

Tourism Systems

An Interdisciplinary Perspective

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CHAPTER 1

TOURISM AND TOURISM SYSTEMS

Foundation concepts for studying tourism in a formally systematic manner are discussed in this first Chapter. The expression "tourist" is shown to have three categories of meanings, each appropriate to a particular context and application. "Tourism" has been a loosely and imprecisely applied expression in much of the literature on the subject. Instead of those confusing and unnecessary variations, a single concept is suggested below. The activities of any tourist give rise to a tourism system, an arrangement of human, geographical and industrial elements, an open system that interacts with various environments. "Tourism system" has twin meanings: there are empirical examples, such as the Australia-New Zealand case - residents of the former country travelling to visit the latter; and the expression can also refer to theoretical systems, used for ideas about the general structure and performance of tourism systems.

INTRODUCTION

In practice tourism has a long history, but the descriptor "tourism" is much newer, only appearing in the early 1800s. Previously, activities that we now associate with tourism went under other labels. And Tourism Studies, 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 continues about foundation issues, about questions such as... What is tourism? Who are tourists and what distinguishes them from other visitors or travellers? Is tourism synonymous with a tourism industry? And is there such an industry, claimed by some observers to be very large? How are environmental issues connected to all this: the controversial positive and negative impacts of tourist-related activities? How do places become destinations? Which academic disciplines are most useful for researching and understanding tourism?

There are no general agreements about the answers amongst all academicians specializing in Tourism Studies. In other words, a widely accepted basis for a discipline (an organized body of knowledge) has not yet emerged. But even if a distinctive discipline remains in an embryonic stage, there are increasing numbers of universities where tourism is a topic or subject in multidisciplinary or interdisciplinary courses.

For students in those courses, clearly understood foundation concepts are desirable, if not essential. In many more universities, tourism is a topic for research by academicians from several faculties and for these persons, clearly set out concepts may be useful for individuals' research and may help foster communication between researchers working on different projects with a common theme.

Ideas in this Chapter stem from earlier works by this writer (Leiper, 1979, 1981) although several changes are made in this presentation. Those earlier publications have had some influence on academic thinking and practical applications (2) which indicates that their approach and ideas may be useful.

The ultimate aim of this Chapter is to contribute to the foundations for a distinctive discipline of Tourism Studies. This, in the present writer's opinion, requires a Systems approach. So a core theme in this Chapter is **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-related topics, the core terms are used very loosely and imprecisely. "Tourism" is the term most loosely and diversely applied by many writers. Sometimes it seems to mean the activity of tourists, sometimes a market, sometimes a sector of the economy, sometimes it implies an industry, and sometimes it means a subject for academic research and study. This diversity is only fully apparent from reading widely in the literature, but recent editions of dictionaries indicate the point. "Tourist" is also an expression that carries a wide range of overlapping and contradictory meanings, implied and inferred.

No academic subject can ignore those variations, and no academic 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, and individual thinking tends to be clouded.

Historical Review

This section presents a brief interpretation of the history of travel and tourism. Along the way it reviews the evolution of three core ideas: "tour", "tourist", "tourism", which is a useful prelude to discussing how they might be used in specialized studies. It also notes how "tourist" and "tourism" are sometimes used with disparaging connotations, and indicates the first two reasons why that occurred.

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 form of long distance trips is **tourism**, and there are also the daily routines of short distance trips, **commuting**. The first form involves far fewer participants than the latter, but in any year there are hundreds of millions of people engaged in tourism.

In prehistoric times, all humans were nomads: travel was **the way of life**. Chatwin (1988) and others believe 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. Then there were the eras of mass **pilgrimage**; in Western Civilization this occurred between the 11th and the 15th centuries. 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). **Tourism** began, probably, soon after humans established settlements and a few acquired discretionary wealth and free time, when a small minority began going on trips for pleasurable and cultural reasons, but it only became a mass phenomenon in the 20th century. Today it is the dominant form of long distant travel.

Firms in the business of travel emerged when commerce and trade led to viable opportunities for serving travelling traders. Large and specialist tourism-type businesses grew around mass pilgrimages, as Sumption (1975) observed; he called pilgrimage in medieval times the tourism of the era. Shipping lines and their agents (forerunners of modern travel agents) promoted and serviced mass migration. Today mass tourism, accompanied by large scale travel flows for work-related purposes and other reasons, underlies markets for huge numbers of organisations with different product lines in the business of travel and tourism.

