MASS TOURISM IN A SMALL WORLD
New challenges and boundaries

David Harrison

Presentation outline

1. Early objections to tourism

2. Mass tourism in the nineteenth century

3. International tourism…......

4. …....and social scientists

5. Changing tourism perspectives

6. Five propositions:
   – We can learn from tourism development in the past
   – We live in one (small) world of 'development'
   – No-one seriously wants an end to tourism
   – Mass tourism is here to stay
   – Most tourism has features of mass tourism

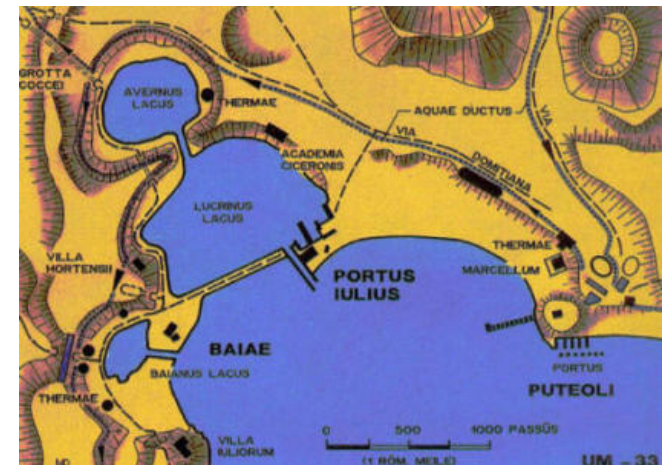7. The new challenges and the end of boundaries?

1. Early objections to tourism

- Herodotus wrote of the drunken excesses of participants at the Bubastis Festival in the Nile Delta, Egypt, in the 4th century BC.
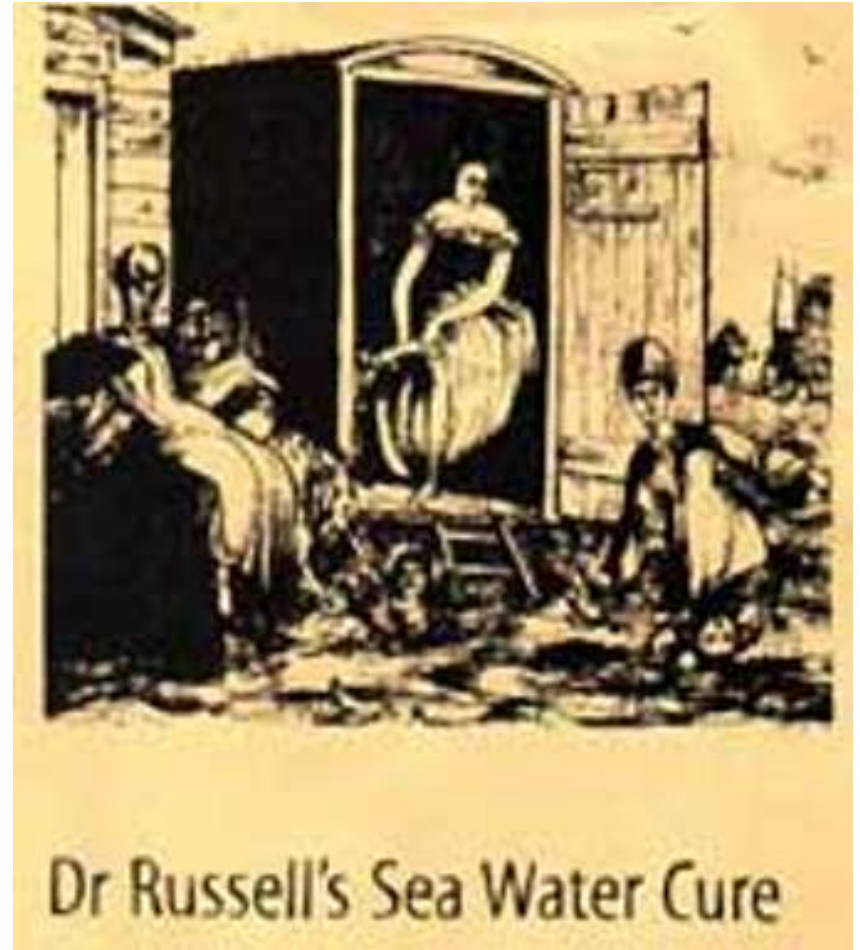
- Respectable Roman senators bewailed the hedonistic behaviour of wealthy Romans on their summer holidays in Baiae more than 300 years later.

