final topic offers general conclusions.

THE SCOPE AND LIMITS OF MANAGEMENT IN TOURISM SYSTEMS

"Management" can refer to a set of roles that people perform, to the people in those roles, and to the functions pursued. The functions are often listed as a condensed set. Love (1988) identified five key functions: planning, directing, organising, staffing and controlling; Pearce and Robinson (1989) reduced the set to four by integrating "staffing" under organising; Thomson and Ali (1989) refer to four "basic activities": planning, organising, leading and controlling. The classical

theorist Follet (1933,1960) emphasized that coordinating is a major and central function which should be discrete in any set, not subsumed under another function such as organising. Follet's point has been modelled in systemic form to describe how the functions are integrated in practice (Leiper 1989). In that model the coordination function refers to managers drawing on information, from sources such as planning and controlling, and applying that information, systemically, to other managerial functions, immediately manifested in directing or leading, and carried into the next round of planning and controlling. Carroll (1988) identified a wider set of functions, drawing on replicated empirical research: planning, representing, investigating, negotiating, coordinating, evaluating (a synonym for controlling), staffing, and supervising. The set can be remembered by an acronym (PRINCESS) drawn from the list. An individual manager may perform all those functions; more commonly, teams of managers share overlapping responsibilities.

Real and effective management requires power of some sort(s) over what is to be managed. At the individual level, human beings begin managing their lives after a time as infants when they have no power to do so. At the social level, the subject of management are organisations, which are ...

... groupings of people working in a prescribed or structured fashion towards predetermined ends ... Management involves the conscious integration of organizational activity to achieve chosen ends (Thomson and Thomson 1989:52).

Managers can manage the inputs, processes and outputs of their organizational systems. Managers cannot do anything about their organisation's environments, according to Churchman's (1968:36) principle. He clarified the distinction between a system and its environments by regarding environments as those factors outside an organizational system's control, but which may influence its performance. Thus the scope and limits of management depends on the organizational systems within which managerial power is executed.

For example tourism involves very open systems, which means environmental factors play a large part and managers' work has a correspondingly smaller scope. A manager in a travel agency for instance cannot influence the weather in tourist destinations, cannot govern how the locals will behave, and cannot know how every other business organisation will behave in relation to tourists.

But managers in one organisation can and do exert controlling influences on the behaviour of certain other, nominally independent organisations, by communicating with them. As Wiener (1950) showed in a seminal work on cybernetics, to communicate is to exert a controlling influence. In principle, when a manager in one organisation cooperates or coordinates work with another organisation in the same line of business the inter-organizational relationship is changed. The relationship ceases to be environmental and becomes systemic. This is a factor in the formation of industries, following the discussion in Chapter 3.

When managers from two or more organisations in the business of tourism cooperate or coordinate their activities to some degree, a wider scope for managerial activities comes into being. These activities attempt, in effect, to push out the boundaries of the industrial sub-system, to put managers in a position to control what was formerly part of the environment of each independent organisation. They still cannot manage all of those environmental factors, but in an industrial state they are better able to deal with two aspects of tourism systems.

The two may be intertwined in practice. The first involves managing travel logistics. This refers to facilities, services and formalities for getting travellers from place to place, involving transport and accommodation mainly but extending to items such as passports and visas. The second involves managing touristic experiences. This refers to facilities, services and formalities for converting travellers into tourists in a behavioural sense. It involves all the methods used to foster their experiences of leisure and their enjoyment of those experiences. Chapters 2, 5, 6, 8 and 9 contain discussions directly pertinent to this issue. Both aspects involve managers working independently within their own organisation and also working in coordination with other organisations. Bringing governmental bodies into the system is often necessary in both cases, especially the first since efficient travel logistics depend critically on many publicly-managed items.

Travel logistics has been the more common of the two aspects in managerial work in the travel and tourism industry. This conclusion is supported by findings from a survey of managers, to identify their tasks and measure the time spent on each (N.T.I.T.C. 1984). Getting the capabilities for logistics in place, and ensuring their operational effectiveness and efficiency, are the usual priority and take the most time. Tourists' experiences, the second aspect, might be largely left to chance

and to tourists themselves, excepting in the case of specialist businesses such as guided tours and resorts with organized recreational activities.

Imbalance between the two kinds of work can be a source of disappointment to persons beginning careers who anticipate that working "in tourism" will be a creative activity: advising people how to have pleasant experiences as tourists. Instead, many discover the work is largely about travel logistics.

However, recent years have seen managers in many organisations that were once concerned with travel logistics widen their focus to give increasing emphasis to touristic leisure. The airline and cruise shipping industries are examples of where this trend has been observed (Air New South Wales 1981; Santangelo 1984). Sanangelo's observations can be expressed in terms of tourism systems and their environments, as follows. Most cruise lines were once managed with a primary concern of getting the ship around an itinerary where the external environments were assumed to be the main source of passenger's pleasure: tropical weather, ports of call, and so on. The ship was a unit in the travel industry, taking passengers to destinations. Now, management teams in cruise lines (including ships' officers) tend to regard passengers as "customers" and give special attention to their need for satisfying holidays. The cruise and especially the on-board activities and ambience can be managed with this in mind. The ship becomes, in management thinking and practice, a mobile resort. It becomes an element in tourism systems, a mobile destination. In marketing theory, this can be seen as a shift away from a product or sales orientation and towards a marketing or customer orientation (Kotler, Fitzroy and Shaw 1980:19). The trend is deemed desirable for both interests, customer and marketer.

CYCLICAL FLUCTUATIONS: THE PROBLEM OF "SEASONALITY"

Seasonal fluctuations are evident in many tourist flows. These are the most noted of several kinds of cyclical patterns. Another kind occurs on a daily basis: tourist demand fluctuates because Friday and Saturday are popular for starting and ending holiday trips. Data on cyclical demand can be found in published reports (1). Extreme fluctuations are a major problem for the travel and tourism industry because they lead to inefficient use of resources. A constant flow of tourists, with minimal cyclical fluctuations, allows greater efficiencies in the industry's activities. Under such conditions capital is utilized constantly, not idle in the off

season. Employees' inputs too are constant. Casuals do not have to be hired and laid off on a seasonal basis. Costs are lower, prices may be reduced, and profits are potentially increased. In several countries, the problem has received considerable attention, occupying many enquiries for tourism organisations and a subject of research projects (2).

Casual observations of tourism in practice, and closer inspection of statistical data and marketing activities, suggest that seasonal fluctuations are greater where the index of industrialization is low. This leads to a hypothesis that the sizes of cyclical fluctuations in tourists' activities, particularly on a seasonal basis, are in inverse relationship to the index of industrialization in the system. The hypothesis could be measured by comparing two sets of statistics, one for flows with a high index and the other with a low index.

Putting that to one side, an argument can be presented supporting the view that highly industrialized tourism systems normally involve considerable efforts aimed at countering extremes in seasonal fluctuations. Furthermore, in a wholly-industrialized condition managers would achieve more success in resolving the problem than they have to date. An explanation for this assertion follows.

Highly industrialized tourism usually means large sums of capital are committed and as a consequence, managers are under pressure to take action against troughs in demand, to avoid under-utilized capital and sub-optimum returns on investment. It also means, by definition, that business organisations collaborate with one another, or coordinate their activities, providing a means for managing market fluctuations. A common example is when large scale airlines and hotels are able to induce travel agents and tour operator-wholesalers in primary market places (generating regions) to promote the products of the airlines and hotels in a vigorous manner during shoulder and trough seasons. An organisation outside the industry, such as an independent resort or motel, cannot utilize those links into the market places. Its managers can use independent means to offset seasonal fluctuations, but these are, arguably, much less effective than can occur with an (integrated) industry.

How is the problem of seasonality typically managed by the industry? A common method uses marketing policy. Discounted prices are offered in periods of low demand, and premium prices are offered in peak periods, to induce buyers to

transfer demand away from the peaks, into the shoulders and troughs (Shaw 1982; Doganis 1985). Special promotional campaigns are waged in the low seasons, with the same aims. These campaigns may be aimed at customers, via public advertisements, or they may be also aimed at the travel trade. Both approaches are often used in tandem. An airline in the off seasons will often advertise discounted fares in the mass media, and simultaneously induce travel agents to sell more by offering a seasonal override commission, or prizes to the travel consultants who sell the most. Kotler, Fitzroy and Shaw (1980:19) term this "synchromarketing", aimed at bringing about better synchronized demand and supply. In effect these policies represent management intruding on the marketing environment of traveller generating regions, attempting to shift patterns of demand.

Cyclical fluctuations under minimal levels of industrialization

In a tourism system with minimal involvement by the travel and tourism industry, what factors would shape cyclical patterns of tourism? Climate and other environmental factors (physical, social, economic) in generating regions would influence peoples' preferences about when to go away on trips. Similar factors in potential destination regions would influence their preferences about when to visit specific places. Personal estimates and perceptions of the numbers of other tourists likely to be encountered would, in some instances, be one of these factors.

Without the pricing and promotional factors from the industry, designed to shift demand away from peak periods and into shoulders and troughs, the cyclical fluctuations would, arguably, be extreme.

Managing cyclical fluctuations under wholly-industrialized conditions

Under a high level of industrialization, a tourism system would, arguably, have less severe cyclical fluctuations in activity. Assuming wholly-industrialized tourism, how would seasonal fluctuations be minimized? The methods described above (pricing and promotional policies) would probably continue, but new and powerful ones could come into play. One possibility would be to regulate the climate of tourist destinations that have fluctuations linked with changing seasonal weather. This could be achieved by resorts constructed inside huge domes where the climate could be controlled. In that way, the weather ceases to be an environmental factor, becoming instead an item for management systems.

Synchromarketing policies are the most common methods for dealing with seasonal fluctuations, but managers in the travel and tourism industry have tried another approach for many years, without much success to date. Potentially, it could have a very significant dampening effect on seasonal fluctuations. Via industrial associations, such as the Australian Tourism Industry Federation and the New Zealand Tourist Industry Federation, they have lobbied governments with the argument that national policies be introduced to spread (or "stagger") leave taking in schools and in general employment. An example of conditions behind the problem are evidenced by the following data. In 1968-9, of all paid holiday leave in Australia, more than half, 54.4%, occurred in December and January, with the remaining 45.6% spread fairly evenly over the other ten months; four years on, in 1973-4, the two peak months recorded 50.5% and the remaining ten months 49.5% (Peat Marwick 1977:20). Casual observations suggest New Zealand domestic tourism is shaped by even greater summer peaks, although no statistical data have been found to compare New Zealand with Australia on this issue.

Instead of half the economy's annual leave occurring in two months of summer, governments (or employers) could regulate the periods when workers take annual leave, to create a more constant flow of leave takers throughout the year. Many organisations are already managed in that manner, aiming successfully to maintain relatively constant inputs, and thus constant productive outputs, throughout the year. Examples include large-scale processing plants where seasonal shut-downs are technologically and economically undesirable (such as in oil refining) and essential social services (police, hospitals). In a very highly-industrialized economy, this policy could be extended to all organisations, affecting all workers. However the prospect would be opposed very strongly by many people, since it intrudes on perceived rights in a critical field, how we use time that is "ours" and "free". The argument that it might benefit 'the whole system' carries no weight with those individuals who may be disadvantaged by it.