"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. An unsigned article in the (now defunct) *Journal of Tourism History* claimed that a European family, de la Tour, were in the business of arranging trips in the 1500s and that their name became a generic for "tour"/"tourist" (see Leiper, 1983). Part of the idea's appeal is that "tour" meaning a trip only became a widely used expression after the 16th Century. But the present writer has suggested that this was a hoax (ibid), and this seems a valid criticism, a point agreed with by Professor I.F. Clarke (3). In the article reviewing that question another possibility was suggested which, if true, provides a useful idea about the core sense of "tour" and its derivative expressions. It links tour with leisure.

“Tour” may have acquired its meaning of a trip with a circular-type itinerary, for leisure-related purposes in particular, from the French word “tour” meaning “tower”. Amongst the French speaking people residing in England after the Norman invasions (c.1066 AD) the custom of referring to going on a “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, A Tour Through The Whole Island of Britain, is evidence. The “tour/tower” hypothesis may be worth investigating by an interested Historian or Etymologist, to test its validity.

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.

Some kind of leisurely trip has usually been a connotation of “tour”. This is quite different from “travel”, which originally was “travail” ... as in this 15th Century sentence “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. Many persons these days would claim the only substantial change is that the travail or labour is briefer, given the rapid speed of airlines and other modern modes.

Travel is a form of labour; tour (and thus tourism) is a form of leisure: they are, in that sense, opposites. And either may involve work, for work and leisure are not mutually exclusive, as are labour and leisure.

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. Lambert (1950), Hibbert (1974) and others have written colourful accounts. Towner’s (1985) account is 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, best known as the pioneering Economist and author of The Wealth of Nations, added "ist" to "tour" to coin a new word in the 1770s, according to Wykes (1973:13). Smith's connotation was pejorative: the first persons labelled "tourists" were being disparaged. "Tourist" and "tourism" continue to have pejorative implications and/or inferences in many cases today, for a number of overlapping reasons. Adam Smith's reason, the original one, seems to have been his perception that many persons were merely following the ritual of a Grand Tour around France and Italy and were missing its substance. The ritual was to follow the established route, in order to experience personally the most famous cities, sites and objects.

The missed substance was the acquisition of knowledge and etiquette, only possible in a substantial way by lengthy visits, motivated study and by 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 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 in the behaviour of the persons Smith called Tour-ists. They were more motivated by needs for entertainment in various forms, and for status by being able to claim (to themselves or others) that they had been there, seen that. "Tourist" and "tourism" frequently carry the same connotation today. It is one of the factors behind the disparaging sense of those ideas, the seminal factor.

In the 1840s Thomas Cook began escorting groups on the first modern packaged or inclusive tours (4), 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. Example can be found in E.M. Forster's (1908) novel Room With A View, in its sixth chapter about English tourists on an excursion from Florence. Fussell's (1980) book contains an interesting account of the topic.

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 (5). And surveys indicate that the numbers engaged in domestic tourism (trips within one's home country) are far greater. Many (most?) of those millions of persons probably give little or no thought to the questions of status associated with the tourist label. Therefore the issue should not permeate the study of tourism. It is an interesting issue academically, and certainly has some practical implications for business policies.

"Tourist" has also been used in a technical sense since the 1920s. This is in the context of statistical measurements where decisions are made as to which travellers or visitors are counted as tourists. The topic is taken up later in this Chapter.

"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. Two disparaging connotations, carrying over from "tourist", have been indicated above. Early in the 20th Century, first in Switzerland and Austria and later elsewhere, a few Economists began studying the consequences of tourists' activities on the national and regional economy. They observed that tourists, as visitors, brought money in from outside which they spent whilst in the country or locality. They were, in effect, temporary consumers in the place. And very frequently there were (and are) big-spending consumers compared to the typical local resident, for various reasons. 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. In other words the effects were perceived by Economists as being akin to (sic) those of industries. This led to "tourism" coming to mean a sector of the economy, all the economic impacts of tourists' activities.

In the 1960s, that notion of tourism as a sector of the economy was extended to thinking that tourism is (sic) an industry, comprising all the suppliers of services, goods and the use of facilities to tourists-visitors.

