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TOURISM -
INTERNATIONAL LEISURE MIGRATION

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INTRODUCTION

Tourism is a complex industry. To fully appreciate the situation it is necessary to understand the history, social implications and the economic costs and benefits associated with it.

As our world becomes increasingly industrialised, the numbers seeking tourism as a form of leisure continue to grow. In 1971, only five per cent of the world's population crossed an international border, and only one per cent have ever flown in a plane. This means that there is still room for tremendous growth in the tourist industry. The social impacts of rampant or massive growth could prove completely devastating for the host communities.

Throughout history, tourism has been characterised by rapid change. As Alvin Toffler so aptly points out, the rate of change in our world is speeding up. The industry that has evolved to cope with this element of change in tourism is extremely flexible. It is also very international in character and consequently shows no allegiance to any of the host countries. Tourist-promoting companies also have the power to create empty resorts leaving the host country in economic chaos.

If we are to gain a real understanding of the existing tourist industry and guide its future development, careful consideration needs to be given to the issues involved. Providing it is based on social justice, tourism should be an experience beneficial to both hosts and guests. The sections

which follow outline the history, growth and development of tourism in an attempt to foster these understandings.

SECTION ONE

THE HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF TOURISM

THE HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF TOURISM

1.1 BEGINNINGS

Tourism has been a feature of international travel and recreation for many centuries. Until fairly recent times, the practice of taking holidays away from home and travelling for pleasure was limited to an elite few. Over the centuries the outward signs have changed and the numbers of people involved have increased. Tourism today is still very similar in many ways to that of more ancient times.

The holidays of old were usually given a religious purpose. For the societies of Egypt, Athens, and Rome, they were feast days and festivals. For the Jewish it was a weekly day of rest, the Sabbath, sanctified by the Creation story. The Christian world also took a weekly rest day and many of the major holidays continue to be related to religious celebrations, the more notable ones being Christmas and Easter. The increasing secularization of social life and the increasing ease of travel helped bring about a boom in the holiday and travel industry. The tourist industry that has grown from this has its foundations in earlier times.

The tourist is engaged in pursuing the 'exotic' or its opposite, cultivating the 'simple'. These highly artificial objectives result from a long-established urban culture. Interest develops in the unusual and those things beyond the known or civilised world. If it is not possible to get to the 'exotic', then attempts are made to bring the 'exotic' to the people, e.g. the Roman amphitheatres, zoos, etc. as the

known world gradually falls into line and becomes standardized. The tourist returns home with his 'booty' from afar. This helps fan the enthusiasm for an even greater interest in doing the 'tourist' thing. This cross-pollination of cultures may not be a good thing - as Turner and Ash (1975) put it: "the presence of discovery and experimentation with alien styles can lead to their destruction. The 'exotic' forms once taken up by the metropolitan culture tend to lose their original meaning and vitality."

The other extreme in tourist attitudes is that of seeking the simple life. Those who have the leisure, sophistication and social advantage are in the luxurious position of being able to reject the complexity of their lives, even if for a short time, to seek the simple life.

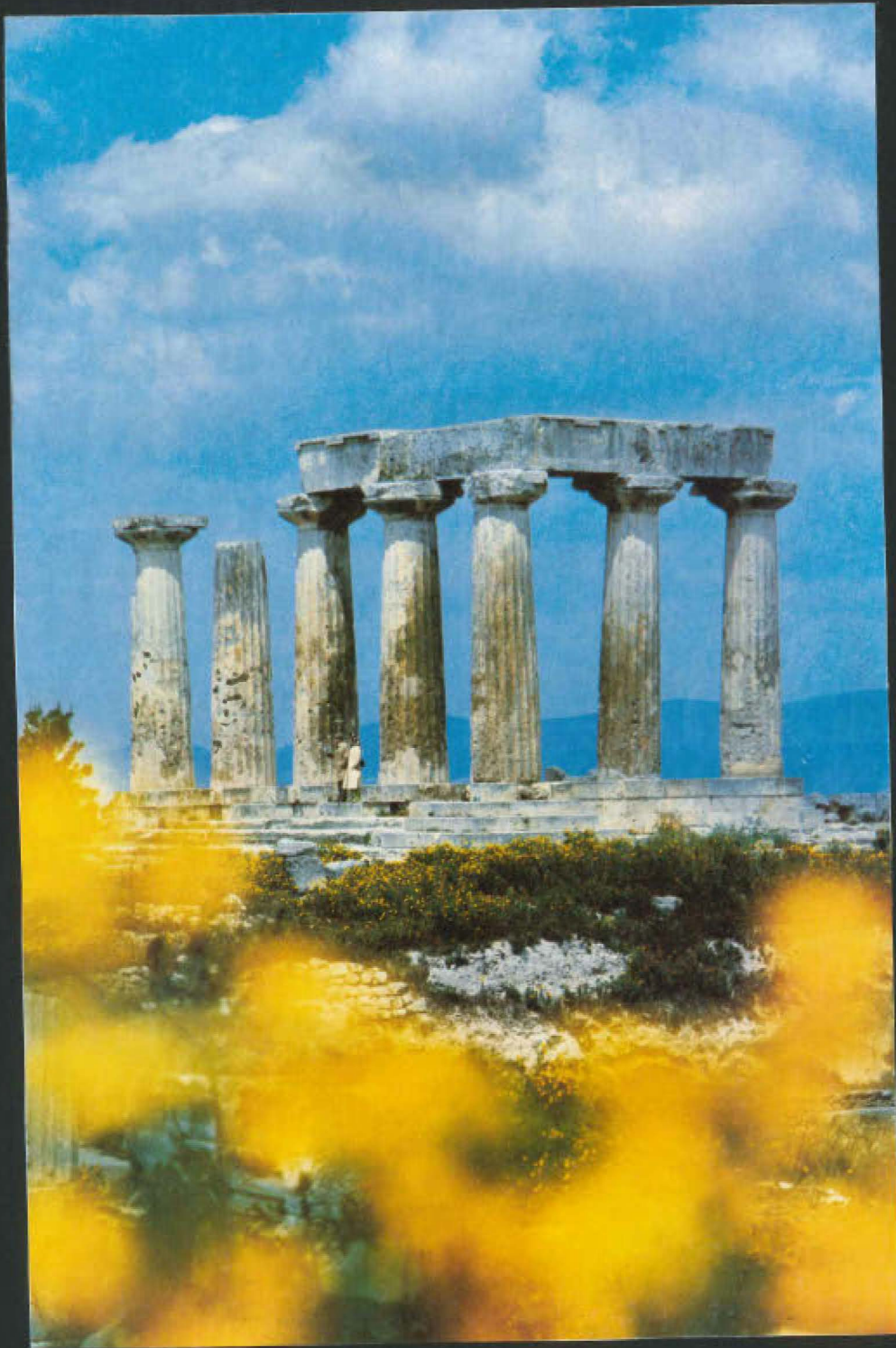
Tourism then is the product of a 'final phase'. It requires both large claustrophobic cities and the opportunity to escape from them. The exact beginnings of tourism then become very hard to pinpoint. The Greeks, as early as 400 BC were great travellers. They did not, however, travel for pleasure. Travel abroad was usually in connection with business in the colonies. It was also fraught with risk, shipwreck, piracy and highway robbery deterring even the very wealthy from tourist travel. Internal tourism was much more common, with people gathering for oracles, festivals and games. The Greeks were also the first to develop health resorts where people would go to 'take the cure'. The Greek congregation at health resorts was still more a reinforcement of the identity rather than an 'escape'. With the conquest of Alexandria, the Greek world expanded. Its cities grew rapidly, became over-populated and prone to mob violence and political disturb-

ances. This prompted the development of new holiday habits shaped by the desire to escape the uniformity and complexity. To achieve this, technology turned towards enhancement making use of statues and elaborate fountains rather than travel. Travel was on the increase, however, for merchants, mercenaries, philosophers, athletes and artists. Travel for pleasure still required a lively spirit of adventure. Most sought the joys of pleasure resorts such as Daphne and Canopus.

With the decline of Greece and the rise of the Roman Empire, Rome inherited its splendours and elements of decadence. At its peak, the population was at one and a half million, many of them living in appalling accommodation. The types of recreation that grew up were very like those of the Greeks. The Romans, too, sought to escape to a simpler life of fishing, boating and bathing. Resorts such as Baiae grew up and were said to be places of 'luxury and moral laxity'. These resorts were initially winter resorts that gradually became summer ones. As their popularity increased, Baiae boomed. Magnificent villas and elaborate gardens appeared. There was talk of ousting peasants who detracted from the beauty of the place. Souvenirs were also available for the holidaying Roman. Engraved pieces of glass portraying the sea front that were probably very similar to the souvenirs of today. These resorts remained popular until the fall of the Western Empire in the fifth century.

1.2 GRAND TOURS

The 'tour' of this era was more a type of cultural tourism. It was considered part of a young man's education to visit places of historical and literary interest. Athens and



GRAND TOURS - the
ruins of the Temple
of Poseidon, Cape
Sunium, Greece.