Probably cognizant of that constraint, lobbyists have not sought to wholly regulate all workers' leave. Rather, they have suggested modifications around the fringes of the problem, by staggering school leave in different regions of the country. Governments have supported those ideas, for various reasons. One is that "extending the season ... encourages more permanent jobs" (Graham 1988:23).

PROBLEMS OF PROLIFERATING VARIETY

Partial industrialization of tourism systems gives them greater variety in a number of respects, within each system and amongst systems, and proliferating variety is a _fundamental_ problem for the management of _any_ organisation (Beer 1959). Many examples could be described in the management of tourism, in relation to all kinds of systems and sub-systems: the whole system level, geographical levels, industrial level, sector level, corporate level and so on. Just one issue will be discussed here, concerning the geographical level.

Proliferation of tourist destination regions and transit routes

An accurate description of modern tourism is that it involves a proliferation of destinations and transit routes. Visitor numbers in different places during any period vary greatly, from the tens of millions who annually visit countries such as Spain and Italy to the thousands who congregate each day at popular sites such as Disneyland, down to trickles in remote places off the beaten track. In practice, the types differ greatly, some of which may not always be regarded as "tourists" according to popular notions, but which are likely to conform to broader heuristic concepts and technical definitions, as discussed in Chapter 2.

In other words, tourism is likely to be manifested anywhere.

Why is this so? It reflects the fact that tourists are free to go virtually where they choose. This is particularly so for independent tourists, ones who are relatively self-sufficient and not needing services and facilities of the travel and tourism industry. Amongst this category are many who deliberately choose places to visit that they believe are 'different' in some way. By using public transport, or by walking or cycling, these persons are likely to visit almost anywhere on earth. Probably many of these persons would not regard themselves as 'tourists'.

What would happen if a tourism system was wholly-industrialized? There would be far fewer destinations available as options to tourists. By administrative restrictions or other means, the industry would determine which places tourists could visit, and the range would be limited. This would be in the industry's interests for various reasons. One reason is economic. Assuming a relatively constant quantity of tourists under the new regime, fewer regions would mean

greater economies of scale, lower unit costs, and potentially lower prices and higher profits.

A second reason is managerial. Fewer regions means less variety to be managed, which makes managing simpler and gives managers more chance of achieving their objectives. The explanation relates to what Beer (1959) terms the law of requisite variety, a principle stemming from cybernetics with direct application in management. For managers to have adequate controls over an organisation and its activities, there must be as much variety in the management systems as in the organizational systems that they deal with. Beer (1959), Schoderbeck et al (1988), Leiper (1989) and others have discussed the principle and its implications in general management. Beer for example observed that managers often prefer simple control systems, but these can be ineffective because of the proliferating variety that open systems inevitably create:

> One often hears the optimistic demand, 'Give me a simple control system, one that can't go wrong'. The trouble with these simple controls is that they have insufficient variety to cope with variety in the environment. Far from not going wrong, they cannot go right (Beer 1959:44).

Reducing variety in the system, by reducing the number of destinations to be dealt with, produces a system able to be managed more simply. Other managerial activities (introducing improved communications, better planning, improved coordination, more personnel) cannot produce the same result; they merely grapple with a complex system.

Three Asian cases

The following cases, two about tourism and the third about a quite different matter, continue the discussion on the managerial problem of proliferating variety. The first and second cases, on Hong Kong and Singapore, illustrate how less variety in regions helps bring about efficiencies in managing tourist destinations. The third case shows what happened under different conditions, low and high levels of industrialization.

Hong Kong and Singapore

Hong Kong and Singapore are two cases of destinations that each recorded more than three million arrivals of foreign tourists annually in the 1980s. (Chapter 7 contains salient data.) Both are widely regarded as relatively well-managed destinations, a point reflected in comments over the years in magazines such as Asia Travel Trade. Both have natural advantages that make them relatively easy to manage as tourist destinations, compared to many other places. One of those natural advantages is pertinent to the topic under discussion. It is their size.

Hong Kong and Singapore are both small places; each can be crossed by car or bus in an hour or so. Thus wherever tourists stay, they can easily reach any part of the destination on day trips. Consequently, in terms of concepts set out in Chapters 2, Hong Kong and Singapore each comprise just one single tourist destination region (TDR). Hong Kong and Singapore differ from most other countries where there are dozens, hundreds or thousands of TDRs. Their distinction makes Hong Kong and Singapore especially easy to manage as tourist destinations. Consider just two of the practical implications.

The governments, the national tourism organisations, and other major interests do not have to monitor productive activities in many different TDRs: how many arrivals each one recorded, how many visitor-nights, how much expenditure, what quantity of accommodation rooms were occupied, what level of satisfaction tourists derived and so on. The country's performance as a tourist destination is reflected in just one TDR. By contrast, in Australia, a complex and expensive set of surveys has to grapple with 82 TDRs for collecting data on these production variables (3). And the size of some of those "regions" in Australia indicates that in fact, a larger number than 82 might be realistically used. The variety means that the tasks of monitoring and the consequential management control possibilities are quite considerable. In Hong Kong and Singapore, there is no variety in terms of multiple TDRs, and as a consequence, controls are simplified and management is advantaged.

Second, tourism interests in Hong Kong and Singapore do not have to decide among various TDRs when planning the content of messages, verbal or graphic, to be used in advertisements and other promotion. With just one TDR in each case, the only choices are sub-regional and thematic. This has intertwined advantages:

political, economic and managerial. Consider the political advantages. In Hong Kong and Singapore, the official tourism organisations and airlines are never accused of favouring one TDR over another, of neglecting certain TDRs in marketing campaigns.

By contrast, in Australia, New Zealand and many other countries, such accusations are a recurrent problem intruding from public relations and political environments on management in official tourism organisations and national airlines (4). In practice, to be effective and efficient, the marketing of a largish country as a tourist destination requires that certain TDRs should be selected for special emphasis, which axiomatically means that others must be neglected.

What happens when organisations such as the Australian Tourist Commission, the New Zealand Tourist and Publicity Department, the New South Wales Tourism Commission, Air New Zealand and Qantas follow that businesslike approach? Scattered around the country, locals devoted to their own district, convinced that it deserves special attention because it has "unique" features appealing to tourists (if only the tourists knew about them!) and often desperately seeking "tourism" as a life-raft for a depressed regional economy, form political pressure groups. They pressurize, directly and via the mass media, the sorts of organisations named above. They also lobby politicians. The consequences of all this is that managers spend a lot of time justifying their policies and fighting off outside pressure to change them for non-business reasons. In some instances, the lobbyists win, and the promotion of the country as a whole is handicapped.

In Hong Kong and Singapore, such problems are non-existent. The promotion of these destinations is more effective and efficient because management can give more time and energy to other problems and opportunities.

Chinese methods of iron manufacture

A third case is about Chinese methods of iron manufacture. A scientific approach to investigating the implications of different degrees of industrialization in tourism systems would, ideally, involve a given system under two conditions - low and high industrialization - comparing the performance and the environmental impacts of each one. No empirical examples are known in tourism, and a laboratory experiment is impossible. However there is a real world

"experiment" that has been closely studied in another sphere of human activity. A given system, Chinese iron manufacture, was manipulated to have a very low level of industrialization (and thus very open systems). It was then manipulated in the opposite direction. The consequences may be pertinent for other socio-economic systems (such as tourism) with varying levels of industrialization. Here is what happened.

In 1958, as part of the "Great Leap Forward" under Chairman Mao, the Chinese were exhorted to boost the nation's output of several commodities, notably iron, by a novel policy known as walking-on-two-legs. "During 1958, some 60 million peasants were thrown into (a campaign called) 'backyard blast furnaces', which involved the building of small factories and small open mines in both rural and urban areas" (Breth 1977:66, parenthesis added). The campaign lasted three years. It failed badly, for production of iron decreased and all sorts of damage was incurred elsewhere in the Chinese economy. The failure was one factor behind the demise of what cynics were then able to call the Great Leap Backwards.

After 1960, the thousands of backyard furnaces and neighbourhood mines were closed down. They were replaced with a much smaller quantity of large scale productive units, with all the other attributes of modern industry, such as technical expertise. Wheelwright and McFarlane (1970), Breth (1977) and others have described the topic, and discussed its economic and political issues. What is also notable is that the switch in policy after 1960 has been called a policy to "industrialize" iron production.

There are theoretical parallels between this case and a broad theme in the present study. From the literature on the case written by economists and political scientists, one can recognize an important managerial dimension which those writers may have overlooked. A major defect in a scheme that created thousands of small furnaces and mines employing 60 million peasants part-time was the proliferating variety at every level of administration. One reason why the scheme failed to achieve its objectives was because excessive variety made effective management impossible. There was no substantive industry and no industrial management, in terms of the concepts discussed in Chapters 3 and 4. After 1960 the defect was removed and productivity increased rapidly.

This case is a good illustration of how a given system performs under two conditions, low and high levels of industrialization. The lessons for the management of tourism systems seem worthy of consideration.

MARKETING MANAGEMENT

Two aspects of marketing management are discussed in this section. The first is the use of feedback. The second is the likelihood of a business following the marketing concept. Both issues are reviewed in relation to levels of industrialization in tourism systems.

Feedback in whole tourism systems

Feedback via tourism systems' environments was described in Chapter 10. As an environmental activity, pure feedback occurs spontaneously. Strictly speaking it is not data stimulated by management in the travel and tourism industry, but data useful for those managers if they bother to collect it. This would require collecting opinions about completed trips from people back in their home regions. The opinions might relate to any aspect of the trip, to any item of travel logistics or touristic experiences.

Management can use the data as informational inputs for many kinds of decisions. The approach is long established in the business world, and has been widely discussed in the literature on market research. Kotler, Fitzroy and Shaw (1980) discuss feedback in this context in their chapter on "Marketing Research and Information Systems". This managerial use of feedback is not limited to tourism systems that are highly industrialized. However, an argument can be set out to show that where there is a high index of industrialization, the use of feedback is much simpler, cheaper, and therefore more widespread.

Feedback under high levels of industrialization

Under this condition, discussed in Chapter 3, tourists typically use some sort of pre-trip service, such as travel agents who have regular dealings with principals in the distribution chain: airlines, hotels and, in particular, tour operators. Well-managed travel agencies collect information about peoples' opinions of their trips after they have returned home, sometimes via formal questionnaires given to

customers, and more commonly by casual methods, when customers call in to chat about their recent trip or to arrange another one. Data collected in this manner by travel agents are passed on freely to the agents' principals. Commercial principals such as airlines, hotels and large-volume tour operators may have economic influence over how agents perform this role, while other (non-commercial) principals, such as tourism organisations representing destinations, can only request it. For all these organisations, the data can be very valuable in market research. In this way the principals are able to tap into tourism systems' natural feedback. The cost is cheap, since collecting this data is often a routine duty assigned to sales representatives of principals who call on travel agents.