Later again, in the 1970s, additional meanings became attached to "tourism". Some academicians specializing in the subject use "tourism" as the name of an academic subject or discipline.

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.

Historically, there were (and are) at least six different meanings implied or inferred by "tourism". And, complicating the matter, some people are inclined to attach their own notions of "tourist" to any use of the term. Tourism Studies requires clarification of these issues, and that is the aim of the next sections.

TOURISTS

The topic in this section is tourists - people described, classified or regarded as tourists. Broadly speaking, they are sub-sets of travellers or visitors; to be (regarded or counted as) a tourist one also must be a traveller or a visitor and visitors are, axiomatically, recent travellers. But not all travellers are tourists; the former is 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. A person in the former role is never a tourist in any real sense.

There are three contexts where the word "tourist" is used, giving rise to three applications or categories of meanings: (a) popular notions about tourists, (b) heuristic concepts of tourists, and (c) technical definitions of tourists. A foundation principle in studying tourists involves recognizing the distinctions. Ignoring the different contexts or applications of the three sets can lead to confusion.

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" (6). 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 "tourist" to foreigners, visitors from another country. A third possibility might limit the consciousness of "tourist" 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 disparaging connotations, based on any of several plausible or prejudiced attitudes, while other persons do not.

What constitutes touristic behaviour (or the boundary between tourists and travelers) is impossible to define in a manner that suits everybody, because the attributes behind the determination exist in each individual's consciousness.

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 should be made by the author showing what is meant by the central concept in the essay, journal article, report, or lecture. The statement 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 market research report for Wonderland Fantasy Resort Hotels to a student's essay for Professor X. Inevitably the concepts formulated will be similar to somebody's popular notions. For example, a report for managers in a firm wholesaling pre-packaged inclusive tours might define "tourist" as follows: 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 touristic values and cultural impacts on host societies might define the focal topic as foreign visitors in the country whose main purpose of trip is leisure related; other examples for this category can be found in the literature. The author of any formal study should state what they mean by the central concept of their assignment, in a way that suits their purpose at hand. Such definitions of "tourist" will normally be compatible broadly with popular notions, but cannot hope to conform to everyone's opinions. At least the readers will know what the author meant, and that is the main point.

But can we identify a generally useful core meaning, that could be applied widely for heuristic purposes, that is broadly consistent with essential attributes in many

popular notions? This does seem possible, if one puts aside all the disparaging connotations (7) and 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 essential attributes, four core 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 seem to be. (The scope of "home region" varies widely amongst individuals.) A person can be a tourist in their own country, if they are visiting 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 behavioural set of tourists, the former set's distinctive characteristics would dominate and the distinctive behavioural characteristics of travellers on overnight trips would 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 probably bring a quite special character to the experience of holidays and some other trips that are touristic in character or style.

The third attribute is that the behaviour occurs in spare-time, during what is often called leisure time. Tourists are persons at leisure away from their normal residential regions. The tourist/leisure link has been advanced by writers from several backgrounds, including an eminent Australian town planner (Clarke, 1975), an American Professor of Behavioural Science (MacCannell, 1976) and the Director of the Netherlands Institute of Tourism and Leisure Studies (Bodewes, 1981). Experiences of touristic leisure might include almost anything that comes within other leisure (8). 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. That might include any sort of recreation (sightseeing, relaxing on a beach, socializing, etc.) and/or many sorts of creative activity pursued in spare time (such as educational or artistic pursuits). Hamilton-Smith's (1987) dissection of touristic types proposes a more detailed analysis of the tourism/leisure link.

Fourth, the distinctive and essential behaviour of tourists, what can now be termed touristic leisure, involves a relationship between the visitor and some feature or

characteristic of the place(s) visited. 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 the individual traveller's leisure needs, an attribute forming what Gunn (1972,1979) calls a tourist attraction's "nucleus".

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, by sightseeing 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 (a) the place's features and environmental characteristics and (b) their own leisure needs, preferences and tastes. No traveller ever set out on a touristic trip to visit a country or a region or a sight they perceived as unsatisfying. But some do choose to visit places that stretch their budgets to the limit, or that are known to lack suitable facilities, because they perceive potentially satisfying experiences there, perceptions of touristic leisure outweighing financial or physical hardship.

The concept set 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 the essential components of touristic behaviour, of being a tourist. The concept 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.