Rhodes were the places to go for learning. The Greek cities were considered the source of civilisation and social refinement. This cultural 'Grand Tour' gradually widened and became a 'done thing' not only for the student but also for the aristocracy. The probable reasons for this were summed up by Turner and Ash (1975):

"Grand Tourism has its origins in the relationship of *parvenu* to aristocrat. Its development follows a shift in the focus of culture and of economic and political power. The wealthy and the educated, of states whose position of dominance in the world is comparatively new, visit countries that have passed their peak of prestige and creativity but are still venerated for historic and cultural reasons. Thus, Romans visited Greece and the Eastern Mediterranean. The English, from the sixteenth century onwards visited Italy, and in this century Americans 'do' Europe. The new world pays its respects to the old."

It is ironic that the rise of the new is directly or indirectly dependent on the decline of the old. The tourists' respect of the old, its learning, antiquities and social refinement does not detract from his confidence in the better ways of the new. Often the tourist despises the old but uses this to give validity to his support for the new.

Initially, it was the Romans who did it to the Greeks, but by the sixteenth century Italy was the new 'old world' and the tourist focus. During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the tourist on a 'Grand Tour' from England would take considerable time over it. A tour would take in university courses, aristocratic contact and places of historical interest. This contact helped revolutionise seventeenth century English art. Some of the more dramatic effects can be seen in the introduction of opera and more decorative architecture. There were also a great many art treasures and antiquities taken back to England, 'booty' of a trip abroad.

By the late eighteenth century, there were already concerns as to the sensitivities and type of travel of the tourists being voiced. In 1760, Dr Johnson complained of the tourist "that enters a town at night and surveys it in the morning and then hastens away to another place...."

A French observer, Dupaty, in 1785, wrote:

"In a hundred there are not two that seek to instruct themselves. To cover leagues on land or on water; to take punch and tea at the inns; to speak ill of all the other nations and to boast without ceasing of their own; that is what the crowd of English call travelling."

Already the tourist was gaining a reputation for travelling in a herd, philistinism, a general ignorance of foreign languages and culture and the tendency to move through other countries avoiding any real contact with things foreign. In

no time, special provision was being made for the tourist, portrait painting, English-type cafes, restaurants and 'pensions' and in Italy, this even extended to the provision of prostitutes. The cost to the traveller also increased. With the traveller being ignorant of the country's language and customs and appearing much more affluent, it was inevitable that they would be exploited.

The type of scenery sought by the tourist also underwent a change in the eighteenth century. Till then, good landscape was gently undulating hills and valleys. The high mountains were considered frightful, inconvenient obstacles in the way of civilised man. By the second half of the eighteenth century, a new enthusiasm for the picturesque and mountains came into vogue. While the 'Alps' were still terrifying and awesome, they were also being regarded as pleasurable and thrilling. After 1750, Chamonix and Switzerland became fashionable places to visit. The glaciers, mountains, valleys and cascading water were considered good for the morality of effort and solitude. It became acceptable then as part of the Protestant work ethic to exert oneself in vigorous exercise walking or climbing. Man was both conquering nature and identifying with it. By the 1820's, tourist hotels were appearing in Switzerland.

Italy's wonders were beginning to pass. The tourist was gradually becoming aware of the increasing poverty and oppression of the masses. Tourism's theatrical unreality usually protects the tourist from painful reflection. However, things in Italy had reached the stage where they were proving off-putting for the tourist. The motivation for travelling to

Italy had changed greatly. It represented to the visitor an opportunity to lead the high life and dispense with sexual taboos of the home society. This escape to another place to find or enjoy what was not available at home still occurs today. Many young westerners search out the 'Third World' countries for enlightenment or mystical revelation. It was a chance for both discovery and rebellion against their normal mediocre lives. The tourist had the opportunity to belong to 'an international elite'. They were able to relax and enjoy while the Mediterranean world slowly became trapped in the past, providing backward rural life and decaying cities. The tourist gradually develops an armour from disharmony by 'alchemical conversion'. Ignorance becomes 'charming simplicity', superstition becomes 'colourful ritual', primitive farming and back-breaking labour becomes 'closeness to the soil' and poverty - 'the absence of filthy lucre' (Turner and Ash, 1975). The tourist was assuming an even greater role as aristocrat and becoming more condescending to local inhabitants. In contrast, the locals coveted even more the machines and implements of progress that put the tourist where he was.

1.3 THOMAS COOK - THE ADVENT OF MASS EXCURSIONS AND GROWTH INTO AN INDUSTRY

Thomas Cook was a book salesman, Baptist preacher and tract distributor of Derbyshire, an unlikely candidate for taking tourism to the masses and the masses to the far corners of the earth. His initial idea in 1841 was to hire a train and take friends to temperance meetings. With the speed and efficiency that has characterised Cook's ventures, he had five

hundred and seventy travellers on a Midland Counties Railway at a specially reduced fare within a few weeks. The venture quickly grew to take in beauty spot excursions to places such as Matlock and Mount Sorrel. By 1843, he had three thousand school children on a trip from Leicester to Derby.

1845 saw the real beginning to mass excursions with the Liverpool-Caernavon trip. It was rail to Liverpool then the steamer to Caernavon with an ascent of Mt Snowden as a grand climax. The trip was well organised and advertised. The response was so sensational a second trip was needed. From these trips, Cook expanded into Scotland, in 1846 running circular tours for five thousand tourists a season. He also 'opened up' the Lake District, Isle of Man and Ireland. In 1848 he convinced the Duke of Rutland to open his stately home, Belvoir Castle, to tours. The Duke of Devonshire also opened Chatsworth to one thousand two hundred excursionists. Having succeeded in penetrating the domain of the English aristocracy, Cook had wider visions of 'foreign trips'.

Cook's tourist expansion was greatly aided by the rapidly improving transport links. By making use of and expanding the tradition of the 'Grand Tour', and a growing interest in the spas and seaside resorts, Cook was soon able to realise his ambition. This was helped, too, by the increasing numbers for whom a holiday away from home was a desirable diversion. Cook was an excellent entrepreneur and a brilliant opportunist, quick to sense needs and who was convinced of the absolute rightness of his actions. He believed the Benthamite principle 'The greatest benefit for the greatest number at the lowest cost'. He saw his train trips as a beneficial social force and an agent of democratisation. As he put it, "appertaining

to the greatest class of agencies for the advancement of Human Progress". His vision has never really been fulfilled as tourism is ineffective as a promoter of equality and as an ally of the oppressed. Throughout this time, Cook remained an ardent social reformer.

Cook's business continued to grow, and in 1851 he conducted one hundred and sixty-five thousand people to Crystal Palace for the Great Exhibition. By 1856, he was running his big round trips on the continent with about fifty people on each one. He established the idea of a fixed pre-determined cost for these trips. In 1865 his son, John Cook, joined the firm and set up the London office as the company continued to expand and grow in prestige. The following year Cook made an exploratory visit to America. The Paris Exhibition of 1867 saw twenty thousand tourists in Paris. Cooks continued to grow and expanded to dominate the Near East, wielding almost governmental power and influence. Cooks had a big foothold in Egypt, controlling all passenger steamers and also mail. During the revolt of Arab Pasha in the 1880's, Cooks transported soldiers. Afterwards, Cooks built up the steamer line and hotels. These were much more grand and luxurious in Egypt as it was definitely a case of tourism for aristocrats and colonials. Philanthropic considerations had gone by the board. In 1880, a branch was set up in India for conducting pilgrims to Mecca.

Thomas Cook had turned tourism into an industry by the twentieth century. He was responsible for standardizing the prices of accommodation and services. He had brought greater comfort and convenience and less need for decision-making. He also took away much of the novelty and adventure, discomfort and embarrassment and any real contact with the countries being

visited.

1.4 WORLD TRAVEL, BEACH AND GAMBLING RESORTS

Places purely for use by visitors were few, prior to the turn of the century. There were a few that were usually spas or health resorts. While this was often given as their prime reason for existing, the social and fashionable status of the resort were usually a greater attraction. Summer bathing in the sea had for a long time been considered unhealthy because of noxious 'saline effluvia' which hung over the sea and was regarded as dangerous to health. Instead, bathing took place in the frigid seas of the northern winter. Such a cure was regarded as especially beneficial to mental illness. The pursuit of health remained a useful cover for the pursuit of pleasure. This was slowly changing though. Brighton, England, was blatantly a pleasure resort. A place where the tight morals of home in Victorian England could be forgotten for a more free and easy life. A 'Pleasure Zone' was also developing on the French Riviera at places such as Nice, Cannes and Monte Carlo, an extravagant and decadent pleasure periphery. Until the 1920's, the area was a winter resort, as the summer was considered too harsh. There would have been a tremendous public backlash if the real use of the place had been obvious. Nice was the place for air and climate. By 1868, Cannes was a full-scale winter resort, although beach activities were still not acceptable.