In a totally-industrialized system, samples of all former tourists would be surveyed by this method, back in their home locations, and the data made available to all organisations responsible for travel logistics and touristic experiences. Representative information from all pure feedback would be available to all managers responsible, to guide their future decisions.

Feedback under low levels of industrialization

Under this condition, tourists use few if any services of the industry at each stage: pre-trip, en route and in destinations. Natural feedback occurs, for this is not dependent on the industry's involvement. What is missing or deficient under this condition are principal-agency links, the industrial chain that can be used as a simple and cheap information loop between the sources of pure feedback and managers in tourist destinations.

Managers of organisations in the business of tourism but not significantly active in the industry (5) who want to tap into pure feedback must collect data by other means, which requires special effort and considerable expense if the data are to have any reliability. It would normally require market research involving random surveys of residents in households, seeking data about past trips. The cost of such surveys is beyond the budgets of most organisations in the business of tourism. Evidence from the marketing research industry supports that conclusion (6).

The marketing concept

Many businesses and an apparently increasing number of governmental and non-business organizations are using marketing terminology. However the scholarly and professional literature on marketing tends to agree that thorough and consistent applications of marketing ideas are rare:

> **Only a handful of our modern organizations, such as IBM, Unilever, Avon, McDonalds, Xerox, General Electric and Caterpillar, are master marketers. The rest are in a stage of marketing vulnerability (Kotler, Fitzroy and Shaw 1980:7).**

The comment may be broadly true, but the examples cited may be misleading by only mentioning well-known cases. Many other businesses might be "master marketers" too. And there are also cases of companies whose marketing performance are excellent for a few years, or for a particular campaign. The company might then deteriorate and disappear, even though its marketing remains competent at least, because critical defects emerge in general management. Examples can be noted in travel and tourism (7). What distinguishes IBM, Unilever and others in the list above is consistency, requiring persistent effort in general management.

Kotler, Fitzroy and Shaw (1980), like many other writers, have described the different business philosophies that might guide an organisation's marketing activities:

> **The product concept ... assumes that customers will respond favourably to good products that are reasonably priced and that little company marketing effort is required to achieve satisfactory sales and profits...**

> **...The selling concept ... assumes that customers will not normally buy enough of the company's products unless they are approached with a substantial selling and promotion effort...**

...The marketing concept ... holds that the key task of the organization is to determine the needs, wants and preferences of a target market and to adapt the organization to delivering the desired satisfactions more effectively and efficiently than its competitors...

...The societal marketing concept is a management orientation aimed at generating customer satisfaction and long-run consumer and public welfare as the key to satisfying organizational goals and responsibilities (ibid:20-4).

The third item represents a threshold, before which genuine marketing is lacking. The fourth item has recently emerged and reflects recognition that marketing deals with open systems from which impacts spill over and may damage environments valuable to public welfare. The literature generally agrees that product or sales concepts are likely to be less effective than a marketing concept in achieving long term success for an organization. This is because rigorously applying marketing concepts in managerial thinking and policies is the only way of determining precisely what line(s) of business the organisation is in or should be in, and of tracking shifts in that issue for guiding new policies and strategies. Levitt's (1960,1985) seminal work is pertinent here. The ideas are not entirely new however, for an approximate version can be found in ancient writings:

> There are three ways of presenting anything.
> The first is to present everything.
> The second is to present what people want.
> The third is to present what will serve them best.
> If you present everything, the result may be surfeit.
> If you present what people want, it may choke them.
> If you present what will serve them best,
> the worst is that, misunderstanding,
> they may oppose you.
> But if you have served them thus,
> whatever the appearances,
> you have served them, and you too must benefit,
> whatever the appearances.
>   Ajmal of Badakhshan (in Shah 1968:245).

Evidence exists of excellence in marketing by many organizations in the travel and tourism industry, in its private and public sector arms. For example, the industry is prominently represented in a series of annual publications describing the best marketing projects of the year from across the economy: see Air New Zealand (1980), Budget Rent A Car (1980) and a dozen others including, for a case with text-book precision, Air New South Wales (1981). Those awards were for projects or campaigns showing excellence, not for excellence over the long term.

An empirical study would be possible, to test a hypothesis that organizations with strong industrial links in tourism systems tend to make better use of the marketing concept than organizations in the business of tourism but with weak, tenuous or no links into the industry. But putting such investigations to one side, an argument can be advanced to explain how and why that this would be so.

All the cases of marketing excellence indicated above are about organizations very active within the travel and tourism industry. All used strong links with allies in that industry, for work on research, distribution channels, product design, services, and promotional campaigns. Arguably, industrial links in several facets of the marketing mix mean that management is dissuaded from a myopic product or sales concept. The links encourage vision of the fact that tourists' demand for airline seats, hotel rooms, places in packaged tours and for travelling to particular destinations is merely demand for items of travel logistics which are useless individually. That sort of vision gets reinforced from frequent dealings with allies in the same industry, a learning process involving operant conditioning. This shapes managers' behaviour, akin to the operant conditioning shaping repetitious gambling, noted in Chapter 6.

The total combination or "package" is what helps tourists satisfy their needs and wants, irrespective of whether or not the items are formally packaged in some kind of inclusive tour. Moreover, tourists' demand for travel logistics stems from their needs for touristic leisure. It is what economics terms "derived demand". Thus touristic leisure is the foundation for a marketing concept in the tourism industry. In practice, designing a marketing mix along these lines can

be difficult however because, as the analyses in earlier chapters revealed, touristic leisure embraces a very wide range of needs, wants and preferences. Chapter 5 (on leisure), Chapter 6 (on gambling, sunlust and wanderlust) and Chapter 9 (attraction systems) contain analyses pertinent to this assertion.

Organizations in the business of tourism but lacking strong and frequent links into the industry are not reminded of those points. Operating independently, their managers are more inclined to treat "marketing" as merely a matter of promoting what that organisation has "on offer" ... rooms for rent in a motel, goods or services for sale, a destination with features "on offer", in short, a product or sales concept.

This point is widely acknowledged by industry leaders. For example the Chief Executive of the New Zealand Tourist Industry Federation recently made a relevant remark about hotels in Wellington (8). A genuine marketing concept requires managers to be objective, but in tourist destinations a common condition is the subjective attitude that one's region or country is so wonderful that tourists must find it appealing, once they learn about its unique features.

In practice, many organizations appear to be somewhere between a selling and a marketing concept. They use the market segmentation approach of the latter, by targeting on certain groups in the tourist market for example. But they adhere to an assumption in the former, that what is "on offer" is what tourists can be induced to want if sufficient selling and promotional effort is applied. This can be observed in promotional messages especially, in advertising and other items in the promotional mix. The literature on content analysis is relevant for research on this issue.

MINTZBERG'S "STRUCTURE IN FIVES"

Mintzberg (1979,1983) sought to identify the elementary coordinating mechanisms which might explain how work, jobs and people are structured within an organisation. The issue arises from a fundamental problem. Organisations tend to introduce division of labour, in various forms - between individuals or between departments, in order to gain certain economic advantages. Mintzberg (1979:70-71) describes three major advantages; ten are listed by Pearce and Robinson (1989:302). But division of labour requires

coordination, between the individuals or departments, if an organisation is to work towards its goals in an efficient and effective manner. A coordination mechanism is not necessary in other circumstances because "a person working alone has no need for any of the coordinating mechanisms. Coordination takes place simply - in one brain" (Mintzberg 1983:7). Mintzberg (1979) conducted an extensive review of relevant research on this issue, summarised in his later (1983) book. He identified certain coordinating mechanisms, the means by which an organisation might be structured.

His attention was on corporate organisations, that dominant concern of writers on organisations and management. The question arises: is Mintzberg's concept ("structure in fives") applicable beyond the field of corporate organisations, to inter-firm organisations, to an industry as an organisation? Chapters 3 and 4 of the present study presented an argument that industries are, in fact, coordinated collections of sub-units, each industry an organisation in its own right. In that discussion, certain examples of coordinating or cooperative mechanisms were identified and described, in reference to the travel and tourism industry. Do these descriptive examples correspond with Mintzberg's concept?

Mintzberg's five coordinating mechanisms

Mintzberg's concept can be summarized thus:

Five coordinating mechanisms seem to explain the fundamental ways in which organisations coordinate their work ...

(i) Mutual adjustment achieves coordination by the simple process of informal communication ...

(ii) Direct supervision achieves coordination by having one person take responsibility for the work of others, issuing instructions and monitoring their actions ...

(iii) Work processes are standardized when the contents of work are specified or programed ...

(iv) Outputs are standardized when the results of work are specified ...

(v) Skills (and knowledge) are standardized when the kinds of training to do the work is specified ... (Mintzberg 1983:4-7).

Examples in the travel and tourism industry

Examples of coordinating activities that bind a number of business enterprises into a travel and tourism industry, described in Chapter 3, were:

(a) packaged tour products, which require collaboration by two or more enterprises;

(b) reservation systems, linking retail travel agencies and principals;

(c) standard grading systems, as used in relation to hotels and airlines;

(d) standardized products;

(e) uniform pricing;

(f) principal-agency links, used for various reasons;

(g) industry associations;

(h) advertising and publicity, which tend to have a generic, mutually beneficial, effect;

(i) informal information exchange.

Several corresponding links can be seen, between the general concepts in Mintzberg's list (salient to any corporate organisation for example) and the descriptive examples in the latter list (relevant to a particular industry). For instance standardized work processes (in Mintzberg's list) are exemplified in the travel and tourism industry by reservation systems, standard grading systems, standardized products and uniform pricing. Informal communication (Mintzberg's first item) is exemplified by principal-agency links, and by industry associations with their numerous conferences allowing people from different parts of the industry to exchange facts and opinions.

Mintzberg's list has items not found in the list taken from Chapter 3. Do employees in the travel and tourism industry have standardized training? Airey and Nightingale (1981) claimed to have identified a common body of knowledge desirable for all career employees entering this industry, regardless of sector. But this could be regarded as an "ideal". In practice, to date there is no evidence of industry-wide standards for vocational training. Mintzberg's second item is direct supervision. One way this occurs between nominally independent organisations in any particular indnstry is from vertical integration.

Vertically-integrated tourism conglomerates have been described by Watkins (1987) and Collier (1989). Vertical integration enables managers in a parent company to supervise managers of subsidiary companies in another (linked) sector of the same industry so, for example, senior managers in Air New Zealand Ltd may have a supervisory role over managers in Jetset Tours Ltd, a tour operator subsidiary of the airline.

Broadly, Mintzberg's concept is applicable beyond the context originally intended. It broadly corresponds with the descriptive model suggested the present study relating to an industry as a coordinated organisation. Coordinating mechanisms between organisations are the fundamental managerial factors which industrialize a sector of the economy. Flowing from this is an insight to the question "who manages tourism?", taken up in the next section.

WHO MANAGES TOURISM?