Technical Definitions of Tourists

This category is normally framed from the perspective of a region or country. Technical definitions reflect the interests of businesses and organisations concerned with fostering particular places as 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 (9), 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 (10). 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 visitor 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:

international tourists: 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).

excursionists: 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 tourist are similar to most popular notions, because both sets apply to a category of visitor. 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 by "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 behavioural aspects of tourists, normally an appropriate heuristic definition is required. It states what the researcher or writer means and understands by that concept for the purposes of the 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 touristic behaviour 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, the statistical data are dissected to correspond 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.

The 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 seems to be the one factor, in the present writer's opinion the scope of most official technical definitions is 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, at conventions, etc. - a scope far beyond most popular notions about tourists (11). The present writer's opinion is not unique; over recent years editorial comments in *Asia Travel Trade* have occasionally ridiculed the technical definitions and the scope in statistical data that stem from them.

So is there another factor? The following interpretation seems plausible. The persons who formulate official technical definitions represent organisations with "tourism" or "tourist" in their title. By framing the definitions very widely, many more visitors are included in the official statistical counts of tourists, and in consequence, estimates of the economic benefits derived from tourist expenditure based on official data are boosted significantly. Who benefits? All the "Tourism" organisations. With boosted statistics, these organisations are better able to convince politicians and treasury bureaucrats that more recognition should be given to the tourism sector of the economy, and that their publicly-funded agencies should be given extra resources (12).

Seeing the stratagem's potential, a few organisations have sought to extend it, by including day trippers in official statistics of tourist arrivals. In places hosting large quantities of day trippers that extension would boost official estimates about the economic value of tourism by huge margins, but the distortion from common sense might be a problem. So the ploy depends on an environment where distortions from common sense might go unnoticed (13).

A Preferable Scheme

A preferable and more realistic arrangement would be to substitute the term "overnight visitor" for "tourist" in the technical framework, and to re-define "tourist" in a form closer to generally accepted meanings. Such a proposal is not likely to find favour in official circles so long as official tourism organisations pursue a policy of portraying tourism in the broadest scope possible, trying to show that it is the largest phenomenon possible.

TOURISM

Having discussed "tourists", what can be said about "tourism"? Many overlapping meanings have been construed for this latter idea. In the practice of simplistic everyday communication, people are likely to construe virtually any meaning to an expression. In specialized scholarly studies of particular subjects (and more especially disciplines, when an organized body of knowledge is developed for a subject) those simplistic construals must be carefully evaluated. Most will be put to one side, replaced by concepts useful in academic research and education. So, the observation in a preceding section that "tourism" has been given several different meanings (all associated in some way, directly or indirectly, with the activities of tourists) provides material for critical analysis.

Tourism as an Academic Subject

The problem here is purely semantic. Some writers have used the single word to denote a field of study, an academic subject, an embryonic discipline. A good example is:

Tourism is the study of man away from his usual habitat, of the industry which 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).

Jafari's definition is really about the "study of tourism" (14). In most well-established academic subjects, a separate term is used for the field of study and the

academic subject or discipline, and in time that will undoubtedly occur with this case. A possibility is some suitable root ("tour" or some Greek equivalent) plus a suffix of "ology" or "ics" to denote "study of". Until someone coins a suitable term that comes into wide acceptance amongst scholars, the phrase "Tourism Studies" may suffice.

Why "Tourism" is Not a Market

Kaul (1985) and a few others regard tourism as "in fact (sic) a market rather than an industry" (ibid:22). The value in this is that it emphasizes that tourism is, essentially, something to do with tourists themselves; any industrial issues may be associated with them but are not synonymous with tourism. Kaul is amongst the writers who argue that there are a great many industries associated with tourists, and that therefore any reference to a distinctive "tourism industry" is misleading.

However, Kaul's line of thinking is flawed because it assumes that all tourists constitute a market of some sort. They do not, if one accepts the concepts of "a market" advanced by leading scholars of Marketing. 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, and therefore the study of Marketing, do not embrace every transaction that humans engage in: some are non-market.

The distinctive activities of tourists include non-market transactions. This principle has major practical consequences for businesses and governments, dealt with later in this book. For example in the 1980s, more than half the total domestic tourist trips in Australia and New Zealand used private transportation and private accommodation. These tourists were not in the markets for transport or accommodation (etc.). As tourists using certain forms of transport and accommodation, these people are not "customers" or "consumers" (15).