Monaco was one of the first poor countries to convert itself into a pleasure resort of the European aristocracy to solve its desperate economic situation. Monte Carlo could house

diversions that would be impermissible anywhere else. Monaco was bankrupt because of the revolt against the taxes on olive oil and fruit which were its chief sources of revenue. Prince Charles III and his mother, Princess Caroline, decided to develop a winter resort like Nice and Cannes, but with a casino. When it opened in 1856, it was almost a disaster. Successive owners were unable to make it pay until it really got on its feet in 1859. A few English aristocracy as patrons, better road and rail services, and hotels, and the area shot up in both prestige and value, and has continued to prosper ever since. There were opponents of course, who considered it evil, sinful and a crime against humanity. Criticism helped the appeal of the place, 'a place of sin, voluptuous dissipation and reckless waste, were monstrous but fascinating and desirable' (Turner and Ash, 1975). Both Blanc, the manager, and the Royal Family were profiting. The casino had brought with it thirty thousand residents, hundreds of prostitutes, new churches and cathedrals, and a general air of prosperity. It is of course, sad that such a beauty spot should be chosen for the 'most unintelligent and neurotic pursuits' (Turner and Ash, 1975).

By the turn of the century, the Riviera was the place to go. Royalty from all over Europe, including Queen Victoria, flocked there. Not surprisingly, prices were five or six times more expensive than in the 1850's and 60's. The 'pleasure-reserves' were a good place to enjoy wealth away from the distressing social and political situation 'back home'. This was especially true of Russia. It was a place to gamble, make love, commit suicide and die natural deaths. Attempts were made to make the place 'like home' with plants, lawns, and

other modifications that were 'against nature'. Vulgar extravagances were popular. During the early years of this century, the Americans were 'grand touring' and it was not until after the First World War that they became part of the 'sophisticated' pursuit of simple pleasures'.

1.5 THE PLEASURE PERIPHERY

The end of the First World War saw Europe flooded with a new wave of tourists, the Americans. The Americans, like those before them, sought culture. They attempted to buy both land and heritage in Britain and flocked to Paris for the arty and the exotic. The 'pleasure periphery' was growing in size. The Americans were escaping the philistinism and puritanism that prevailed at home. The new informal social habits that they brought with them helped create a completely new style of tourism. In 1924, a group of Americans encouraged the development of the Riviera as a summer resort. All the activity and studied inactivity centred on the beach. These tourists sought the Mediterranean sun and new leisure style of pure play. These American tourists from a warmer climate soon modified the clothes worn at the beach. The elaborately modest beach wear began to disappear. Even the upper classes mimicked this 'pursuit of the simple' in their choice of beach wear.

The 'sun tan' was another major change that was to affect the world tourist industry. Prior to the 1920's, the upper classes cultivated their white skin colour and avoided any darkening by the sun. To cultivate a 'tan' would have been interpreted as an attempt to identify with the lower classes and coloured subject peoples. A modest standard of dress was

usually maintained despite the climate. 'Sun tan is not merely a question of surface tone, it connects directly the questions of class and race' (Turner and Ash, 1975). As Turner and Ash put it for the female European aristocracy, a 'pale complexion was the symbol of their superior delicacy, their idleness and seclusion'. With the collapse of the aristocracy and their empires came a collapse in skin tone preference. The Riviera made it fashionable because of associations with 'simple virtues', 'closeness-to-the-soil of the peasant' and a linking by the liberal intelligentsia to the superior spontaneity and natural sexuality of the blacks, the insatiable sexuality of the blacks being the accepted myth of the day. Following your instincts was in. Being a sun-bather, a child a nature. The 'tan' to take back to the urban metropolis was becoming as prized a trophy as the 'milk and roses' complexion of the past, a deep sun tan being visible proof that the tourist had the money and leisure to escape the metropolis. The evidence of having 'been somewhere' has gradually taken over from the aesthetic preference and sensuous aspects and the sun tan is little more than another bourgeois display of wealth. The search for the sun tan was on, as holiday-makers flocked to take part in the obsessive ritual sacrifice, often suffering terribly to become beautiful. A new form of social conditioning helps convince 'victims' that a tan makes a person more attractive. The beautiful bronzed ladies or 'golden statuary' are used extensively to reinforce the idea.

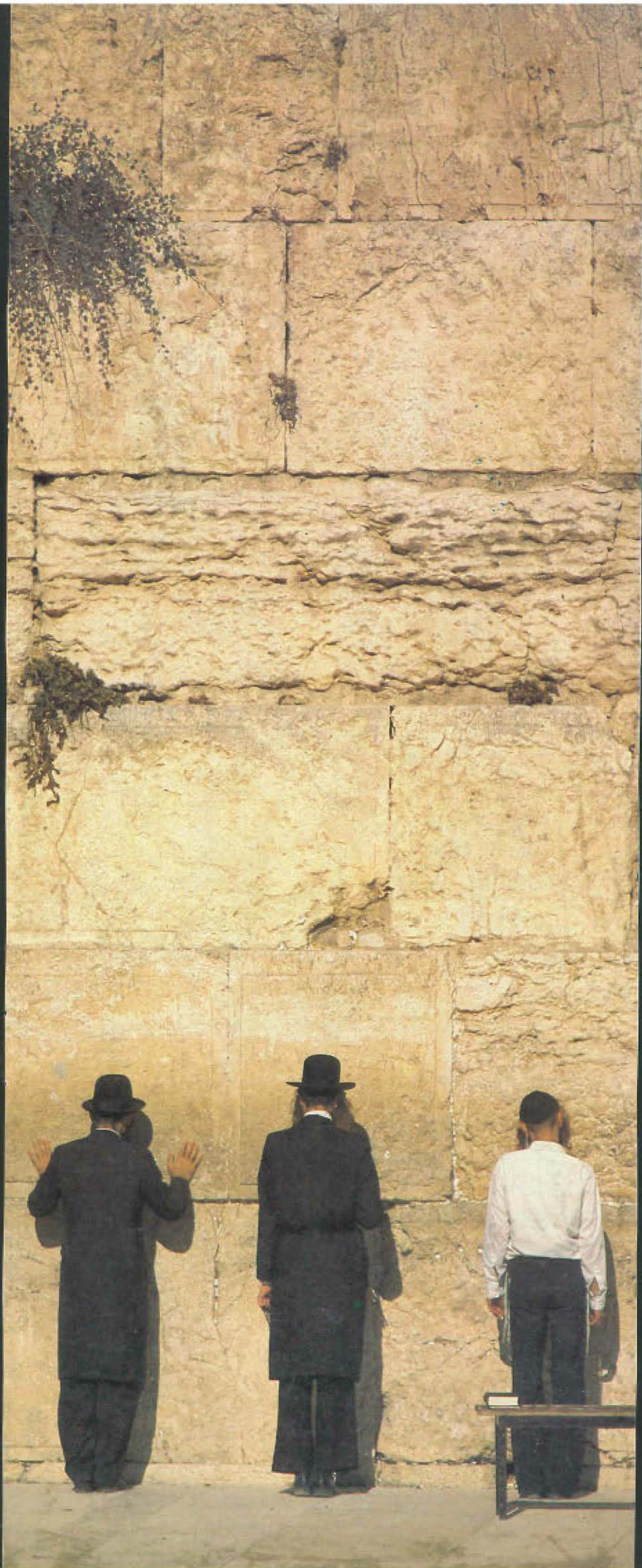
The Riviera continued to grow and change. A bout of romanticism bolstered the Riviera with a cult of young moist-eyed romantic innocents seeking the perfect setting. In 1925,

Aldous Huxley summed up the 'pleasure periphery': "Forty miles of Mediterranean coast have been turned into one vast pleasure resort one vast shuffling suburb - the suburb of all Europe and the two Americas - punctuated here and there with urban nuclei." The more hungry, discerning pleasure-seekers extended their horizons to Greece, Bali and beyond. World War II briefly halted the expansion in Europe with a resulting increase in American interest in Mexico and the Caribbean. The growing 'pleasure periphery' was buffering the tourist from the social realities and presenting a carefully preserved illusion created so the tourists untouched, undisturbed, may enjoy their holidays.

The 'Pleasure Periphery' then provides a sought-after experience, a style of living, a tangible product. All that is required is a hotel, a beach, a reliable amount of sunshine and a sufficient number of other tourists. As long as a bronzed, blonde, bikini-clad beauty is in evidence, little else matters. The tourist is able to live a second childhood of 'privileged irresponsibility'. The sober citizen of the urban metropolis is the lord of misrule on a beach in Spain or Fiji; sun, sex and water are all he needs. 'He will wear minimal clothing, indulge in idle sex (or at least flirtation), enjoy 'water play' and sunbathe, becoming the sun-tanned 'child of nature'. The tourist himself is his and seemingly everyone else's focal point. He has his surrogate parents to protect him from the harsh realities of life such as the travel agent, courier, guide or hotel staff. They choose only the best for him. 'Consequently he can regard areas of great natural beauty and cultural interest as his sandpit and swimming pool' (Turner and Ash, 1975).

This 'privileged irresponsibility' provides a temporary release for the tourist from the demands of a highly developed consumer society. It is seemingly a purely benevolent industry there to heal the scars of metropolitan alienation and anxiety. The tourist is seeking to discover his identity and sense of purpose in his leisure time to counteract the dehumanising ways of the industrial society. The tourist resort is the place to do it. An artificial environment, carefully controlled and conveniently isolated from home. The wonderful world of pleasure has become the modern carrot to keep the affluent producer-consumer hard at it fulfilling society's demand for work and productivity (Turner and Ash 1975). 'The promise of liberation becomes another instrument of repression'.