And the objections continued…

In England In the mid-eighteenth century, sea water came to be seen as healthy and seaside resorts began to replace spas. The rush to the sea had begun

Dr Russell's Sea Water Cure

And continued….

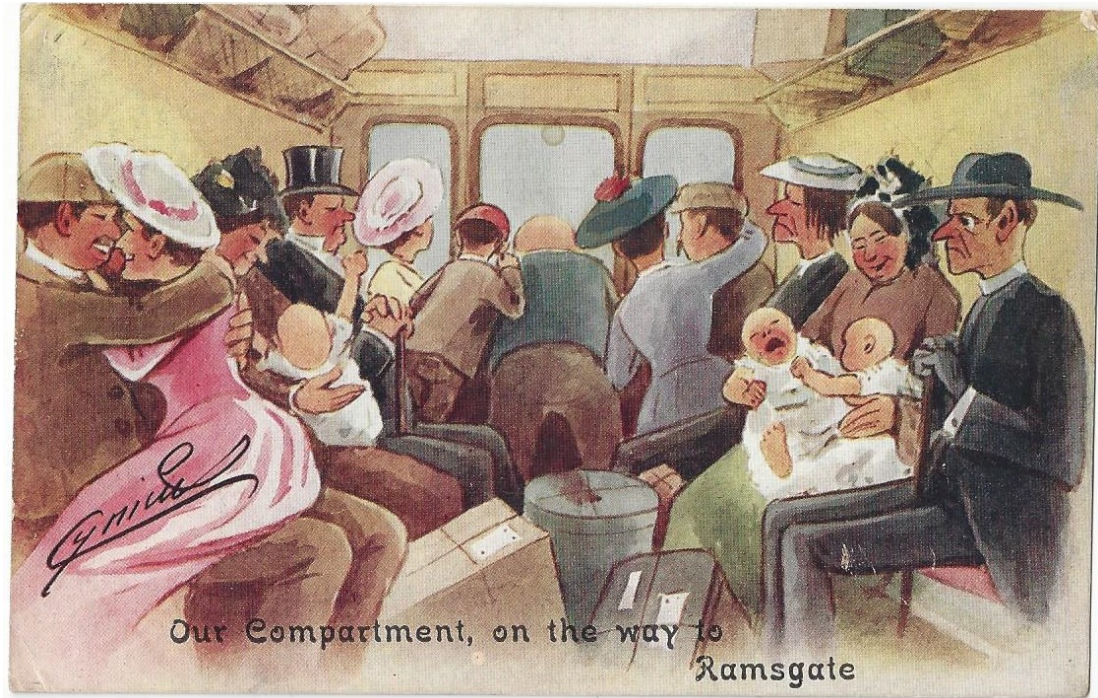1841 Cook's temperance excursion from Leicester to Loughborough.   Result? Modern package tourism.

The Rev. Francis Kilvert, 1870, writing about English tourists in Wales:

And of all tourists the most vulgar, illbred, offensive and loathsome is the British tourist.