"Who manages tourism?" appears an easy question to answer, with responses springing from simple perceptions about tourism. If it is perceived as an industry or, alternatively, a socio-economic activity which is (assumed to be) wholly-industrialized, its managers are presumed to be persons employed in organisations supplying tourists with goods and services. The literature on tourism management concurs, implicitly, at least (Schwaniger 1986, Mill 1990).

Under a discussion of partial-industrialization's consequences in Chapter 3, a different view was proposed. In a whole tourism system, to the extent that the industrial element's role is diminished, its managers are the tourists.

In general, under conditions of partial-industrialization, tourism is managed by a combination of interests in any given case: personnel from business and governmental service organisations, particularly those in the industry of tourism, and tourists. However the scope of managerial activity by the two parties is quite different. Managers in the industry are involved in issues about resources for future tourism by unspecified tourists. Tourists, on the other hand, are only likely to be involved in aspects of operational management for a given trip. They may plan their own itinerary, decide what do to and see, organise their own personal resources for the trip (and, in family or group travel, may organise resources for

their tour party), and may exert a controlling function over the management of the trip in process. _

The role of large numbers of tourists in the operational management of (their own) tourism has given rise to markets for informative material designed to help people plan and otherwise manage their trips. Guide books with advice on itinerary planning and other items of trip management are an example. Thus, a trend towards non-industrialized tourism can trigger new forms of business opportunity and, potentially, new forms of industry.

However, the limited roles of both industry and tourists in the management of tourism can be seen as one factor behind state intervention in tourism systems. Governments of various ideological persuasions, and with various geographical constituencies ranging from towns to provinces and nation states, are directly involved in a range of issues. Collier (1989) has described tourism-related roles of several governmental bodies in New Zealand. Collier's descriptions can be translated, with a few changes, to form an impression of corresponding arrangements in several countries such as Britain and Australia. Even in countries where governments have been elected with a policy of removing state involvement in industry, the governments' direct roles in tourism management have not been dramatically reduced, as has applied with other areas of the economy. For example Britain under the Conservatives since 1979, and New Zealand under several governments espousing similar market-driven, user-pays ideologies since 1984, have seen no substantial reduction in direct state involvement in tourism promotion. In New Zealand, while many activities beyond the tourism sphere have seen governmental involvement cut back or eliminated, and while the former Tourist and Publicity Department has been divested of certain roles, the Governments have maintained their funding of the principal activity of the Tourism Department, its promotional campaigns in overseas markets. The discussion to follow, against that background, sets out brief interpretations and assessments of issues stemming from the present study.

Recurrent debates and reports ignored

Every year, in many countries, governments sponsor research about tourism issues. As a consequence, today there is a tourism research and consulting industry (sic), comprising specialist units within governmental tourism agencies,

management consultancy and marketing research firms in the private sector and, to a lesser extent, in universities. Much of the work of these consultants over the past twenty years, in New Zealand and Australia at least, appears to have been commissioned by governments, although no formal investigations are known to have investigated that belief.

Despite that history of research, there are recurrent debates about the fundamental roles of governments and public sector authorities in relation to tourism. Evidence can be found in submissions to the Tourism 2000 conferences held in Wellington and Auckland in 1989, the report stemming from those conferences (N.Z.T.P. 1989), and subsequent discussion in the industry (N.Z.T.I.F. 1989). Despite increasing activities and expenditure by tourists, there are calls for greater supportive participation by governments, or for governments to give proper recognition to tourism; simultaneously, governmental tourism agencies have continued to indicate that other arms of government and the wider business community have failed to give adequate recognition of the importance of tourism. Recent evidence is the main item in Tourism Research Newsletter, February 1991 published by the New Zealand Tourism Department. And for many years, delegates and speakers at conferences have been asserting how "tourism is at the crossroads", a remark heard at a 1973 conference in Canberra and recurring in tourism industry conferences since, such as at the New Zealand Tourist Industry Federation Convention in 1989.

Simultaneously, major recommendations made in many reports have never been implemented. The reports are read, discussed, often praised, and then confined to libraries. In certain cases, the reports deserve oblivion because they defective. Examples can be found in many countries. Ranck (1984) reviewed a collection of reports prepared by foreign consultants for tourism authorities in Papua New Guinea which, with hindsight, were all demonstrably flawed. Yet the process of hiring consultants goes on. "Who benefits?" is the question in the review's title. The answer, as Ranck implied, is the consulting industry.

In respect of many other reports, their recommendations are judged useful but nothing of substance is done to implement them. Government and industry have both been idle in this respect. Examples include the recommendations in the series of studies commissioned by the New Zealand Travel Association, now the N.Z.T.I.F. (N.Z. Tourist Industry Federation) and conducted by the Management

Studies Department in The University of Auckland (Henshall 1982). The "Henshall Reports" were enthusiastically praised in industry, parliament and the media. But the majority of Henshall's recommendations have never been implemented in any way at all. Against that background, there may be understandable cynicism in some circles about the likely success of the Tourism 2000 program begun in 1989.

In the 1980s, efforts from tourism interests to gain more support from governments were thwarted when governments in several countries moved to an ideology espousing free market economies, with the explicit consequence that industries had to fend for themselves, and that any support was temporary. An extract from a policy document included the following expression of this view: "While Government will continue to give its full weight to the growing economic importance of tourism it can only be as a result of the investment and effort of the private sector that lasting and significant growth will be achieved" (cited by Graham 1988:20).

But perhaps this environmental impediment was not the only problem. Perhaps something is amiss in fundamental assumptions about whole tourism systems. Are consultants and lobbyists mistaken when they adopt notions about "tourism" being a large industry merely requiring a creative dose of temporary support from government to overcome its alleged problems?

Recognizing "The Industry"

Although the idea of tourism being a huge but fragmented industry is widely accepted, not everyone is sure about its theoretical validity and practical utility. A former Minister for Tourism in the Australian Government, Frank Stewart, often remarked on this point, comments that did not win admirers from tourism boosters. More recently in New Zealand, certain business leaders have pointed out the difficulties of implementing Tourism 2000 proposals on "an industry that has never been defined", and have suggested that "we should be identifying the parameters (of the industry) before talking about a levy ... to fund overseas promotions" (N.Z.T.I.F. 1989:2). A recent Minister for Tourism in New Zealand has been even more explicit, speaking about the difficulties of implementing proposals for new forms of self-help schemes for the industry:

> After all, what is the tourism industry? This has never been adequately defined. Maybe it cannot be defined! (Wilde, cited in N.Z.T.I.F. 1989:1).

Thus the definitional issue has more than academic interest. It has practical implications for the industry and for governments, which in turn shape the conditions in which tourism systems are managed. Chapters 2, 3 and 4 showed how this problem has come about. Attempts to define "tourism" have been blurred with ideas about a "tourism industry". Boosterism has led to propaganda claiming that this industry is ubiquitous and huge. The consulting industry has served the boosters by developing research methods reflecting the propaganda. But the approach is deficient, lacking realistic theories about business and industry. In short, the tourism industry has not been adequately defined because researchers have not been fully conscious of what to look for, and they have been handicapped by ideology (9).

An alternative would be for the government and the major industry associations to measure the size and scope of the industry from a supply-side survey of organizations from the business and public sector. The discussion in chapters 3 and 4 indicate what would be involved. Comparing the supply-side measurements with demand-side data about tourism (the behaviour of tourists) would show the degree of industrialization in each system. Repeating the survey every few years would measure trends. The information would have utility in policies, carrying over into practice. Broadly, it would inform governments and others about the extent to which certain tourism systems are being managed as against left for tourists to cope with trips and left for a range of public sector agencies to cope with environmental issues. Broadly, it would indicate the extent to which tourism's environmental impacts - positive and negative - can be attributed to the travel and tourism industry as against other factors. All this would indicate the extent to which governments should intrude on tourism systems as against leaving these matters to the market, to the industry.

Without recognizing the concept of partial industrialization and its practical implications - that the industry may be much smaller than the sector of the economy it deals with - governments cannot fully appreciate a fundamental strategic justification for becoming involved, on an ongoing basis. If governments want to achieve national and regional objectives from tourism, they cannot leave tourism to free market forces. If governments abandon their existing roles, leaving more tourism matters to the whim of the market, then communities may fail to optimize the benefits of tourism and may have to cope with more environmental damage.

Making this line of policy explicit would require representatives of the tourism interests abandoning their claims of representing a huge industry. Instead, if they wanted government support, they would show how and why the industry is smaller than the tourism sector or system in the economy, and why many businesses will remain outside the industry's activities for their own self interests. In practice there may be strategic advantages in this new approach. It is realistic, and as such it avoids a strategic weakness in bogus claims about a huge industry, claims which are easily rebuffed by bureaucrats responsible for conserving public funds. Treasury bureaucrats are able to say that if the industry is so large, it should be able to look after its own problems and finance its own activities for research, promotion and training, like other large industries.

Unstable political environments

Another weakness of current governmental policy can be identified, again reflecting partial-industrialization and a consequential unwillingness of governments to accept any managerial responsibility in tourism systems. The history of industry-government relations on tourism issues has seen a series of changes in the objectives being sought. A range of positive economic impacts on destinations was described in Chapter 10. Graham's (1988) review of policy documents indicates how all those items, and a few others, are articulated in governments' lists. There are two problems about this from the perspective of tourism interests.

The first is that governmental support tends to depend on the government wanting just one by-product of tourism. This can result in instability, demonstrable by reviewing what happened in Australia between 1965 and 1989. This issue has been analyzed in detail elsewhere, for the period from 1965 to 1980 (Leiper 1980).

In the mid 1960s, the national economy seemed to be facing serious problems from a deteriorating balance of payments. To help counter the problem, the Government created the Australian Tourist Commission in 1967. Its task was to promote the country, in order to earn more foreign exchange. In the policy documents, foreign exchange was one of many benefits mentioned, but subsequent events, analysed below, reveal that it was the critical one.

In 1967 and 1968 huge quantities of iron ore, other minerals, oil and gas were discovered and export earnings soared when the resources were quickly exploited. The problems with the balance of payments disappeared. The government then stripped the A.T.C's budget, so overseas promotion was reduced to token levels despite huge potential in the market. In 1973, when estimates about future minerals exports were cut back, the A.T.C. was given more funds. In 1976, another minerals export boom was forecast, and the A.T.C's budget was again reduced to token levels. By 1979 the forecasted minerals boom had not come to fruition and the balance of payments was deteriorating, so the A.T.C's budget was trebled and large scale promotional campaigns began in the U.S.A., Japan and elsewhere. Throughout the 1980s the balance of payments worsened and the governments' funding of the A.T.C. was gradually increased.

The token levels of funding given to the A.T.C. in the period after 1968 can be seen by comparing its promotional spending with other national tourism organisations in the U.S.A., a key market for tourism to Australia. In the early 1970s Australia ranked 41st among the nations promoting their home countries as tourist destinations, ranked between Tunisia and Bulgaria (Patterson and Waters 1975). The change over the next fifteen years was remarkable: by the late 1980s, Australia was in the top league of promoters in the American market and in first place in Japan.