The factor that has wrought the biggest changes on the tourist industry has been emergence of rapid, cheap air travel. It has created opportunities to take tourists to new territory and destinations. It enables truly 'global' tourism. The Americans and Europeans are able to switch continents, and the Japanese have taken to travelling world-wide in large numbers. Competition for business is stiff with the opposition possibly being half a world away. Whole resorts such as Acapulco in Mexico have developed totally reliant on the airlines to bring in the tourists and remove them. In Europe, the development of the airlines caused a boom in 'package tourism' with all the holiday arrangements included. The Second World War slowed the development, but once over caused rapid growth. It had provided airfields in remote places and the opportunity to cash in on ex-servicemen and their nostalgia. The airline and travel companies looked closely at who their customers were and possible future customers. Their resultant 'target marketing'



RESERVE DESTINATIONS -
the religious mecca
areas are not yet fully
exploited by tourism
because of war. The
Wailing Wall in Jerusalem
one of the potential
attractions.

has concentrated on groups such as teachers, nurses, students and others suited to group travel. The package holidays helped bring about an explosive development on the Spanish coast. In Spain, there is now one tourist for every Spaniard. They flock not for bullfights, Flamenco and paella, but the four S's - sun, sand, sea and sex. The cheapness, long coastline, good weather and the closeness to the market has been Spain's key to success coupled with air-based inclusive tours. The government has seen to the provision of the services while the hotels and airlines geared themselves to Europe's working class. The dangers of Spain's 'el cheapo' image are now emerging. In a competitive business, it is a liability. Yugoslavia, Greece and North Africa can be just as cheap while they have the advantage of avoiding the planning mistakes of the past. The upper class of tourist is creamed off by 'classier' resorts. Spain's quick rise to the limelight may leave it with sprawling tourist cities as the tourist moves on to ever greener pastures. The transience of tourism has been a facet of it throughout time. The product has a limited life. Gradually, other areas will become enticing, mushroom resorts, fade and die. A few ripe pastures are protected, such as the war-torn Middle East with all its religious 'Mecca' value, the exotic countries of North Africa such as Albania that are held in 'reserve' by reluctant governments. No doubt in time they too will fall to the ever-moving tourists. Their impact continues to be shattering as travel writer John Bishop puts it:

"It somehow seems impossible to believe that in the last twenty or so years the travel industry has been responsible for

changing the way of life of the
Mediterranean people in a way never
equalled by Alexander the Great,
Julius Caesar, the Greek philosophers,
the Christian church, not any single
event during more than 2,000 years of
history."

Tourism and its industry plod on and grow continuously. Large companies dominate the industry. Names like Avis, Holiday Inns, Horizon, Jalpak, Magoya and others appear world-wide. Tourism has become one giant people-processing industry. The tourist conglomerates try to control as many stages as possible of a holiday so as to separate their clients from their money. The Caribbean provides the high life and gambling for the North Americans just as the French Riviera does for Europe. Tourism is changing little. It is simply reshuffling the ingredients to produce new menus to suit the ever-changing palate of the tourist.

SECTION TWO

TOURISM AND CULTURE

TOURISM AND CULTURE

2.1 CULTURE AS AN INGREDIENT OF TOURISM

"Culture is being packaged, priced, and sold like building lots, rights-of-way, fast food, and room service, as the tourism industry inexorably extends its grasp. For the monied tourist, the tourism industry promises that the world is his/hers to use. All the 'natural resources', including cultural traditions, have their price, and if you have the money in hand, it is your right to see whatever you wish."

(Davydd J. Greenwood, 1977)

Mass tourism can be categorized in many ways. Valene Smith (1977) divides it up into five categories:

1. Ethnic tourism - looking at customs of indigenous and often exotic peoples.
2. Cultural tourism which takes in the "picturesque" or "local colour" with vanishing life-styles, "old-style" houses, primitive technology, rustic inns, folk-lore, costumes and the like.
3. Historical tourism - the museum-cathedral circuit that stresses the glories of the past.

4. Environmental tourism attracting a tourist elite to remote areas to experience a truly alien scene.
5. Recreational tourism - the sea, sand and sex holidays or the gambling, skiing or other destination activities.

The degree to which these different types of tourism affect hosts, guest and cultures varies widely, and for the most part needs to be assessed on a local basis. Some forms of tourism do, however, have far more obvious and devastating effects. Smith (1977) suggests that it is 'cultural tourism' where host-guest stresses are at their maximum. To gain an understanding of the importance of cultural considerations when looking at tourism, it is necessary to look at some of the effects.

Turner and Ash (1975) describe tourism as an invasion outward to an uncivilised periphery. It often destroys 'unintentionally' and 'uncomprehendingly', but because of its nature there are too many people to be responsible. Turner and Ash (1975) compare modern mass tourism with the nomad cultures of the past. Their movements were something to be feared as they were characterized by sack, pillage and rape. The barbarian and the tourist are both motivated by similar desires to escape, the first from hardship and the second from affluence. On reaching a new place, it looks beautiful and miraculous from the outside. Once inside, though the temptation to loot and booty usually proves irresistible, the dream is entered and they have unwittingly destroyed it. Reviving what has gone is difficult if not impossible. When looking at tourism, Turner and Ash (1975) say, "In relation to culture we may redefine touristic goals as the antique, the ethnic and the pristine." It is unfortunate that the individual, while seek-

ing those things, is responsible for causing the expansion of high technology and the uniformity it imposes. The very things the tourist seeks to escape. On entering a fragile culture that is admired, its destruction is precipitated. The effects of tourism on cultures in areas such as the Pacific Islands and Bali are well documented. On arriving in a new destination, the tourist demands uniform standards of food, accommodation, etc. This immediately requires a new technical infrastructure, and imposes new values on the society visited. The single biggest cause of change is money. It erodes the sensuous and aesthetic wealth of cultures.

2.2 TOURISM LOOKING FOR THE PAST

Tourism has both its strong points and its drawbacks. In a world that is accelerating into the future, the individual is seeking a place away from the fast pace and alienation of his home society. The western culture is to a large extent dominated by the past. There is an interest in things past, e.g. classical rather than contemporary music, that is not present to the same degree in other cultures. A sentimentalism and nostalgia for the recent past (as recent as the 1960's) is difficult to explain. It is not surprising, therefore, that the tourist visiting a Third World country should seek its traditional elements. The veneration of the past by the North Atlantic Community is not, however, shared by the rest of the world. The Asians, for example, have little interest in the medieval ruins of the pagan temples. The Italians, too, do not care greatly for old and decaying buildings. This pre-occupation with the past, though, is not necessarily a bad thing. It has a valuable conservationist role to play. In Turkey,

tourism has caused the restoration of Byzantine mosaics that had been plastered over in the conversion to mosques. Tourism has played a small but significant part in the reassessment of Turkey's artistic heritage. The interest shown in Greco-Roman cities in other parts of the Baltic has helped create a new awareness of them. Locals see the value assigned to them by outsiders and find it more profitable to preserve sites and work with tourists rather than demolish. Money spent by tourists helps contribute to the preservation and upkeep of these historic sites and buildings.

The attentions of tourists to things historic can also have considerable drawbacks. The assessment of these drawbacks are, however, far more subjective than when considering the advantages. Arguments that are put forward are that once historical monuments and art treasures are turned into tourist sights, they are robbed of their magic. There is no surprise left. They have too many associations because of crude reproductions and familiar photos and representations. There is also the competition that tourism brings with its incongruous hotels, signs and discos. The complaints are of a largely romantic or poetic nature. There is no doubt, however, that masses of people inhibit meditation on fallen grandeur or natural beauty.

The crassness and ignorance of tourists when confronted with the real past is proverbial. Middle-income Americans or Japanese 'camera-at-the-ready', are the butt of jokes the world over. They are an easy subject to caricature, but the joke really depends on a complacent sense of superiority to the mass of tourists. A large number of tourists do, however, detest the presence of other tourists. The more pretentious and

snobbish never admit to being tourists at all. Some even compete to demonstrate their sensitivity to any trace of commercialisation. Young 'Kiwis' abroad are surely classic examples of this.

As long as the capitalist system lasts, so will the placing of commercial values on art and antiquities. It is ironic then, that it is tourism within this system that helps preserve art and antiquities. It may be able to save the Italian artistic heritage. Venice without the interest and money of tourists would slowly be forgotten. The more tourists the more hope for survival. There are other less direct forms of conservation. It helps prevent artistic pillaging as it is now easy and acceptable to travel and view a 'treasure' on site. In the past, treasures were shipped away from their country of origin, sometimes being cut up, damaged or destroyed en route. There are still organised gangs involved in hacking up Mayan sculptures in the jungles of Central America for export. Many of the buyers are supposedly the custodians of the world's artistic heritage who buy from at best dubious if not frankly illegal sources. If they should behave in that way, what can be expected if the average tourist on the lookout for booty?