2. Mass tourism in the late nineteenth century

The train to Ramsgate 1909

Our Compartment, on the way to Ramsgate
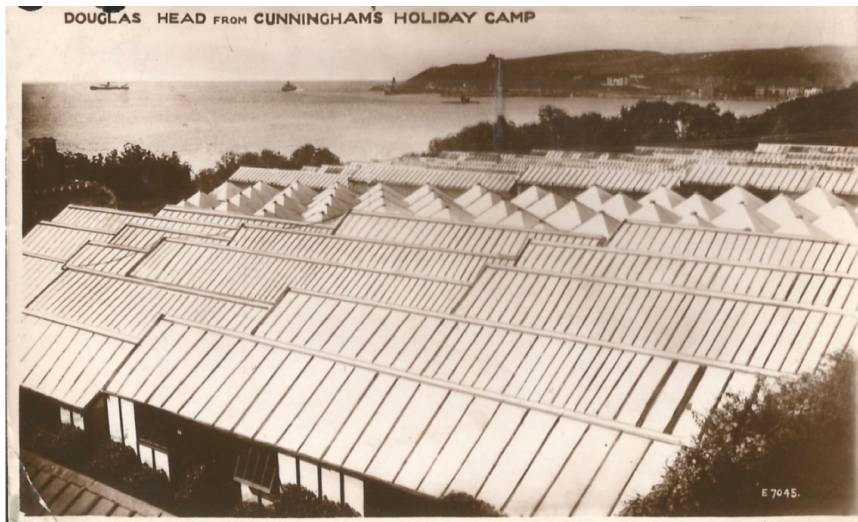

Ramsgate beach 1907

The early impacts of domestic mass tourism?

1. Tourist immorality e.g. drunkenness and public displays of affection

2. Excursionists came on Sunday and disrupted the Lord's Day.

3. Tourists did not spend money in the resorts but brought their own food and (often) their own servants.

4. Tourism attracted criminals, pickpockets, prostitutes and so on.

5. Environmental degradation, litter, waste etc.

6. Lowered 'the tone' of nature and their environment. i.e. they were working class!

BUT

What happened to these early seaside resorts?

Holiday camps: industrially-organised holidays

Cunningham's holiday camp, Isle of Man, UK Started late 1890s. Men only

Butlins, Bognor, UK, 1968

'It's lovely and I'll be back…We are having a grand time…Hugh has gone for a swim and I'm in the gardens getting scorched.'

3. International tourism…..

Ramsgate: 1940s and 2000

Majorca 2009

Benidorm 23rd July 2015 (Guardian)

And the new centre of international tourism…

Somewhere in China

China 2014

4th most popular
destination
(56 million arrivals)

3rd in international
receipts

1st in tourist
international
tourist expenditure

(UNWTO 2015)

c. 4% of Chinese
have passports

4. ...and Social Science

Early academic judgements on mass international tourism:

Dean MacCannell

        'What is an expeditionary force without guns? Tourists.' (1999: xxiv)

Valene Smith

        Deplored what was happening on Borocay, Philippines (1992)

Davydd Greenwod

        'Culture by the pound'?   (1977 and 1989)

Dennison Nash

        Tourism as Imperialism (1977)

Jost Krippendorf

        Tourists are creating 'a new and devious form of colonialism' (1987)

Doxey's irritation index (1975)?

        An index of threat levels - from euphoria via apathy and annoyance to antagonism?

Plus other critics……

Pope John Paul II

Mass tourism:

Produces a 'superficial exoticism, ' a reconstructed ethnicity' to satisfy 'a thirst for new thrills.'

Has sometimes 'generated a form of sub-culture that humiliates both the tourist and his (sic) host community; it tends to exploit for commercial purposes the traces of primitive civilisations'.

It is 'like the world…. Ever more globalised and inter-dependent'

(June 2001)

5. Changing tourism perspectives

'Development' approaches' 1970s fwd.

Modernisation	1950s-1970s
Dependency	1970sf
Neo-liberalism	1980s
Alternative development	1980s
Sustainability	1990s fwd
Globalisation	2000s

(Sharpley, Telfer, Harrison et al)

Jafari's 'platform approach'
(1989)

Acceptance	1960s
Caution	1970s
Adaptation	1980s
Knowledge-based	1990s fwd?

- In both cases, perspectives are not superseded but co-exist over time and place

- Is the platform approach most valid for 'developed' societies, and the 'development' debate most applied to 'developing' societies?