During the years from 1965 to 1989 the fluctuating funding of the A.T.C. does not correlate with changes in elected governments, so seems independent of party politics. Rather, the fortunes of Australia as an international tourist destination appear to have depended on fluctuating predictions of foreign exchange earnings from other items.

How might a more stable political base be created? One way would require policies based around the main outputs or products of tourism systems, for these are relatively constant. They are systemic, not environmental. They refer to the benefits derived by tourists. Policies framed in these terms would integrate all three kinds of tourism systems present in a single country: inbound and outbound international, and most important of all, domestic. The question of why this sort of thinking has not shaped policies in countries such as Australia and New Zealand might be worth pondering, but is going beyond the scope of the present study.

A second problem for tourism interests stemming from governmental policies based on by-products occurs when governments use tourism for particular ends in ways that distort the systems and lower their value to national economies. An example is when governments promote particular regions as destinations when principles of tourism indicate that those regions should be ignored in favour of others. There is nothing unusual or necessarily wrong in policies of this kind; they occur in all governmental activities. What is deficient in this case is that the distortion is not recognized. Instead, governments seem to see a primary principle of tourism being its relatively greater significance in provincial regions (Graham 1988). However research shows that out-of-the-way provincial regions are often the least significant destinations in national tourism systems. The larger cities in Australia, New Zealand and many other countries are their major tourist destination regions and are, in certain cases, the ones with most real potential for development.

When governments try to boost provincial regions as tourist destinations for reasons other than their comparative advantage in that role, they are unwittingly following the policies of Chairman Mao, who saw backyard blast furnaces as a way of helping the provinces of China while simultaneously adding to the nation's production of iron.

International coordination by governments

Managerial coordination at the multinational level requires multinational arrangements, for corporations and for governments. Governments require membership of appropriate international organizations, if they are deal effectively with routine matters, and for participating in projects with global relevance. More than a hundred national governments are active members of the World Tourism Organization, the tourism unit of the United Nations.

Nations that have not joined, such New Zealand, may be at a disadvantage. The cost is said to be the reason. But this is a trifle compared to the sums spent by the New Zealand Government to be a member of other international bodies dealing with other matters. Since tourism is now the largest item in New Zealand's foreign exchange earnings, the cost of W.T.O. membership might be considered worthwhile.

Two possible projects for the W.T.O.

The W.T.O. is involved in a wide range of matters, described in periodicals and reports issued from its headquarters in Madrid. Three new possibilities are suggested briefly in this section. The first was described in Chapter 7, which showed how a deficiency in statistical data pertinent to multi-destination tourism can be resolved via the W.T.O.

A second project that seems appropriate for W.T.O. concerns a change in the method of recording foreign tourism in national accounts. This would lead to wider recognition of the economic significance of tourism.

Commentators on the role of tourism in national economies are prone to remark that it is "like an export". The simile may be misleading. In fact, tourism is an export. Were a different method used for recording tourism items in national accounts, that point would be acknowledged. At present, receipts from inbound tourism are hidden among "Invisibles", outside the balance of trade accounts. The custom is a hangover from the 1930s, when national accounting methods were designed and adopted internationally. At that time, tourism was a tiny item and where it went in the books was irrelevant. Today the reality has changed. People now talk realistically of international trade in services, and tourism is a major components. Rearranging the policies governing the management of international trade in services is a topical issue (Nicolaides 1989). An aspect of this, stemming from the present study, is presented below.

When the balance of trade is discussed in the media, the components measured are items like meat, wool, manufactured goods, dairy products, minerals and coal. Tourism is not mentioned because it is not recorded in that account. Yet in recent years it has contributed more to the credits in the balance of payments than any of the items noted in the trade account, in the case of both Australia and New Zealand (see Table 10.1). Likewise, when economists write text books with titles such as The New Zealand Economy (Birks and Chatterjee 1988) they can analyze trade in major lines of goods and commodities but say nothing at all about tourism. When the economics discipline - an organized body of knowledge - operates in that way it presumably shapes perceptions of large numbers of decision makers.

In practice, besides being a major component in international trade, tourism is anything but "invisible". Indeed, it is one of the most visible items in

internationally traded exports. International tourists, visitors from abroad, are highly visible, despite uncertainties about which visitors are tourists and uncertainties about which members of the public may be visitors, issues discussed in Chapter 2. What is not recognized is that tourists are, in fact, exported, when they leave the countries they visit. Like many manufactured goods exported, the export of tourists requires earlier imports of "raw materials", in this case the same people as travellers from abroad, come to visit for a while, becoming tourists. From this new perspective, tourism is not "like an export". Tourists are exports.

Perception of this point is hindered by the fact that countries record and report international movements of tourists in terms of arrivals, rather than their subsequent departures. The practice stems from administrative procedures of immigration authorities, imposing immigration controls which have been used to generate statistics about tourists. It is reinforced by eagerness by tourism interests to know how many tourists are coming into their country. In principle, both facets of the argument in this section are examples of how the tourism industry could work to change environmental issues into systemic ones.

W.T.O. could work to change the convention, to get all countries to record major items of trade in services, especially tourism, as part of the balance of trade. This is appropriate for a U.N. agency. It would bring about wider recognition of the economic role of tourism. Simultaneously it would make analyses and discussion of an economy's balance of trade more realistic, so the benefits are general, not confined to the tourism sector.

A third and related idea involves a procedural change which W.T.O. could bring about within its own member governments, without recourse to other U.N. agencies. This would be to change the method for recording international tourist movements, along the lines indicated above in the discussion about tourists being exports. Instead of reporting arrivals of tourists as the indicator of tourism's economic significance, destination countries should report their departures, along with estimates of the revenue from this export item, as happens with other exports. Reporting tourist departures in the same manner as other exports is realistic, and would further contribute to wider recognition of the role of tourism in the economy.

In principle, data about arrivals are useful marketing indicators. Data about departures are a preferable indicator for macroeconomics matters concerning tourism's role in foreign exchange earnings.

National coordination

Many governmental organizations, departments and agencies have become involved, to varying degrees, in tourism issues (Collier 1989:94-105). From the perspective of tourism interests, this creates economic and managerial problems. Almost all these organizations have direct inputs into what happens in tourism systems, but only a few are charged with any responsibility and authority to manage their roles. The main exceptions are official tourism organizations.

The others may give and receive advice about tourism, but many are prone to ignore advice received, or not implement it properly, mainly because these organizations have higher priorities than tourism. They also tend to lack specialist skills about the subject, and are sometimes prone to treat it in a stereotyped way. The result is that the coordination in this case is not like the coordination found in management systems within single organizations, where the coordinator is able to exert authoritative power. National coordination of tourism depends heavily on a weak form of manipulative power, advice.

A related problem is that the usual structure of official tourism organisations at the national level does not create a manageable marketing authority. The A.T.C., the N.Z.T.P.D. and similar authorities in other countries seem to fill that role, but closer examination of what they do reveals otherwise. They are, in the main, merely promotional agencies, not marketing authorities in the full sense. They have no responsibility or authority for any aspect of the marketing mix other than promotion. They lack managerial involvement with respect to products, prices and distribution.

These managerial problems reflect partial industrialization in the public sector. The alternative, a national Tourism Commission with authority to manage everything in the public domain impinging on tourism, is politically and practically impossible. The alternative may be feasible for discrete regions where tourism is the only significant human activity. The Victorian Alpine Commission represents this model, to some extent.

Human, social and cultural benefits accruing to tourists

The value of tourism as a human activity, discussed in chapters 5 and 10, involves leisure experiences, which change the individual participants and become benefits flowing back, in them, to their home societies and cultures. This is where the main products of tourism are found, a point emerging from the perspectives of several disciplines: marketing, ecology, systems theory, tourism studies. What would happen if governments, and the industry generally, put that main product to the forefront of policies? Perhaps the management of tourism systems would become more productive. The satisfaction of tourists' needs would be the primary concern. All the other environmental impacts, positive and negative, are by-products. But some of the positive by-products, such as employment creation and foreign exchange, are treated in policies as though they are the main outcomes. If tourism systems are managed with by-products as objectives, the probability is that the main products will suffer.

But remarkably, when a large-scale parliamentary enquiry into tourism policy moved briefly away from concern about tourism's by-products to consider whether holiday trips have any benefit for the holiday makers, the question was deemed a mystery. The Australian Select Committee on Tourism (1978) then called for professional advice from within the public service and was told that research on the question would be quite expensive and probably inconclusive.

The industrialization of leisure

One of the most significant facts about work and play in modern times is that as the hours organized by work have decreased, the remaining hours have been increasingly organized for commercial purposes (Mills 1963:349).

C. Wright Mills was referring to a major phenomenon of modern societies and their economies, the industrialization of leisure. The industrialization of tourism is, in quantitative terms, a minor item in that trend. In qualitative terms however, an argument presented in this study, specifically in Chapter 5, has suggested that tourism is a special kind of leisure experience for many people, and one with flow on benefits for their home societies. The industrialization of tourism seems to have

economic benefits for several interests. It also seems to have managerial advantages of certain kinds, discussed in several sections of this study. For many individuals too, there is no doubt that without marketing and support from an industry, they could not become tourists, or would not derive as much satisfaction from tourism.

A conflict arises, however, when the industrialization of tourism is driven by commercial and other economic ends to such a degree that individuals' interests are submerged. A contemporary aspect of this is when "doing my own thing" requires avoiding dependence on commercial or other institutional support. The theme has wider ramifications however, and these are one of the many issues raised or discussed in this study which require additional research.

CONCLUSIONS

In one respect managing in tourism systems is not unlike managing any other organised human activity, in that it involves people coordinating the use of resources via planning, organising, directing and controlling functions. In another respect however there are unusual features. Managing any given activity requires an organisation, to which it is applied, and with tourism there is not one organisation but several, split into industrial and non-industrial categories. Coordination across that division may be problematical. Problems associated with partial-industrialization can be identified in several tourism-related issues. Seasonal fluctuations in demand, proliferating variety, feedback in marketing systems, and adoption of a marketing concept to guide business strategies are examples. Particular problems can be identified when governmental policies are considered in terms of partial-industrialization. Approaching tourism policy in terms of a large industry with valuable economic by-products has led to uncertainty and to unstable environments. A different approach may resolve these difficulties. The different approach would be to focus on the principal outputs or main products, which revolve around satisfying tourists' needs.

NOTES

1. Sources include monthly and quarterly bulletins issued by the Australian Bureau of Statistics (such as Overseas Arrivals and Departures) and the Bureau of Tourism Research in Canberra (International Visitor Survey, Domestic Tourism Monitor) and in Wellington by the Department

of Statistics (External Migration Statistics) and the N.Z. Tourism Department (Tourism Research Newsletter and other reports).

2. For example a major study on Australian domestic tourism commissioned in 1975 by a consortium of governmental and industrial organizations, leading to a report by the consultants (Peat Marwick 1977), investigated the seasonality issue in some depth and made several recommendations. It reported, in Table 24, large fluctuations in monthly occupancy rates of the holiday accommodation businesses in several regions. Peaks, in December and January, ranged from 90% to 100%. Troughs in various regions ranged from 9% in August to 15% in November.