There has been over the years a tremendous change in the educational background of the tourist. In the past, one educated in 'classics' would have had a real understanding and appreciation of what was being seen. The modern-day tourist is usually relying on second-hand information. On being presented with an antiquity, the tourist will usually make signs of token veneration which is almost an automatic reflex. The tourist has become more like an obedient child rather than a discriminating knowledgeable observer. In the area of cultural tourism,

it would seem to be failing to fulfill its educational potential. The tourist tends to be fed with facts and figures and a rigid set view of the history or culture being presented. No critical appreciation is encouraged. Histories and cultures are given very selective treatment, being reduced to what is most readily absorbed. The rate at which most tourists pass through an area prevents any real contact with its history and culture. The travellers' interest in history while preserving the visual evidence can have the effect of freezing the real life of an area into history. Even if the tourists 'save' Venice, and bring with them English pubs, discos, a restored aristocratic life for tourists but no native Venetians, what of a life for Venice? The city is at present de-populating rapidly due to lack of work and the general decay of the buildings. No real efforts are being made to restore employment, e.g. generating long-term work for artisans. Venice could easily become a 'pseudo-city' risking its future on the passing interest of the tourist. Can a city with a constantly shifting population be a substitute for a vital community?

2.3 THE COMMODITIZATION OF CULTURES

Tourism, as a way of increasing cultural knowledge and appreciation, fails in one obvious respect. The 'culture vulture' is dissatisfied with the lack of hygiene, the greasy food or the idleness and dishonesty of the locals. They are not seen as part of the 'Glorious Past'. The tourist sees the locals as responsible for having been left behind by modern progress rather than any outside factors. He is not encouraged to develop a real sense of history in totality encompassing the people, environment, art and religion both past and present.

His view is necessarily 'schizoid' and 'fragmented' (Turner and Ash, 1975). He cannot be expected to be interested in the problems of the host country. He's come to relax. It's been sold to him by the travel industry and government bureaus. His only interest beyond the hotel, beach, etc. is in the surviving aspects of the antique, the ethnic and the primitive.

The relationship between the visitor and the local of the host country is another complex area. Tourism brings the informal and traditional human relationships into the arena of economic activity. It turns acts of spontaneous hospitality into commercial transactions (de Kadt, 1979). The tourist often expects the local inhabitants to be living replicas of the national costume dolls at the airport. Hence, they can be expected to have picturesque rituals, colourful habits and archaic technology (Turner and Ash, 1975). The locals must not be like the western bourgeoisie or the tourist may feel threatened. Their traditional customs assume the status of sideshows. Pre-arranged 'spontaneous' outbreaks of singing and dancing for the benefit of tourist parties help reinforce the illusion that the life of the country visited is a pageant arranged purely for the tourists' benefit. The tired routine of dances can be seen the world over from the North American Reservations, to the islands of Indonesia. As Boorstin puts it, the 'pseudo-event' is created. This commoditization of cultures to provide a little 'local colour' to the tourist visit can greatly detract from the local cultural heritage. Greenwood (1977) gives the example of a Basque community that annually re-enact a part of their history. With the placing of the 'Alarde of Fuenterrabia' on the tourist lists, the whole meaning and importance of it to the locals was lost. Its authenticity

and power for the people was lost. 'They reacted with consternation and then with indifference. They can still perform the outward forms of the rituals for money, but they cannot subscribe to the meanings it once held because it is no longer being performed by them for themselves.' This type of commoditization has had similar effects in the way many other people are coming to view their own cultures because of tourism.

When the tourist buys his package tour, he also buys 'culture' as a package. In this way, foreign cultures no matter how ancient and complex are reduced to recognisable characteristics. Countries in a desperate economic situation can't afford to quibble over their birthright. It is not only countries in poor economic circumstances that suffer from the commoditization of their cultures. The Director of the Swiss National Tourist Office in 1973 said that he believed strangers to his country conjure up typical Swiss symbols as Alpine horns, chalets, cuckoo clocks, yodelling and cheese-making. He believes Switzerland has more to offer than 'deep-frozen folklore'.

The stimulation of local arts and crafts is an aspect that is frequently put forward as a saving grace of cultural tourism. The best aspects of this essentially souvenir industry would seem to be that the articles become substitutes for the real thing. There is some evidence to suggest while stimulating arts and crafts, tourism leads to a serious deterioration in standards (World Bank Survey, 1970). It is also suspected that when indigenous artists or craftsmen come to value their work chiefly in terms of whether it will sell to tourists, then ancient artistic formulae lose their meaning and vitality. The best-selling lines are simply reproduced in increasingly diluted and westernised forms. Perhaps this is why few New Zealanders care

that New Zealand Maori carvings are factory-made in the Philippines. In New Guinea, carvers of ceremonial masks now produce extreme distortions, meaningless in terms of ritual and symbol, purely to meet the demand. Tourism has to some extent, played a revivalist role in the restoration of art and tradition. It has, however, the misfortune of concentrating on one period often causing new styles to be abandoned when they may have value in their own right.

Turner and Ash (1975) summed up, "What we end up with is the emptiest kind of neo-classicism - unimaginative and technically crude reproductions of long-dead styles. This is cultural sterility since imaginative invention and individuality are not required." De Kadt supports this viewpoint: "To be authentic, arts and crafts must be rooted both in historical tradition and in present-day life; true authenticity cannot be achieved by conservation alone, since that leads to stultification." He goes on to say that "the preservation of simple historic buildings and traditional environments, for enjoyment by tourists and local people alike, needs to be more vigorously pursued."

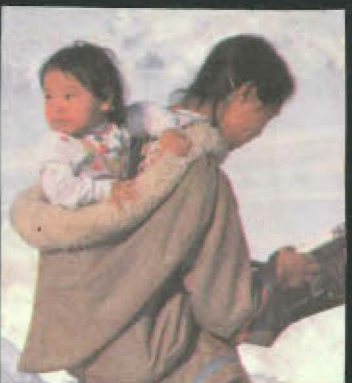
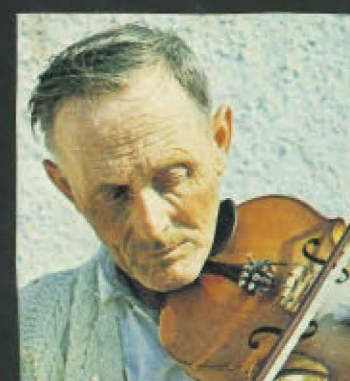
2.4 THE VISUAL EVIDENCE OF TOURISM

The main outward signs of tourism other than the tourists themselves, are the hotels. Within the tourist resorts, there has been a proliferation of hotels with no character. Conventional styles of western architecture are used world-wide, with no concessions to local climate and the social conditions of the people. Their modernity and alien styles suggest conflict rather than a smooth transition from traditional to modern. Within host countries, they cater only for the elite of those

countries, become status symbols, and sometimes a focus of resentment and anger (Turner and Ash, 1975). The alternatives are to blend in tourism developments to echo local architecture, such as low-level rather than high-rise. This approach has been tried in Tunisia, but the tourists prefer the reassurance of the high-rise complex. Inside, attempts are made to create the fantasies of the tourist. This may take the form of supposedly 'period charm' or a folkloristic, indigenised interior decor. A good deal more thought needs to be given to the type of provision that is made for tourists. Also, education of the tourists to accept more unfamiliar, localised food and accommodation could help make the tourists' stay more rewarding. This would also have the effect of improving host-guest interactions.

2.5 SPIN-OFF EFFECTS WITHIN THE HOST COMMUNITY

The degree to which communities are affected by tourism varies greatly. The most major impact of tourism for local communities is employment. The amount of direct employment generated depends on the types of tourism, the location, size, category of price, and standard of service. There are a great many variables and the earnings in general tend to be lower than in other conventional industries, but more than an unskilled worker in agriculture. De Kadt (1979), basing his assertions on World Bank estimates, states that the investment cost per job in tourism is lower than for heavy industry, but higher than for small-scale industrial and repair activities. When regarding both hotel and non-hotel employment, 'tourism can be regarded as a relatively cheap way of creating jobs, especially in middle- and higher-income countries. Indirect employment, especially



THE FACES of TOURISM -
hosts and guests.

placed on the social services of an area with the large initial influxes caused by tourism. It should be possible to build the provision of such services into the initial tourism investment.

2.6 THE HOST-GUEST ENCOUNTER AND ITS CONSEQUENCES

The effects of the host-tourist interaction can be assessed along a 'continuum from a highly positive relationship that benefits all, to a highly disruptive, negative interaction fraught with conflict' (Smith, 1977). Smith goes on to suggest that 'Interpersonal conflict between hosts and guests is minimal when their respective standards of living are similar, as in urban European centers, Switzerland, or Australia and New Zealand'. This is because the hosts also have the economic and social incentives to travel and become guests in some other land. The situations of severe stress tend to develop more where the contrasts between the hosts and guests are greatest. The hosts may attempt to overcome this by 'baksheesh', the demanding of tips, or 'ripping the tourist off', with the double-pricing of goods and services. Yearning after the way of life and material possessions of the visiting tourists also creates problems especially for the youth of the host community.

Valene Smith suggests that with increasing numbers the social burden increases. Smith has come up with a touristic typology that looks at the numbers, goals and adaptations to local norms by tourists.

Figure 1: Frequency of Types of Tourists and Their Adaptations to Local Norms..