Tourism As An Industry - The Flawed Dogma

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".

In everyday communication of course, omitting the second word does not matter. In scholarly work however the colloquialism may lead to confused thinking. Ask some-

body 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.

The assumption that "tourism is an industry" is flawed, for similar reasons to those set out above about the allegation that tourism is a market. There is a market and several industries associated with tourism, but these links do not mean synonymous entities.

Unfortunately, many persons closely involved with the business of tourism hold as dogma the view that tourism is an industry. The dogma has been reiterated in academic literature. The origins of the belief are understandable, but that does not mitigate the flawed thinking. Practical problems stemming from this issue are discussed in a later Chapter where the central theme is the industrialization of tourism systems.

So ... What Is Tourism?

The suffix indicates what the core idea (tour) applies to. "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 the 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.

And tourism comprises all the ideas that shape touristic behaviour in its various forms or types, not merely a single stereotype. There is no single type, as Cohen (1979) and others have emphasized. Cohen points out the mistake of stereotyping tourists, the mistake of referring to the tourist in a manner that implies a homogeneous type for all tourists, a collection with the same set of needs, motivations, attitudes, activities. That would be unrealistic. Rather, all aspects of touristic behaviour are differentiated amongst tourists generally in the same way that different individuals' other leisure-related behaviour is different.

Being a tourist is a role that most affluent people practice from time to time. It is a role stemming from needs and expressed in activities and other behavioural outcomes.

People are not intrinsically tourists. The point might seem superfluous, but the way tourists are discussed in some of the scholarly literature may give that impression. So tourism is all the distinctive ideas and behaviour of being a tourist, in some form or other.

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 behavioural outcomes of those ideas. Tourism is not the everyday routines of people who just happen to be in a touristic setting (16).

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" (ibid:11 etc.).

Few writers who are primarily concerned about economic, business or industrial matters associated with tourism have been able to recognize the point in the same way as those social scientists noted above. Very often, in scholarly writings dealing with tourism, we can see evidence of what can be called Academic Imperialism. Some economists tend to treat everything as economic; some scholars of marketing tend to see markets everywhere - Grohaug and Dholakia (1987) and a few others being notable exceptions. And some scholars specializing in the study of tourism, seeking support from the industry associated with tourism, tend to see tourism as an industry. Stephen Smith (1988) is an example of this last category. In epistemological terms, the problems stem from trying to apply a particular discipline to some particular topic or issue in an inappropriate manner. Another example is found in early attempts to apply Systems Theory to the study of tourism.

How the Systems Notion Has Been Defectively Applied

A school of thought proposes systems ideas for studying tourism. The present writer has been, and remains, a strong proponent of that school. But a defect in several early publications, such as by Leiper (1979 etc.) and by Mill and Morrison (1985) is that they describe or define "tourism" as a "system". The error here is confusing tourism with the systems it creates. The error, in the present writer's case at least, was another

instance of Academic Imperialism. Excess enthusiasm about the potential of Systems Theory led to seeing everything as some kind of system (17).

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

THE STUDY OF TOURISM ... OR TOURISM STUDIES?

A brief review of alternative approaches to the study of tourism will be useful. 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. The discussion in this Chapter (and in this book generally) is attempting to avoid the priorities of both camps identified by Buck. It is attempting to be disinterested.

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 Annals of Tourism Research (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 (18). From its origins, General System Theory was primarily a method for interdisciplinary research and scholarship, a way of unifying all the sciences (Bertalanffy, 1972). But its processes and outcomes involve more than that, being "a way of seeing things which were previously overlooked or bypassed, and in this sense (General Systems Theory) is a methodological maxim" (Bertalanffy, 1972a:38).

Systems thinking has revolutionized many disciplines in the physical, social and business sciences during the past forty years. One of its benefits is that it can clarify and thus simplify what would otherwise seem complex. Inevitably it was applied to the study of tourism, where complexities are faced by anyone seeking to develop comprehensive understanding. Cuervo (1967) seems to have been the first to attempt that application.

A tenet of General System Theory is that there is no single system applicable to any 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. Thus, there are (whole) tourism systems, described below, and one sub-system, tourist attractions and as another, the travel and tourism industry.