6. A note on sustainability

- 'Sustainable tourism development' and 'alternative tourism development' emerged from the Brundtland Report (1987)

- Alternative to **what**? The notion *presupposes* a critique of mass tourism, e.g. -:

dimension	Alleged impacts
economic	capitalism; leakages; inequality; menial jobs
Socio-cultural	'demonstration' effects; commoditisation; degradation of culture; moral problems
political	Dependence; loss of sovereignty.
environmental	Climate change; unsustainability; urban blight

- Some of these criticisms are highly contentious, and voices have been raised in defence of mass tourism (Butcher, 2003; Aramberri, 2010; Weaver, 2013)

7. FIVE PROPOSITIONS CONCERNING MODERN MASS TOURISM

Proposition 1: We can learn from tourism development in the past

- Historians and social scientists have worked largely independent of one another

- The *processes* of tourism development – peace and stability, improved communications, new or improved technologies and transport links, increases in disposable income, etc. – and their impacts -are much the same over time and place.

- Modern Chinese tourism and the ripple effect!

- Greenwood's Fuentarrabia changed from the 1970s to the 1980s and is quite different today. Brighton, Blackpool, Benidorm, Rimini, Magaluf and Torremolinos have changed in character over the decades. Are they the same places?

- Assessments of tourism's *impacts* have changed over time. Development is often viewed differently in retrospect.

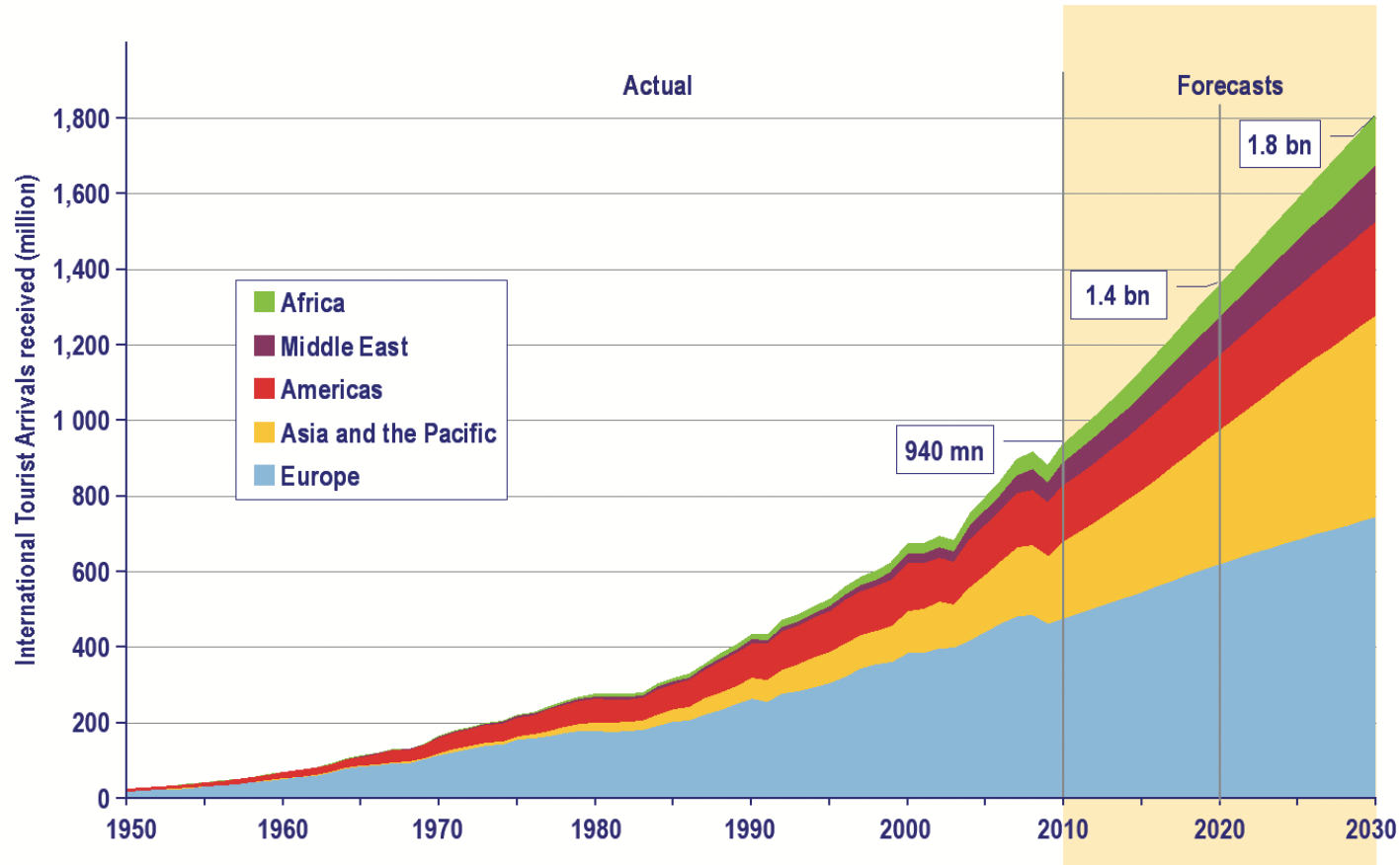# Proposition 2: We live in one (small) world of 'development'