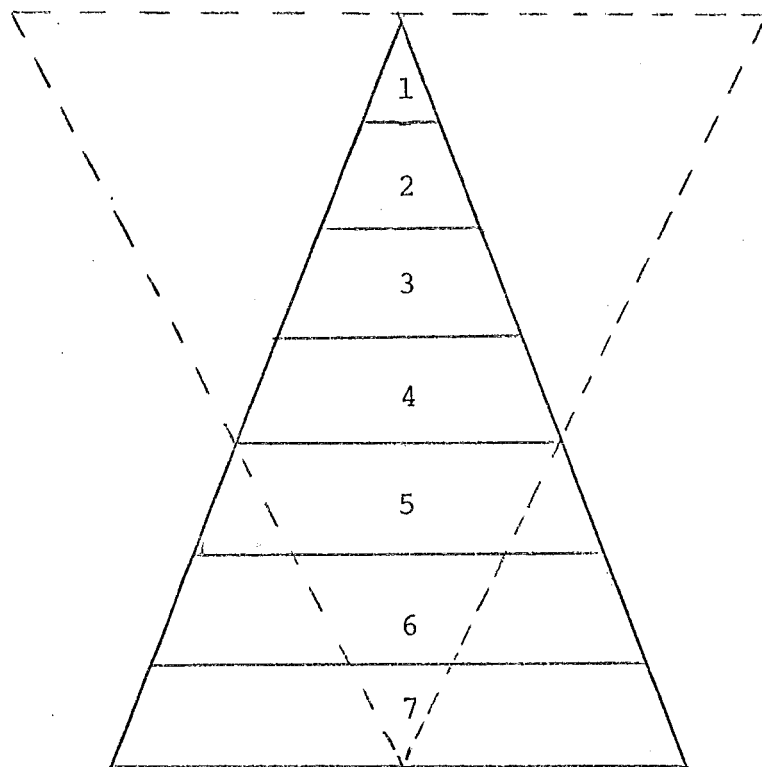
Type of tourist	Numbers of Tourists	Adaptations to Local Norms
Explorer	Very limited	Accepts fully
Elite	Rarely seen	Adapts fully
Off-beat	Uncommon but seen	Adapts well
Unusual	Occasional	Adapts somewhat
Incipient Mass	Steady flow	Seeks Western amenities
Mass	Continuous influx	Expects Western amenities
Charter	Massive arrivals	Demands Western amenities

This touristic typology is then related to the impact on the culture and local perceptions of the visitor. With only a few visitors there is usually little impact upon the indigenous culture. However, as the number of tourists increases, it appears different expectations emerge, more facilities are required to handle them, and the native view of outsiders also changes: tourists cease to be individuals and become stereotypes. With the appearance of charter tourism, even the nationality is no longer significant (see Figure 2).

In Smith's evaluation, the critical point in the development of a successful tourist industry occurs at or near the intersection of the two triangles. At this stage, members of the Incipient Mass tourism 'seek' Western amenities which become economically or even visually important. Smith states 'The local culture is probably at the 'Y' in the road, and should decide whether to (a) consciously control or even restrict tourism, to preserve their economic or cultural integrity, or (b) to encourage tourism as a desirable economic goal and restructure

their culture to absorb it.' A few countries are likely to choose the first option while many others will expand along the second course. Cultural impact studies are needed, however, to gauge what elements of a specific culture can be marketed as 'local colour' without serious disruption.

Figure 2:

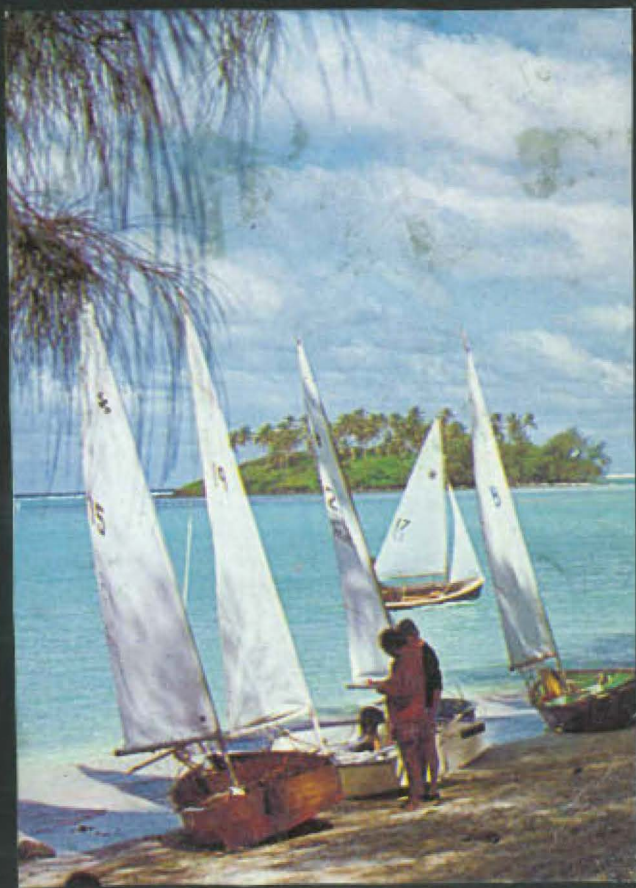
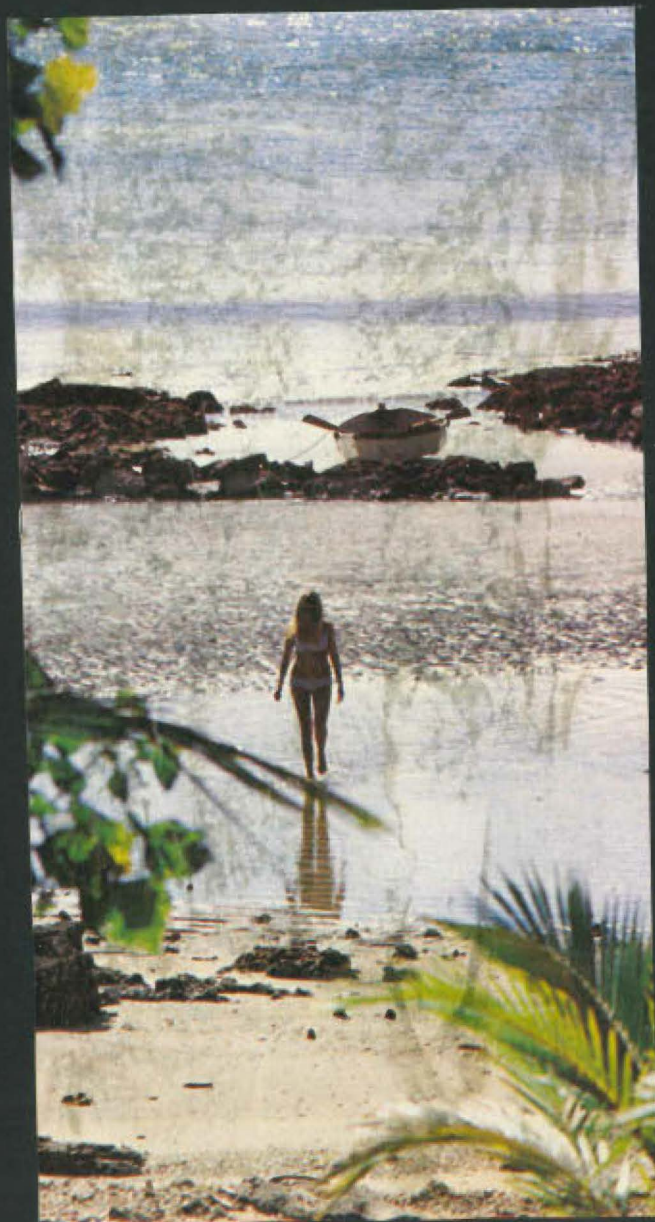
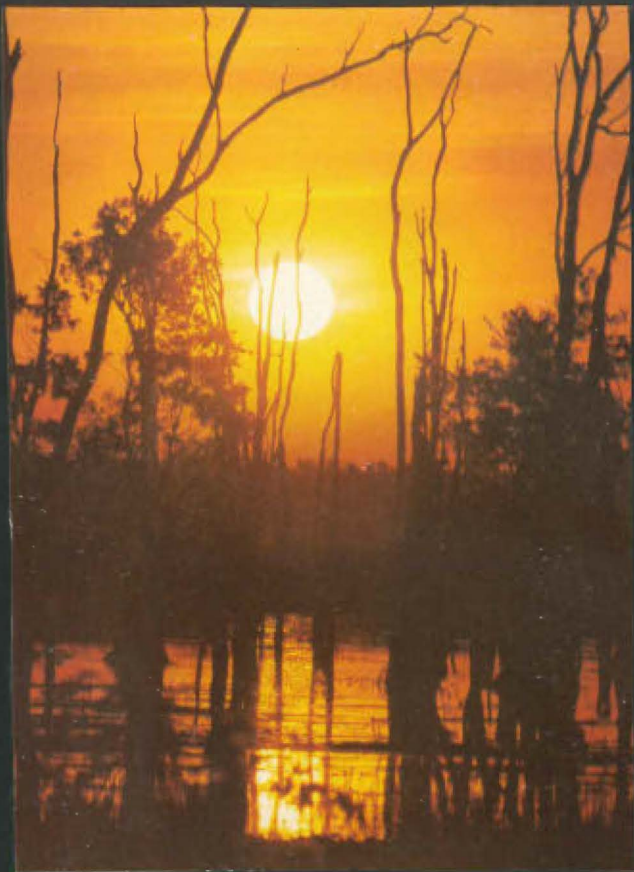


Touristic impact upon a culture (Δ) and local perceptions of visitors (∇), expressed in types of tourism. 1. Explorer; 2. Elite; 3. Off-beat; 4. Unusual; 5. Incipient Mass; 6. Mass; 7. Charter.