3. These surveys are commonly regarded as "market research", but they can be more accurately described as production monitors. The most important market research for the travel and tourism industry is research conducted in and about traveller generating places. Surveys in tourist destinations are usually very largely devoted to what the tourists do on their trips and what they feel.

4. A long running case known to the present writer is Qantas Airlines Ltd. Its management and directors are regularly pressured by interest groups from provincial regions around Australia wanting to know why their region is not being featured in Qantas' promotions overseas, and why their region does not see larger numbers of international tourists, especially Japanese. Chapter 8 indicates the main reasons for the concentration of Japanese tourists within Australia, reasons outside the control of Qantas or any other Australian organization.

5. Chapters 3 and 4 explained how and why many organizations may be in the business of tourism but outside the travel and tourism industry, in many cases for their own self-interest.

6. The present writer's experience during 1985-6 as a project manager with the A.G.B. McNair research group found several instances of regional tourism organizations in Australia enquiring about conducting surveys in traveller generating regions. The cost of even small-scale surveys in a single region, professionally conducted, was beyond their budgets. As a consequence, the customers of the market research industry from the travel and tourism industry are almost entirely confined to the largest companies and authorities, active nationwide and internationally.

7. The Australian-based Budget Rent A Car Systems Pty Ltd, which failed in 1989, may be a case in point. Its marketing management was brilliantly conceived and implemented, leading to awards for excellence (see Budget 1980). Presumably the company's collapse in 1989 was dne to defective general management.

8. The Parkroyal Hotel in Wellington, a new addition to a large international chain, opened early in 1990. Mr. Tony Staniford, Chief Executive of the N.Z.T.I.F., was reported to be enthusiastic about the policies of Parkroyal's management: "its management had poured a lot of money ... into promoting Wellington, which was something most hotels did not do. Hotels which were part of a chain had a better chance of success ..." (The Dominion, 15:2:90,p 6).

9. The sense of "ideology" in this context is that nsed by van Wolferen:

> Not every system of ideas or beliefs is an ideology. An ideology, in fact, aims to make contemplative thought superfluous. It bans the adventure of ideas; it is a substitute for explanation. As such it diminishes our knowledge and thus our perceptions of socio-political reality, which is why it can be used to disguise existing power relations and serve those in whose interests it is to obfuscate the true political situation as part of an unceasing campaign to make that situation endure (van Wolferen 1989:332).

CHAPTER 12 : CONCLUSIONS

INTRODUCTION

This final chapter is presented under two main headings. The first section discusses the outcomes of the research. Here, the concern will be to show how the outcomes relate to the study's aims. The two aims, described in Chapter 1, were to refine a model of tourism systems, and to develop a systemic interdisciplinary approach for research into tourism, demonstrating the two themes in discussions on a number of topics. Under a second main heading is a summary of options, arising from this work, for future research.

OUTCOMES OF THE RESEARCH

Refinement of a model for tourism systems

The model to be reviewed has been described as a "framework of tourism" (Leiper 1979,1980). In the present study, Chapter 2 reviewed the model, its substructures and contexts, as part of a discussion leading to amendments of certain central concepts.

The 1979/1980 "framework" projects identified three approaches to understanding tourism. They were termed "economic", "technical" and "holistic". The holistic approach was followed; the same approach is retained in the present study. It allows the construction of a basic, general model of tourism. Following the principle of systemic hierarchies, such a model can be designed to represent a whole tourism system, with an indeterminate number of sub-systems. The same five elements for a whole tourism system proposed in the 1979/1980 studies have been used in the present work.

The earlier studies discussed technical definitions and offered a conceptual definition similar, in its broad scope, to the World Tourism Organisation's standard technical definition. The present study has taken a different approach. It has argued that the contexts of meanings can be reduced to three: popular notions about tourists, technical definitions required in quantitative studies, and heuristic concepts useful in behavioural studies. Differences between and within the three

contexts are inevitable, but that does not mean that every example must be accepted uncritically. Prominent examples of official technical definitions were reviewed. These, including the promulgation of the World Tourism Organisation, tend to take a wider view of "tourist" than common sense would suggest. A reason may be self-interest of the organisations framing the definitions: the W.T.O. and its affiliates in the tourism industry, including national tourism organisations.

Concepts of "tourist" are determined by individual researchers, to suit the needs of specific projects, but should reflect popular notions and technical definitions to some extent. A general heuristic model was set out. It is narrower than the W.T.O. technical definition, restricting the scope to persons away from their home region and motivated (for all or part of the trip) by leisure-related needs. This tourist-leisure link carries into later chapters of the present study.

Tourism without travel is inconceivable, so at least one place, in at least one geographical role, is elementary in a whole tourism system. The present study has retained the approach used in 1979 and 1980, which had followed Marriot (cited by Matley 1976), in identifying three geographical elements. A revised terminology has been proposed however. Instead of "tourist generating region" (Leiper 1979), the place where tourists' trips begin and end has been termed, in the present study, a **traveller generating region**. The revision is justified on grounds of clarity, and to reflect business jargon. Two other geographical elements are **transit routes** and **tourist destination regions**. Persons depart from home as "travellers", becoming temporarily "tourists" while away, especially in places they choose to visit in pursuit of leisure-related satisfactions, and then become "travellers" again to return to their place of residence.

In principle, one can imagine tourism without a specific industry, or without any economic support. However in practice, some kind of supply sub-system appears normal or elementary with contemporary tourism, so a fifth element is the **travel and tourism industry**. It comprises organisations, operating in all geographic elements of a whole tourism system, providing services and goods in successive phases of itineraries. The industrial element of a whole tourism system can be regarded as one of its sub-systems. Thus, one can analyse the travel and tourism industry in systemic terms, identifying its elements. A useful approach here is to specify the sectors, such as marketing specialists, carrier specialists, and accommodation specialists.

The 1979 and 1980 studies suggested <u>defining</u> tourism as a system. In Chapter 2 of the present study a revised view has been proposed: tourism may be best defined as a form of human behaviour, the activity of tourists. Other definitions of tourism (a market, a sector of the economy, an industry, a system) tend to produce perspectives which may, in certain conditions, be misleading or confusing. Tourism, distinctive behaviour of persons in roles as tourists, <u>gives rise to</u> whole tourism systems. Each tourist creates a whole tourism system. This happens when places become traveller generating regions, transit routes and tourist destination regions as a consequence of a trip, and when business organisations begin producing services by applying their servicing capability for the tourist(s) on that trip.

An interdisciplinary approach

Those who refer to interdisciplinary study may tend to agree, in broad terms, about what it involves, but they tend to differ in how to do it. How are the potential contributions of each relevant discipline best combined? Any combination of disciplines requires one or more coordinating mechanisms. What are they?

Mitchell (1989), following Jantsch (1972), presented and discussed a model of various approaches to coordinating disciplines in research, reproduced as Figure 1.1 in the present study. It describes the interdisciplinary method as "coordination by higher level concept" (Mitchell 1989:308). However, Mitchell and Jantsch do not suggest any mechanisms for putting this into effect, although they do indicate an organisational arrangement for this purpose: teamwork by specialists from different disciplines sharing a common interest in a particular subject or topic. Mitchell expressed optimism that such teams will be productive. Presumably, the "higher level concept" responsible for coordinating the different disciplines would be the team member who emerges as team leader. It is not likely to be a reliably effective and efficient method.

Bodewes' (1981) suggestion for resolving the problem of combining disciplinary perspectives, in this case specifically about tourism, can also be described as deficient, for it bypasses the issue. He suggested treating tourism studies as a sub-set of leisure studies.

Barnett (1990), discussing multi-disciplinary studies in general, reiterated the need for a higher level concept to bring the contributions together, a point made by Jantsch (1972) and Mitchell (1989). But Barnett too, fails to specify any coordinating mechanism; he does not say what the higher level concept might be. The same deficiency is apparent in Piaget (1973).

Thinking about this issue, an interesting analogy emerges. The epistomological problem is about how to coordinate diverse approaches, bringing them to an integrated focus on a given subject. This is analogous to the management problem summarised in Chapter 11, about how to coordinate work by diverse members of an organisation, the necessary counter in any managed organisation to division of labour. Managerial coordination involves various mechanisms, discussed in Chapter 11. Mintzberg (1983) pointed out that for work by one person outside any organisation, the managerial problem is irrelevant because "a person working alone has no need for any of the coordinating mechanisms. Coordination take place simply, in one brain" (ibid: 7). From external appearances, this process might seem "simple": in reality, what happens inside a brain when a person coordinates his or her thinking and actions is highly complex. A study on organisation and management theory has recognised and used this point. Beer's Brain of the Firm (1959) described the physiological systems of human brains and developed a detailed analogy of the five inter-connected management systems employed (to varying degrees) in managing business organisations. Subsequent works by Beer (1966,1975,1979,1985) developed the analogy and applied it to managerial issues.

Chapter 1 of the present study proposed using a general systems model as a means of coordinating the contributions of diverse disciplines which might be pertinent to studying tourism. The model is "general" in several senses: it attempts to represent all forms of tourism; it is not place specific; it allows any (combination of) disciplines to be used in researching empirical or theoretical topics.

The model (Figure 1.2) is reproduced below (Figure 12.1). It can be described as an ideographic model, since its arrangement is a simple description of what tourism involves: people travelling, becoming tourists in other places, and then travelling back home, using supportive services from industry, with environmental factors around all elements.

A different form of the model is desirable for demonstrating a method for interdisciplinary studies. It is shown in Figure 12.2. It is not ideographic, but abstract, in the form of a pentagon.
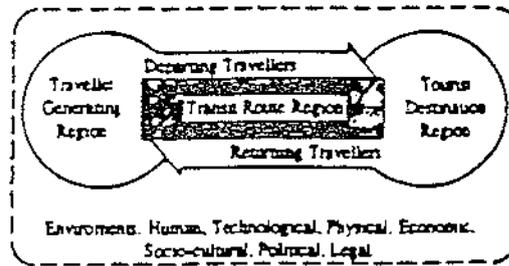

Fig. 12.1   A basic whole tourism system
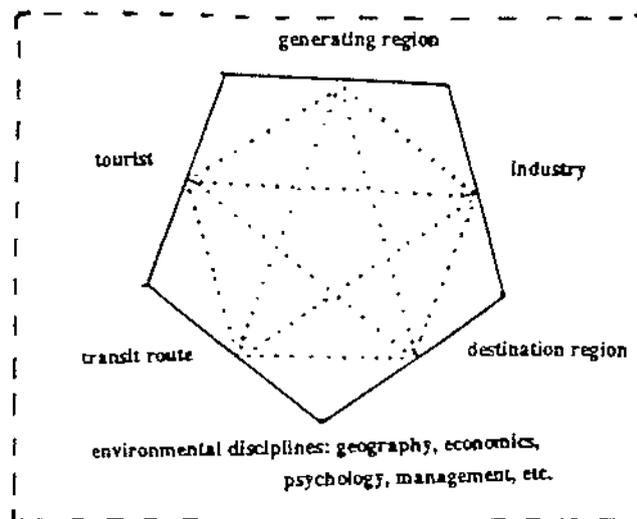
Fig. 12.2   An interdisciplinary model for tourism studies

Figure 12.2 indicates a structural method for interdisciplinary studies. Each side of the pentagon represents one element in a whole tourism system. The pentagon's environments are disciplines which may be useful in studying some facet of tourism. The method begins with links between elements. For example, the question "why do people travel?" begins with the travel generating region and its links with tourists (its residents who make trips), transit routes, destinations, and the industry. Dotted lines inside the pentagon represent the process: studying any one element involves considering its links with the other four. The method's next step requires drawing on whichever disciplines are appropriate for understanding each link.