What is "a system" in this formal sense? Jordan (1981) has shown that the core meaning, behind the variations in everyday conversation, is essentially similar to the formal definitions used in General System Theory (19): "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, p 24). More succinct is: "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. 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 the latter depicts interactions of the elements and of the system with its environments. Several other types can be used to investigate more detailed aspects. Only the simpler types are presented below.

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. An 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 representative example (20).

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.

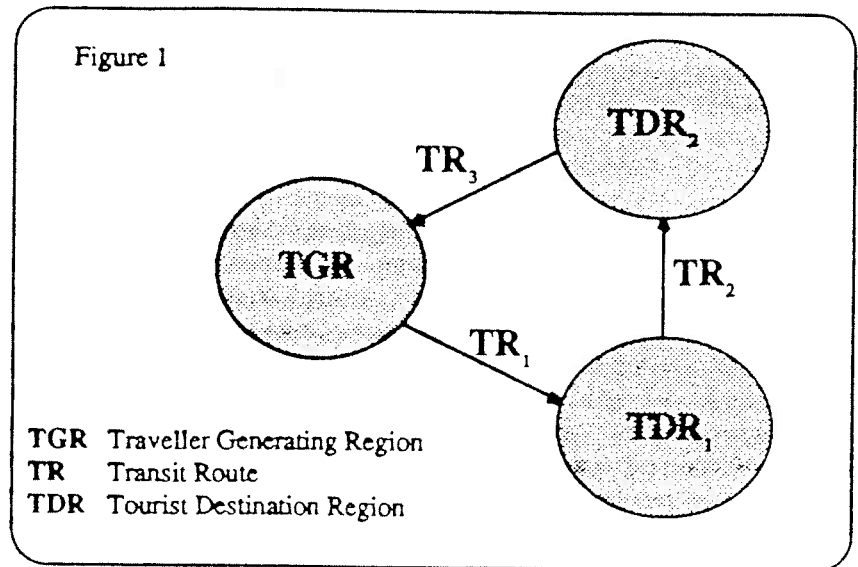
- (iii) Finally there is the place or places that the traveller chooses to visit, where experiences of touristic leisure are sought. This element can be called the tourist destination region. It is where the most noticeable and dramatic consequences of the system occur.

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 without such an industry, where the functional index of industrialization is zero, and where the separate tourist business units are not strategically linked, but arguably both conditions are never found in practice, so an industry can be legitimately treated 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 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 industry unit, a travel and tourism industry (21).

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 open systems. 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.)



Geographical Elements in a Tourism System with Two Destinations

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 is modelled diagrammatically in Figure 1.

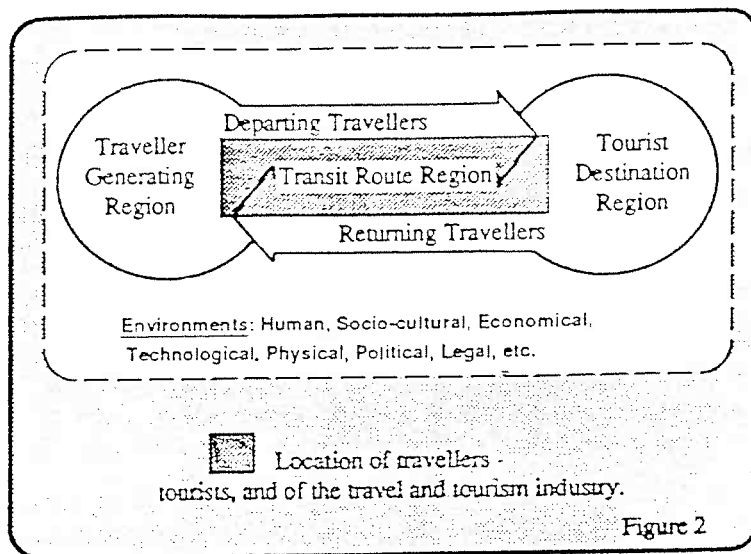
Using The Model

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.

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.



A Basic Tourism System

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.

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 an otherwise complex subject. The twin functions of academic disciplines and a system are 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 a foundation framework for Tourism Studies; a great many disciplines provide the basis for research and evidence about aspects of the inputs, structures, processes and outcomes of the systems. The methodology for Tourism Studies involves the two forces.

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" (ibid: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 indirectly 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 relatively 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 homogenous environment.

How Many Systems Are There?

The number of actual 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 (22).