The degree to which tourists are a significant agent of culture change is difficult to quantify. Tourism is only one of many modernizing factors such as education, better health, the mass media, urbanization and under-employment. Smith suggests

that perhaps tourists are the 'visible scapegoats' for other 'deep-seated problems' as 'it is patently easier to blame a nameless, faceless foreigner who comes (and goes) than it is to address and solve fundamental problems.'

The touristic experience also has an effect on the individual tourist and his culture of origin. Tourism is usually not confined to a form of escapism, it also intends to understand and appreciate. In its highest form, it seeks to view and understand the development and origins of culture. On the tourist's return a new realisation of themselves in relation to history, or a new awareness of the complexities and troubles of their own culture, may develop as a result of the 'outside' experience. The tourist is not, however, sold what exists elsewhere, but is sold a wonderful world that does not really exist, but a fantasy that is specially rustled up. (Graburn, 1977) suggests that the masters of advertising have 'psyched' millions of people into mass tourism on the basis that 'to take a vacation' means to 'go someplace' and that to 'stay home and do nothing' is almost immoral and/or an acknowledgement of low economic status. To take up this challenge to get away, we cultivate the ethnic and the pristine. The idyllic life in the tropics or back to nature in the wastelands of the Arctic, Africa or New Zealand. While maintaining the pretence that everyone would like to escape the 'urban metropolis', just how many people would really want to, or be capable of swapping that for the claustrophobia and isolation of small primitive communities. The more we flee from our cities the worse we allow them to get. Perhaps if we were not so keen to get back to nature, simplicity and the past, we might do more about them. In many past civilisations, cities were regarded as an art form. Something to be worked on and developed.



PARADISE CREATED -
The 4 S's - sun,
sand, sea and sex.

for the pleasure of those that lived in them. Now they are regarded as an unpleasant necessity, something to escape from. Turner and Ash (1975) suggest that we use the Cult of Nature to avoid responsibility. We no longer need to make the effort as the tourist industry indulges our fantasies giving us the 'communal country childhood' and 'natural state' that never existed.

2.7 PARADISE CREATED

A favourite selling technique for escapist tourism is the invitation to 'Paradise', the 'Islands of Love' or 'The Garden of Eden'. Promiscuity, permissiveness, forbidden fruit, and the attractiveness of these sexual playgrounds are popular selling lines for the advertising brochures. The ideal of the isolated island life that is free from want and sexual guilt is packaged in a way to appeal to large numbers of people. The people of these holiday places are depicted as 'innocent, uninhibited, ignorant of sexual vices, ignorant of money or politics.' They are above all 'steady without neuroses' (Turner and Ash, 1975). Attempts have even been made to create this existence from scratch in such ventures as the Club Mediterranée. The expectations being placed on many of these 'mecca' areas of the modern world are impossible to live up to. In the Seychelles for example, despite different sexual code, without prostitution there would be little chance of the tourist getting what he/she came for. Unfortunately, in the Seychelles, the tourist also runs the risk of acquiring a virulent strain of venereal disease, an unwanted souvenir that may be difficult to discard. A gradual change has taken place which has made Seychellois women into an economic commodity. This has caused a backlash resulting in

bombings in 1972 calling for the expulsion of foreign interests and an end to the tourist industry. Similar examples can be found in many other parts of the world. The way in which different cultures have responded to the pressures tends to differ greatly. In the Bali situation, there is a very close-knit community. Despite the tourist publicity of the beautiful girls of Bali, the average tourist is unlikely to make any inroads there. The Balinese have maintained their cultural integrity and the experience the tourist actually gets is one of ethnic tourism in what they may regard as an exotic environment. The Balinese people seem to have insulated themselves from the tourists. There is neither hostility in their attitudes nor friendliness (Turner and Ash, 1975; McKean, 1977).

The tourist industry has taken upon itself the task of creating 'Paradise' for its followers, or at least giving added meaning to their lives. The problem is, no-one has ever been able to conceive a 'real' paradise that will not eventually pall. Why should the tourist industry feel it can solve the problem that has defeated the world's theologians? It is likely the tourist will never be satisfied. They will always move on, looking for more or less people, less pollution or hotels or seeking discos, casinos, and the like. The young who seek it 'as it is' on the New Guinea - Nepal - Istanbul trail may possibly be an 'avant garde' for a new future breed of tourism. Perhaps the more negative socio-cultural effects of tourism can be counteracted by careful planning and a slower growth to enable local populations to adjust and allow tourism to fit itself to the local society. In such a way, it may be possible to benefit hosts and guests.

Levi-Strauss, in *Tristes Tropiques* (1961), posed the melancholy and paradox of anthropology:

"The less one culture communicates with another, the less likely they are to be corrupted, one by the other; but on the other hand, the less likely it is, in such conditions, that the respective emissaries of these cultures will be able to seize the richness and significance of their diversity."

SECTION THREE

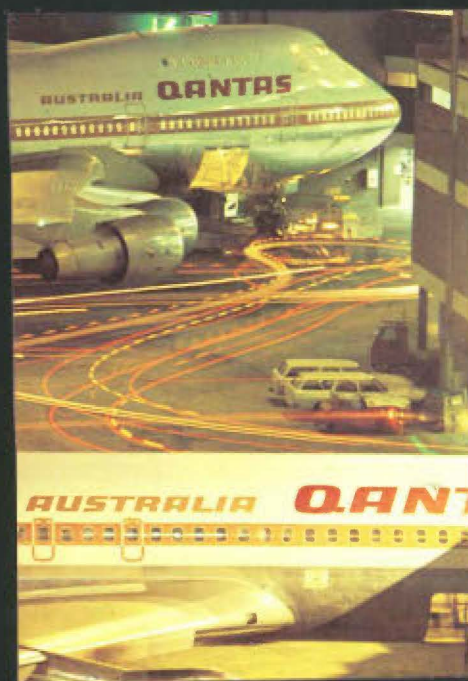
THE TOURIST INDUSTRY

THE TOURIST INDUSTRY

3.1 TOURISM - AN INDUSTRY LIKE ANY OTHER

Tourism is one of the world's bigger industries and plays a major part in the world's economy. 'In 1975, over 200 million international visitors spent around US \$45 billion after reaching their destinations' (de Kadt, 1979). It was one of the largest single items in world trade in 1975, and since 1960 has grown at slightly over 10% per annum. This is double the growth in agricultural products and slightly less than that for manufactured goods. Tourism is an industry like any other. It requires the management, capital investment, manpower training and all the other activities of a major competitive industry. It appears to be an easy industry to enter because it is relatively new. Until recently it was possible to start from scratch and overnight became a major force in a world industry. Many countries with a supply of sun, sea and beaches believed that all that was required to bring that foreign exchange rolling in was to build some hotels and airports.

While this may have been the case until the late sixties, the situation has changed rapidly over the last decade. The industry has gradually been maturing, and mature industries are prone to vicious competition and falling rates of profit (Kotler, 1976). This situation has been compounded by the energy crisis. The early entrepreneurs have given way to professional managers and the weaker businesses have gone to the wall. The successful businesses have become stronger and have to continually re-invest heavily in marketing and improvements to maintain their lead.



TOURISM an INDUSTRY
LIKE any OTHER.

The tourist industry pits not only company against company, but nation against nation. 'Tourism is becoming as cut-throat as any other commodity. The days of virtually automatic profits are over.' (Turner and Ash, 1975).

3.2 THE ECONOMICS OF THE INDUSTRY

The economic case in favour of tourism has three main advantages:

1. Valuable foreign exchange.
2. Helps countries' balance of payments.
3. Creates direct and indirect employment.

It is also said to help correct regional imbalances by favouring non-urban areas. Foreign exchange is essential to both highly developed and less developed nations of the world if they are to purchase industrial goods from outside. To maintain a competitive position or improve a nation's position, such exchange is essential. In Spain's case, tourism has helped it from a position of weakness to strength. It also plays an important part in the balance of payments of several countries. In 1970, Spain and Italy showed \$1 billion credits, Mexico \$750 million, and Austria, France, Portugal, Switzerland, Greece and Yugoslavia \$100 million credits. In a number of other countries, tourism is the most important export. Tourism also generates a considerable amount of employment which Smaoui (1979) classifies as:

1. Direct employment in businesses that sell goods and services directly to tourists, such as hotels, restaurants, transport operators, and shops.

2. Indirect employment is stimulated by tourists' expenditure in activities, such as manufacturing and wholesale distribution, that supply goods and services to tourism businesses.
3. Investment-related employment in construction and other capital goods industries.