What this means is that no research about tourism can afford to focus exclusively on one element in whole tourism systems but must recognize, implicitly or explicitly, connections between elements and between a system and its environments. The models in Figures 12.1 and 12.2 can help with that recognition, making it explicit and giving it structured forms. Admittedly, these models for interdisciplinary research cannot stand alone for anything other than the broadest studies. In other applications, they must be accompanied by other models, of sub-systems, or representing particular types of tourism, models which are, as a result, usually dependent on a smaller number of disciplines than the number relevant to whole tourism systems in general. For example Pearce's (1989) discussion of how places develop as tourist destinations draws on several models "which depict the structural evolution of tourist regions through time and space" (Pearce 1989:16). And as Pearce remarked "other models place greater emphasis on several of the points which Miossec has not explored" (ibid:18).

The model of whole tourism systems offers a broad perspective on what tourism is about in a structural and functional sense (Fig. 12.1, the ideographic form) and a correspondingly broad perspective on how the subject can be studied from interdisciplinary viewpoints (Fig. 12.2, the abstract concept). These models can encompass other models, about diverse sub-systems and specialized facets, and thus the whole systems models offer a common point of reference, a means of integration for tourism studies.

This approach has been used in a series of chapters, on different topics, in the present study. Stemming from and based around a general model of whole tourism systems, a number of topics were selected for consideration, involving interdisciplinary perspectives. They are summarised below. In two chapters, the topics have been widely studied by other researchers: Japanese tourism (chapter 8) and environmental impacts (chapter 10). In other chapters, the topics discussed have been relatively ignored in the literature.

The business and industry of tourism

Chapter 3 discussed theoretical foundations relating to the business and industry of tourism. Chapter 4 presented empirical research on the issue. A literature review found two opposing claims about this industry. One claim sees it

as ubiquitous and very large; the other says it is an illusion since tourists are served by a number of non-specific industries. Upon examination, both views were found to be deficient: the truth lies somewhere in between. To clarify this problem, literature research was conducted in a number of relevant disciplines, and field research was carried out, by case studies of business organisations. The cases, set out in Chapter 4, identified examples of organisations at the margins of the tourist business and industry, shifting position with changes in management strategy. Moreover, the case research indicated how an organisation's own interests may be best served by remaining outside the business and industry of tourism, despite it having significant quantities of tourists in its market. Why does that paradox occur? No single cause was identified. Several different explanations emerged from the cases investigated.

Instead of asserting that tourism is an industry, or assuming that it is a wholly-industrialized socio-economic phenomenon, the discussion in Chapters 3 and 4 support a theory that whole tourism systems tend to be partially-industrialized. Partial-industrialization has several consequences for these systems and their environments. It means that the travel and tourism industry tends to be smaller than aggregate expenditure measures, a demand-side monitor, would suggest. It also adds an extra dimension to the evolutionary theory for this industry first suggested by Valene Smith (1977). Ultimately, in certain circumstances the industry may wither while the whole tourism system grows.

Partial-industrialization is also reflected in, and helps explain, the geographic dispersal of tourism. Under conditions of low industrialization, tourists tend to disperse widely, with a significant proportion going "off the beaten track". Under high levels of industrialization, such meanderings do not occur in the same way.

Partial-industrialization is related to the question of who manages tourism. Under low industrialization, much of the management is by tourists themselves. Under high industrialization, the management functions are conducted in organisations specialized for those roles. This line of analysis may also clarify an underlying reason why governments, of different philosophical persuasions, have continued to give significant support to "the tourism industry". Partial industrialization also impedes associations formed to foster tourism development, since many organisations are directly involved in tourism but cannot justify, in their own economic interest, more than token affiliation with tourism industry associations.

Environmental issues are a major and controversial theme in tourism studies, and the theory of partial-industrialization seems particularly relevant, since it clarifies which factor is causing certain sorts of impact. Good and bad, the impacts of tourism cannot be linked with the industry alone, except in a system with a very high level of industrialization. One aspect of this is employment. The jobs directly created or sustained by tourism are not all in organisations which are in the business and industry of tourism. In a partially-industrialized system, a portion of the jobs directly sustained by tourism will be in organisation not in the business and industry of tourism. And because tourism systems are open to environments, lower levels of industrialization lead to greater instability, since environmental factors play a larger role when managers in the travel and tourism industry have proportionately less influence.

Leisure and tourism

Tourism can be defined as one category of leisure, occurring away from one's home region. In Chapter 5, this idea was aligned with the geographical structure of whole tourism systems, creating a method for analysing the motivations behind tourism and, more particularly, behind the so-called 'travel bug'. An analytical framework for this involves considering leisure, for hypothetical or actual persons, in two situations: their normal residential region (what would be a traveller generating region in a tourism system were the persons to go on a trip) and other regions (places as tourist destinations). An argument was advanced that tourism is perceived as having greater efficiency than other leisure, for many people. This may explain why many people become 'addicted' to tourism, why they 'catch the travel bug'. Certain implications for the marketing of tourism were suggested, arising from the analytical approach and conclusions in this Chapter.

Gambling and tourism

Links between tourism, gambling and casinos are discussed in Chapter 6. Goffman's (1961,1967) and Kenny's (unpublished) analyses of gambling behaviour and types, were compared with Gray's (1970) typology of tourists: sunlusters and wanderlusters. The former are typically engaged in a mono-destination trip, meaning a mono-destination tourism system; wanderlusters, by definition, are likely to be active in a multi-destination system. Observations at a

series of casinos indicated that most gambling tourists are sunlusters, while wanderlusters tend to use casinos as opportunities for sightseeing rather than gambling. This can be explained by reference to Goffman's and Kenny's theories about gamblers.

Statistical techniques for analysing tourist flows

Chapter 7 described a new technique for analysing aggregated flows of tourists between countries. The main destination ratio (M.D.R.) involves comparing data about traveller / tourist flows collected at two points in a whole tourism system: at departure from the traveller generating country, and upon arrival in one or more tourist destination countries. This allows destinations to be analysed into primary and secondary categories, and measured accordingly. It allows measurements of patterns and trends in multi-destination tourism, what certain writers have termed "circuit tourism", an important form of tourism which conventional statistical techniques ignore.

M.D.R. values in two whole tourism systems (Australia-Hong Kong and Australia-Singapore) were calculated over fourteen successive years. This revealed that Hong Kong has developed as a primary destination for Australian tourists, while Singapore has not. M.D.R. analyses provides evidence to support the argument that certain destination regions and countries may have a symbiotic relationship in particular tourism systems. New Zealand and Australia as destinations for tourists from the northern hemisphere may be a case in point. In turn, the argument can be extended to assert the benefits of cooperation on certain managerial issues in the symbiotic destinations. This is an example of what was termed "industrial management" in Chapter 3. Proposals for initiatives by national tourism organisations and by the international body, World Tourism Organisation, were suggested.

Japanese tourism

Chapter 8 presented a discussion about Japanese tourism. The purpose of this Chapter was to demonstrate how a whole systems approach can be applied to tourism systems originating in one country. With this systemic approach, selected topics were discussed. Japan as a generating country was described. Japanese as tourists were considered, in qualitative and quantitative terms relating to trips

overseas. Their activities in, and attitudes to, certain destination countries were noted. The structure and roles of the travel and tourism industries were described in terms of three geographical elements: Japan as generating country, certain transit routes and certain destination countries. Selected environmental issues were considered.

Attractions

Chapter 9 presented a discussion on tourist attraction systems, an example of sub-systems found in all whole tourism systems. Drawing on aspects of previous studies by MacCannell (1976) and Gunn (1969) in particular, a revised model of attraction systems was proposed.

An ecology of tourism systems

Chapter 10 summarised ideas from the literature on environmental impacts, and introduced a new model of whole tourism system ecology. A large quantity of literature exists on the environmental impacts of tourism. Virtually all of it concerns impacts - on economic, social, cultural, physical and other environments - in places tourists visit. The literature tends to ignore any distinction here between two sorts of places visited, transit routes and destinations. The literature also ignores the question of impacts on environments of tourists and, in particular of traveller generating regions, the first and final part of all whole tourism systems. Considering impacts on environments of all elements allows the possibility of an ecology of whole tourism systems.

Ideally, given a "successful" trip, the impacts on tourists is that they return home with the personal benefits of recreational and / or creative experiences. They are changed in some advantageous way. This relates to the idea of tourism as a form of leisure, discussed in Chapters 5 and 6.

Initially, the main impact of tourism on a traveller generating region is a social absence and economic loss. This happens when its residents go away on trips, taking resources - money and free time - to be consumed elsewhere. This process leads, in a simple system, to a corresponding social presence and economic gain in other places, in roles as transit routes and tourist destination regions. Ultimately however, tourists return home. Accordingly, the ultimate environmental impacts of

tourism are in traveller generating regions. Returned tourists represent a socio-cultural **gain** for these regions, stemming from recreational and / or creative experiences, and in many cases a nominal economic **gain** as well, manifested in higher productivity by returning workers who have had re-creational holidays.

The travel and tourism industry, as a whole, tends to derive economic **gains.** If this was not so, the industry, in the sense proposed in Chapter 3, would not exist. But different business units in the industry, in various geographical locations from generating regions to destinations, may incur greater or lesser shares of any economic impacts. Some organisations are unprofitable and may incur losses, perhaps for long periods, others earn super profits, in some cases over many years. In a system where the industrial element has not fully developed, relatively more gains will tend to accrue to businesses situated in places visited, especially in destinations. But as the industry develops, there is a tendency for profits to shift geographically, with interests in generating places taking a greater share, represented by travel agents, carriers, outbound tour operator-wholesalers and absentee investors in hotels. In practice, the gains and losses in environments of the five elements are more complicated than this discussion has supposed. But the system-wide impacts outlined in this study can be regarded as a simple ecological model.

Managing in tourism systems

Chapter 11 discussed certain topics relating to management. Tourism systems are notably open, to varying degrees. This means environmental factors play a relatively large role in the processes, and managers' work a relatively smaller role. This adds weight to the desirability for coordination between managers from different organisations, towards the concept of "industrial management" outlined in Chapter 3. A series of managerial issues were considered in relation to levels of industrialization, a concept introduced in Chapter 3.

Seasonal fluctuations in tourists' activity are a pervasive problem for managers in the industry. An argument was presented to support the view that the severity of the fluctuations is negatively correlated with the level of industrialization.