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 businesspeople in travel agencies, tour wholesalers, airlines and other organisations outside Bali think and act. }

The travel and tourism industries can be regarded as sub-systems 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. Popular destinations such as Bali are connected by industrial systems from thousands of generating regions around the world. Such variety can create major problems for investors, entrepreneurs and managers.

For managers in most industries, a pervading problem underlying many superficial matters is proliferating variety. It is the basic problem behind two major managerial functions, planning and (especially) controlling. The present writer has discussed this aspect of management elsewhere, drawing on studies of managerial theory and practice by Stafford Beer (Leiper, 1989).

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 (23) 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 coachlines, 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.

Not all tourists are dependent on the travel and tourism industry, and not all organisations supplying goods and services directly to tourists are parts of that industry. Those notions are associated with the principle that tourism systems tend to be partially-industrialized, a theme taken up in a later Chapter.

The sector description of the industry 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.

CONCLUSIONS

This Chapter has discussed several foundation topics in Tourism Studies. Intentionally, the presentation has been largely theoretical, concerned with 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"). Notice how we now have some convenient abbreviations: 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 laypersons' 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.

Notes

- (1) The evidence for a specialized academic subject includes scholarly journals. The Tourist Review, established by Swiss academicians, was the first in its field. In the 1970s two journals were established in American universities: The Journal of Travel Research and Annals of Tourism Research and another in a British university: Tourism Management. The last two are, arguably, the major international journals specializing in the study of tourism.

Other evidence is undergraduate courses. The first university course dealing specifically with tourism in any Australasian university was Tourism Management, introduced at Massey University in 1978. By 1989 there were courses in four universities in New Zealand, in six (at least) in Australia, in dozens in U.S.A. and elsewhere.

Other evidence is graduate research. Jafari and Aaser's (1988) investigations found that 24 doctoral theses dealing with aspects of tourism had been presented in north American universities between 1951 and 1969, and a further 133 for the years from 1970 to 1987. The increase is certainly notable, but the totals remain minuscule contrasted against many other subjects.

- (2) See for example Jafari and Ritchie's comments as Editors of Annals of Tourism Research, Special Issue on Education (Vol. 8, No 1, 1981). The systems framework model and its research and educational implications set out in those two articles (Leiper, 1979, 1981) have been applied in many kinds of studies dealing with different aspects of tourism. Examples include: policy (Van Doorn, 1983); recreation (Pigram, 1983); education (Stear, 1981, 1987); marketing (Henshall and Roberts, 1985); geography (Boniface and Cooper, 1987); regional tourism planning (Hodgson, 1983).
- (3) Emeritus Professor I.F. Clarke wrote the occasional column on the history of travel and tourism published in Tourism Management. His agreement about the probability of the hoax was set out in personal communication with this writer.
- (4) Pre-packed tours, including transportation and other components, had existed in medieval times, as Sumption (1975) and others have described. Cook's were the first to use modern transport methods, the first of the modern era of tourism.
- (5) 70 to 100 million individuals participating per year might seem a large number. In absolute terms it is. But in relative terms, this is less than 2% of the world's population. International tourism is almost wholly an exclusive practice of wealthier persons and, given the trend to a greater share of the world's wealth and income being concentrated in fewer hands, that is not likely to change.

- (6) "Touristy" usually has disparaging connotations, implying inferior or otherwise unfortunate aspects of people, places, objects or events associated with tourists. "Touristic" on the other hand merely means associated with tourists, without any pejorative sense implied (but it might be inferred).
- (7) Some persons may be unable to do this, but it is necessary for disinterested research or understanding about tourism. The disparaging connotations are not universally held; we may try to discover why they arise, and how they shape policies of businesses and of tourists, but they need not permeate Tourism Studies.
- (8) An exception is tending one's home garden.
- (9) The technical definitions are identical in the two countries, but in Australia the program has been called the Domestic Tourism Monitor while in New Zealand it is known as the Domestic Travel Survey.
- (10) The Rome conference was arranged through the United Nations, by I.U.O.T.O. (International Union of Official Tourism Organisations), a loose association of groups in several countries. One outcome of the Rome meeting was that I.U.O.T.O. was disbanded and replaced with W.T.O. (World Tourism Organisation). W.T.O. members are all governmental agencies, and it is an official U.N. agency. This gives W.T.O. more influence nationally and internationally, to work for various tourism-related interests. More than 100 nations are members.
- (11) A footnote may 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, unless a discussion of context is presented.
- (12) Many national tourism organisations are seriously under-funded, unable to carry out the level of activity required by market opportunities and by the low level of industrialization in the destination country they represent. And in relation to the tasks faced, many N.T.Os have been under-represented in governmental policies, but for them and their allies in the private sector, a stratagem of misleading statistics might not be the best long term solution.
- (13) In the late 1970s the Department of Tourism in the Australian Capital Territory (a Department responsible for Canberra and its immediate locality) adopted a statistical measure for "tourist arrivals" that included day-trippers. The population of the surrounding towns and countryside, many of whom visit Canberra frequently for shopping and similar reasons, thus provided a huge boost to the official estimates of tourism's contribution to the local economy. Simultane-