- 1920s: Sun tan becomes fashionable and holidaymaking is transformed.

- Mass tourism successively transformed the southern Mediterranean, North Africa, and tropical islands – all became mass tourism destinations.

- There was a *corresponding* decline in resorts in North West Europe, many of which now seek development aid.

- As first Japan and then China became a destination and source of tourists, the centre of gravity (or hedonism) has shifted east.

- Multiple centres of tourism and tourists; East and West increasingly converging: tourism is a development tool for (nearly) all societies.

- When looking at tourism, it no longer makes sense to make absolute distinctions betweeen 'developing' and 'developed' societies.

Proposition 3: No-one seriously wants to abolish tourism

- There are clearly objections to specific forms of tourism, or aspects of tourist behaviour.

- None amount to a wholesale rejection of tourism, which is generally recognised to bring economic benefits.

- Mass tourism is a major contribution to poverty reduction

- Survey after survey of residents indicates basic support for tourism as a development tool.

- Objections can be best met by increased awareness of tourism's excesses, sympathetic planning, public consultation and sensitive action in spreading tourism's economic benefits.

Proposition 4: Mass Tourism is here to stay

UNWTO tourism towards 2013: actual trend and forecast 1950-2030

And so is capitalism...

Proposition 5: Most tourism has features of Mass Tourism

Mass Tourism: an Ideal Type

a) Regular, systemic movement of large numbers of people for holiday purposes

b) Operated by stakeholders to make a profit

c) Travel, accommodation, and attractions highly organised, often across national boundaries

d) Attractions range from untrammelled 'nature' to urban, human-made 'heritage'

e) Control outside destinations, often by transnational companies

f) Concentrated and seasonal

g) Emergence of supportive and critical national and international institutions

h) Concern over economic, sociocultural and environmental consequences

i) Impacts conditioned by culture and prior experience of destination

j) Fleeting and superficial interaction between tourist and resident

k) Interaction underpinned by stereotypes and/or power disparities

New Challenges and the end of boundaries

1. To focus primarily on mass tourism, its sustainability and its future. Small-scale tourism and ecotourism are side-shows.

2. To concentrate equally on tourism development in 'developed' *and* 'developing' societies, seeing both as intrinsically linked in a global socioeconomic system in which one affects the other.

3. To learn from studies of tourism development in the past and develop comparative approaches. The processes and impacts have much in common.

4. To apply the same criteria to tourism development across destinations, wherever they are.

5. Accept that tourism is largely a capitalist enterprise, that the *economic* case for it is overwhelming, and work *with* the tourism industry in both understanding and developing it sustainably.