Beer's (1959) concept of proliferating variety as a fundamental problem in management systems was applied to certain issues of tourism systems. Higher

levels of industrialization lead to less variety, and thus to conditions more easily managed. No empirical data about tourism are available as evidence for this claim, but evidence from an experiment with iron production in China provides an analogy.

Marketing management in virtually any industry attempts to use feedback. Feedback in whole tourism systems was discussed in Chapter 10. Managerial implications were taken up in Chapter 11. With tourism systems under high levels of industrialization, the use of pure feedback by business managers is simple and cheap. Under low levels of industrialization, it becomes difficult and expensive, and as a consequence, efficient and effective marketing is impeded.

Management's adoption of a marketing concept is more likely to occur in tourism systems with higher levels of industrialization, because the operational and strategic links across industrial sectors (hotels, airlines, travel agents, etc.) encourage managers' vision of derived demand, originating in customers' needs to have a satisfying leisure-related experience. Under low levels of industrialization, the managers of separate businesses are not constantly reminded of the point. They are, as a consequence, more likely to follow a sales rather than a marketing orientation.

Mintzberg's (1983) coordinating mechanisms for combating division of labour within a (corporate) organisation can be extended to inter-corporation organisations, to an industry. Unless component business units are coordinated to some extent, there is no industry. A "fragmented industry", an excuse reiterated by tourism lobbyists, is a contradiction in terms. There is, rather, an argument for managers in tourism-orientated organisations to seek out and assess opportunities for diverse sorts of cooperative activities with other organisations in the same line of business. In this way, they are managing the development of a tourism industry.

The management of tourism is a broader issue than the management of a tourism industry. Who manages tourism? The role tends to be shared between businesses, industrial groups, governmental agencies and tourists themselves. Tourists play a relatively larger role in whole tourism systems with low levels of industrialization. This point is obscured in governmental policies framed around notions of a giant and ubiquitous, but "fragmented" tourism industry. A review of fundamental policy issues, such as the recognition of this industry, suggests an

opportunity for a radically different approach. Instead of professing to represent a giant industry, leaders of the tourism industry and its bureaucratic representatives in governmental agencies could acknowledge that they are involved with a smallish industry grappling with a large socio-economic phenomenon. This presents a new, and realistic case for governmental support.

An emerging discipline of tourism studies?

In Chapter 1 the aim of demonstrating interdisciplinary research was accompanied by a remark that it may lead to a distinct discipline, an organised body of knowledge that might stand in the centre of multidisciplinary approaches to facets of the field. This study has attempted to propose theories which are cohesive, the integrative mechanism being a whole systems model. In contrast, many academic studies into tourism have taken a different approach by concentrating on empirical research, gathering and analysing facts to be considered in the light of received theories from a variety of established disciplines. That predominant approach is understandable; it is appropriate to the comparative novelty of tourism as a subject for research. As Medawar remarked, "There is an epoch in the growth of a science during which facts accumulate faster than theories can accommodate them" (1969:129). The growth of facts about tourism, gathered by academic and professional researchers (arrivals recorded in each country, measures of economic impact, assessment of social impact) has outstripped the growth of theories about tourism, and one of the implicit aims of this project has been to help redress the balance. This requires theories which are not expressed only from the perspectives of (and in terminologies of) other disciplines. This is asserting that tourism studies can have legitimacy as a discipline in its own right. It is not claiming that other, established disciplines have no role in research and scholarship on the subject: tourism studies will remain a multidisciplinary and interdisciplinary subject. The latter approach, interdisciplinary studies, offers most advantage, for it is cohesive rather than fragmented.

Several writers have referred to the idea of tourism studies emerging as a distinct discipline. They include Robinson (1976), Nunez (1978), Buck (1978), Leiper (1981), Jafari and Ritchie (1981), and Kaspar (1987). Of these, most suggest it is possible or probable. Kaspar asserted it exists already, but admitted that "(i)n the present stage, tourism is still an attractive phenomenon for other disciplines to study ... rather than for scientists of tourism proper" (ibid:274).

Generally speaking, the academic world recognizes distinct disciplines by the titles given to departments and chairs in universities. When the first tourism department was established is not known, but the first case in New Zealand was when Lincoln University established a Department of Parks, Recreation and Tourism and made an appointment to a Chair in 1990. In Australia, the first cases were at the University of Technology, Sydney, where a Chair in Leisure and Tourism Studies was established in 1988, and at James Cook University of North Queensland where a Chair in Tourism was established in 1989.

The existence of an academic discipline may be represented by titles given to departments and chairs in universities, but the legitimacy of the discipline, in the academic community at large, arguably depends on something more. It emerges when a new discipline demonstrates that it can contribute knowledge relevant beyond its own subject area, of interest to specialists in other disciplines. A number of researchers specializing in tourism studies may have achieved this, and the trend will probably grow.

The present study has developed one theme which may have potential to make a contribution in this respect. This is the theme of industries. A new concept of an industry has been proposed, drawing on works by writers on strategic management, on industrial economics, and on organisational theory. The notion of industrial management has been introduced, referring to managers reaching beyond the corporate organisation in which they are employed, forming coordinating linkages with other organisations in the same or similar lines of business. This has potential application in several fields beyond tourism studies: general management, industrial economics, and governmental policy.

Arguing in favour of developing a discipline of tourism studies is not arguing that all researchers interested in tourism-related topics will or should follow that approach. In practice, the discipline may suit a number of specialists working within what is, and will remain, a field for research from a number of diverse perspectives.

FUTURE RESEARCH OPTIONS

A number of possibilities for research projects have emerged from this study.

Models of tourism systems

The model of whole tourism systems set out in Chapter 2 is potentially a subject for further research. Axiomatically, there is no such thing as a perfect model. More particularly, there is scope for applying more concepts from systems theory to these models, and to develop models for sub-systems. Vickers (1983) work on "human systems" is one line for consideration. Another is Chacko's (1989) work on a systems approach to problem solving. Suggesting a hierarchy of tourism systems, beginning with the holistic case, applying Boulding's (1987) approach, is another interesting idea. Applying systemic notions not discussed in the present study, such as equilibrium, entropy, and equifinality (August Smith 1982) would also be interesting.

The structure and functions of industries

More detailed and specific research is desirable on the coordinating mechanisms used to link business units into industries, along the lines described in Chapters 3 and 4. A multi-industry approach seems desirable, with some of the research focussing on tourism-related businesses and some focussing on quite separate industries. The notion of industries as coordinated meta-organisations is directly contradictory with neo-classical economic theory with its emphasis on competition. This clash, and its explicit and hidden implications, should be a topic of any research program into this theme. The issue's significance to government policies for industrial development appears interesting.

The management of industries

Springing from research into industrial structure and function is the management of industries. More research on inter-organisational, intra-industrial management networks would be interesting and probably useful. There may be scope for developing educational topics on this issue, for inclusion in curricula in management courses.

The travel and tourism industries

A method for identifying and measuring the travel and tourism industry from a supply-side perspective was outlined in Chapter 3. Further theoretical research is required on this issue, leading to empirical studies on regional or national levels. Measurements of the level of industrialization in a whole tourism system, or in its destination element, would provide a basis for guiding policy decisions about the amount of support required from government. To date, such decisions appear to be made on qualitative, not quantitative grounds. Monitoring trends over successive years would indicate to governments whether any such support should be increased or decreased. Comparing levels of industrialization in different tourism systems, or in the one case in different time periods, may be a fruitful line of research.

Leisure and tourism

Empirical research to test the hypothesis argued in Chapter 5, that tourism tends to be more efficient than other leisure, will involve the analytical framework proposed in that chapter. Research using the multi-factor framework would extend Stear's (1984) approach, which dealt with a single factor, socialising. This research may provide useful results for tourism planners, service designers and, in particular, marketers.

Gambling and tourism

Are wanderlust tourists really less prone to gambling games than sunlust tourists? Do wanderlust tourists take out more travel insurance than sunlusters? Will the casinos which will soon be operating in New Zealand add anything significant to the country's performance as a tourist destination? These are three research possibilities arising from the work on gambling and tourism.

Main destination ratios

More empirical research can be conducted on multi-destination tourism using the concept of main destination ratios. Several lines of enquiry are indicated in Chapter 7. These include calculating M.D.R. values in given tourism systems, and investigating whether the technique should be adopted by official organisations.

Declining industries in Japanese tourism systems?

Will the relative size of the travel and tourism industries decline as volumes of Japanese international tourists increase? This empirical question, linking the partial industrialization concept to a given case, may be feasible for research.

Attractions

The discussion on attractions, in Chapter 9, indicated several lines of possible future research. An application of the system-wide model to a given case would be interesting, and potentially useful for guiding operations management of organisations fostering places as tourist destinations.

Ecology of tourism systems

More theoretical research into an ecology of tourism systems is possible. An empirical issue worth pursuing would be assessing tourists post-trip, back home, to measure the significance of any humanistic and socio-cultural benefits derived from their touristic experiences.

Managing in tourism systems

Several research possibilities arise from the discussion in Chapter 11. Are seasonal and other cyclical fluctuations in demand related to the level of industrialization, as the theoretical argument suggests? Is the proliferation of tourist destinations also related to industrialization? Empirical research on that issue could focus on destinations with any of several geographical dimensions: national, provincial, urban, precinct, site. Another approach for further research on the managerial implications of destination proliferation would involve comparative case research into, say, the Singapore Tourist Board (no regional proliferation issues) and the Australian Tourist Commission (significant issues). The discussion on proliferating variety indicated that it applies to issues other than destinations, the issue taken up in Chapter 11. Theoretical and applied research into those other issues is possible.

After identifying cases with different levels of industrialization, a research study into the use of pure feedback in whole tourism systems by marketing managers would be interesting and, potentially useful.

More detailed research into governmental policy formation, including arguments from tourism industry lobbyists, taking account of the partial industrialization theory, might be useful. Would tourism interests (from industry and in specialist governmental agencies) be prepared to abandon claims of representing a very large industry, to change strategies in seeking support from governments? Is there scope for a new approach, not just in governmental policy but in other professional areas of tourism? Or is the "tourism-is-an-industry" ideology too firmly entrenched? The history of other socio-economic systems would suggest optimism that ideologies are mortal.

Conclusion

This study has developed a model of whole tourism systems which it then applied to a range of topics. The approach has been to combine literature research with a critical interdisciplinary perspective of the diverse topics, accompanied by field observations, case studies and surveys. The general model and its associated concepts have given cohesion to, and a common point of reference for, the range of topics discussed. A number of new or amended theories have been proposed. These offer scope for additional research, of various sorts, for three reasons. First, in principle all models can be improved and refined. Second, certain theoretical proposals can be replicated, or used in extended empirical research. Third, all scientific theories can, potentially, be rejected by subsequent research, replaced by new ways of understanding. However, the integrated approach in this study, around which old and new theories have been structured, offers a contribution towards the distinct discipline of tourism studies, an organised body of knowledge which stands in the centre of interdisciplinary and multidisciplinary research and scholarship on the subject.

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