ously, the Department of Tourism was using those estimates to support its case for several million dollars of government funds to construct new headquarters and employ more staff.

- (14) Jafari's (1977) statement is a useful summary of the main themes in multidisciplinary studies of tourism. But as a definitional construct representing tourism it is, arguably, too vague. "Man away from his usual habitat" ignores the question of purpose, yet trips for some purposes would never be regarded as touristic. The questions of trip duration and distance are also omitted, allowing into the scope many trips that would seldom if ever be regarded as touristic.
- (15) That point might never be accepted by "Academic Imperialists" from two specializations. Just as some academicians with specialist interests in Tourism regard everything loosely linked with tourists as part of the field, so some academicians specializing in Marketing assert or imply that all human transactions come within their subject's scope. Academic Imperialism is akin to other forms of the phenomenon, and they all depend on blinkered thinking.
- (16) An example may clarify the difference. A guest in a resort hotel in Fiji having his routine breakfast (cornflakes, toast and tea) is not behaving in a touristic way, unlike his companion who varies her home routine and orders indigenous food for breakfast. She, presumably, views the indigenous food as a kind of tourist attraction; that is, she perceives a match between a feature of the place visited and her own leisure-related needs.
- (17) The myopia was another example of the point in Note # 15 above.
- (18) The Society for General Systems Research was founded in 1954 by von Bertalanffy (a Biologist), Kenneth Boulding (Economist), Anatol Rapoport (Biomathematician) and Ralph Gerard (Physiologist). The main journal for the Society in recent years has been Behavioural Science.
- (19) Jordan's identification of a core meaning for "system" corresponds with attempts in this Chapter to identify a core meaning for "tourism".
- (20) Schmidt is a representative example because he is a resident of Germany visiting Spain. Germany is the country generating the world's largest traveller outflow, by a large margin over U.S.A., and Spain is the country recording the world's largest tourist inflow, by a small margin over Italy. Parts of those flows were represented by the more than 5 million Germans amongst Spain's annual international tourist arrivals in the mid 1980s, as reported in various W.T.O. bulletins.

- (21) The word sequence signifies the fact that "travellers" become "tourists" during their trips, when they visit places and are counted and/or are regarded as tourists. Likewise, the activity typically involves dealing with two sub-industries known by those labels. In odd cases, the logical word order is reversed, as in a governmental body called the Queensland Tourist and Travel Corporation. The sequence there may have been designed to suggest that (a) its main purpose was fostering "tourism" - within Queensland, but that (b) it also offered services to "travellers" - going anywhere.

Another reason for the double-barrelled name, a commercially sensible one, is that it overcomes any negative connotations that may be inferred by only referring to a "tourism industry". The industry's caution on that point is quite evident in many promotional messages. A few cases however have quite ironical qualities, such as certain brochures for packaged tours that state that the programs are "not for tourists" (see for example Trek Europa Adventure Tours for 20-38 year olds, 1985).

- (22) The largest flows are noted above (Note # 20). The smallest international flows might be those with Burkina Fasso, the country once known as Upper Volta, as destination. In 1983 its tourist arrivals included one person from Greece and two from Australia. The Department of Statistics in Burkina Fasso provides minutely detailed data for the international travel and tourism industries but does not seem to have stimulated much enthusiasm to date.
- (23) N.T.O. is a commonly used acronym for national tourism organisation, usually an official governmental agency such as the Australian Tourist Commission or the New Zealand Tourist and Publicity Department. R.T.Os are regional equivalents.

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