Whether the type of employment generated and the return to the community justifies the costs, is a debatable point. A varying estimate is also given for the spin-off or multiplier effects of tourism. Many economists are now expressing scepticism about the overall value of tourism.

There are a number of reasons why tourism is not as attractive as it seems. Turner and Ash (1975) called these the three illusions. The first illusion is that just because a tourist spends a dollar in a country there is no guarantee that it is going to stay there. Many hotels and restaurants are foreign-owned and part of the returns flow out in the form of profits and dividends. Many of the employees in the better-paid jobs are expatriates and bank or spend a percentage of their salary outside the country. There are also the costs of importing food and drinks to suit the conservative palate of the tourist. Then expensive machinery, such as air conditioning, lifts, speed boats, cars (and the fuel to run them) to provide the technology of home are a further drain on possible foreign exchange. The outflow can be as high as 55 cents in each dollar spent. As destinations become larger and more self-sufficient, the leakages diminish, and more of the tourist money sticks with the hosts (World Bank, 1972). It is suggested in Jamaica that 'leakages' may be as high as 60-80%.

The second illusion is that there is much more money involved than there actually is for the host country. This is because no fares can be taken into account. A big proportion of the total money spent on holiday never reaches the host country. The biggest costs are incurred in transportation to a destination. The airlines, car-hire and bus companies that facilitate such travel are usually owned by the tourist-generating countries. They are the ultimate winners from such long-haul tourism. In recent years, there has also been the tendency for the same company to own both airline and hotels. This enables them to ensure the minimum amount of money sticks with the host countries (Reuber, 1973). Such companies will be tempted to manipulate their internal book-keeping so that profits are made on their transport activities rather than in hotels. If the hotels are unprofitable on paper, the overall company can escape taxation and get around exchange regulations that it may be more profitable for them to avoid.

The third illusion is that tourism is a cheap and easy industry to enter, and that a small investment will instantly create a lot of employment and guarantee quick returns. This is true if one ignores the heavy expenditure required of the host government on an infrastructure purely for the benefit of tourists. Governments in the Caribbean are estimated to invest dollar-for-dollar to the private sectors' investment in projects almost solely for the benefit of tourists.

As the sheer size of the tourist industry grows, the size of the investment grows, so too does the size of the risk. It has now become a decidedly dangerous business. The greatest financial costs to the host country are those incurred creating the new infrastructure. The main costs in this area are:

1. Airports - international airports capable of landing modern large jets are costly to construct, service and maintain. There are also high risks involved. Tanzania spent £6 million on Kilimanjaro Airport, and then could not convince any of the airlines to land there. West Germany had similar problems when it spent \$10 million on the modernization of Kassel-Calden Airport. The tour operators refused to use it, and the investment was a total waste of money.
2. Sewage disposal - can prove a big expenditure. To do without it can lead to severe pollution problems which inevitably leads to the tourists being put off coming. To give an idea of the costs that can be incurred, £11 million was spent on sewage disposal for Costa del Sol in Spain.
3. Water - in many countries water of a sufficient standard for domestic consumption is in short supply. It is expensive to store and maintain to a standard acceptable to tourists. In some countries, desalination is necessary; in others, use for tourists is in competition with other vital uses such as agriculture.
4. Roads - the construction of fancy roads, bypasses and motorways for tourist use beyond the needs of the local population can prove unnecessarily costly. In many countries, it would be better to develop the public transport sector and tell/encourage the tourist to use it.
5. Sandtrapping and other beautification work - if sand is the selling point, it can prove extremely costly to trap the sand or bring it from elsewhere. If it is to be carted from elsewhere, it can be ecologically destructive to the source area.

6. Housing - there is a need for temporary housing during the construction period, and later on, site accommodation for workers, as it is not possible for most hotel workers to get to work at odd hours from suburban areas.
7. Telecommunications - if seeking the business and convention travel, a heavy investment may be necessary to upgrade the system for what may be spasmodic use.
8. Education - to teach tourist-related skills may require costly training abroad, or an added cost within a country's own system.
9. Airlines - there is a tremendous temptation to set up a host country's own airline to bring in tourists to get a share of the money that usually never makes it. This can be extremely profitable or extremely expensive, and can lose money very fast. The decline of the world's major airlines and the rise of Freddie Laker shows how risky the industry is at present. A national airline does, however, have the advantage of protecting a country from blackmail and being cut out because the route it lies on is uneconomic.

There are also a number of other public service costs directly attributable to tourists. An attempt was made in Hawaii in 1968 to ascertain just what these costs were;

<u>Function</u>	<u>Cost per Visitor</u> <u>/Day</u>
(1) Highways	\$0.189
(2) Airports	.249
(3) Police protection	.058
(4) Fire protection	.032
(5) Sewerage	.049
(6) Natural Resources	.049
(7) Local parks and recreation	.062
Total variable cost per visitor /day	\$0.688
(Lundberg, 1974)	

It would be interesting to know whether the return to the community per visitor per day covered those costs. Young (1973) maintains that throughout the world, tourists are subsidised. Encouragements to attract tourism are given in large tax reductions for businesses from airlines to hotels, import duties are waived, special loans and tax holidays are granted. In Greece, £ 1 million was invested to improve private houses as lodgings for tourists. The Irish government is also attempting to develop tourism in this direction. The Ivory Coast is giving tax exemptions and land and licence tax exemptions. When all the concessions are added up, all too often there is very little left for the host government. The World Bank (1972), while they concede such subsidies are justified in some circumstances, do add 'the case for incentives of wide applicability is not proven'. Young (1973), however, sums it up: 'Economic logic has been left far behind, and the Gilbertian situation is being approached where it will pay everyone to be a tourist because of the subsidies to which he is

entitled; and it will pay no-one to be a resident because of the high levels of taxation needed to subsidise the tourist industry.'

The creation of jobs is one of the major considerations of many countries seeking to increase their share of the tourist cake. While the creation of jobs is fine and good, some jobs are of greater long-term benefit to an economy than others. Other less-fashionable industries would respond as well to the management talent and investment that is poured into the tourist sector. In the more industrialized countries, low-skilled, low-paid jobs are not a good thing. In Europe, migrant workers are used. In countries such as Switzerland, there has been a backlash against these workers. The creation of Disney-world in Florida has created a great deal of employment. Without the high income jobs that other forms of industry normally generate, a tremendous strain has been placed on their tax base. Turner and Ash (1975) - 'In an age where economic growth comes from increasing the productivity of working citizens, hotels and restaurants are a distinctly unpromising sector to encourage - particularly when the status of jobs in the industry is so low.'

In more agrarian economies, it is argued that tourism is better than plantation economics. While the work may be less backbreaking, it may not necessarily be better. There remain the problems of expatriates creaming off the best jobs and the profits, it being semi-skilled labour at best, and the problems of seasonal unemployment. Tourism also has the effect of altering the values of land. The prices paid for the land are unrelated to the productivity of the land. Externally imposed valuations price locals out of farming. Often the land is

bought up for exclusive holiday homes or country clubs. Young workers are often attracted to the new hotels as it appears to be a more attractive way of life than the peasant one. With the resultant rural depopulation, there are fewer people to assist with communal work on the land. The burden is then shifted from the community to the individual. An agricultural economy depending on co-operation is then unable to function at the same level. There is also the problem with the newly-employed or newly-married citizens being unable to build houses. Some individuals are forced out by inflation as they are simply unable to buy land on which to build. It is the low-income groups which are the principal victims of such inflation. A new problem that is also having a profound effect on agriculture is 'sibling conflict' over the inheritance of land. As the value has risen, it has become impossible for a member of the family to buy the others out. Such problems occur from Fiji to Switzerland. Gradually, more and more land is being taken up by absentee landlords. This is resulting in a new dependence on national and international business agents with a loss of the former self-sufficiency.

3.3 TOURISM AS A FORM OF IMPERIALISM

Nash (1977) suggests that the influence the tourist-generating nations have in tourism because of the levels of productivity necessary to sustain leisure, enables them to exercise control over the nature of tourism and its development in alien regions. 'It is this power over touristic and related developments abroad that makes a metropolitan center imperialistic and tourism a form of imperialism.' Without local participation in where the industry is going, there are bound to

be repercussions. The Basque case of Famagusta and the discontent in Bali are indications of the results of a lack of local involvement. In the Caribbean, tourism conveys overtures of the old slavery days. The servile relationship is similar, but cash is now used instead of overt force. It is not surprising then that tensions are increasing in the Caribbean (Turner and Ash, 1975).

In Spain, reactions are building up against the commoditization of the bullfights and the inability of Spaniards to holiday in their own country in the way of their choice. 'Given the importance of conservative forces within the Spanish power structure, one suspects that such manifestations are the start of a serious reaction against the impact of tourism - perhaps leading to a decision to slow or stop the growth of tourist inflows.' Harmonious situations do, of course, exist. Saglio (1979) outlines the development of small-scale village enterprises in Senegal and the value and prospects of similar developments.

3.4 TOURISM - A RISKY INDUSTRY

With a downturn in the world economy in the seventies, the competitiveness of the tourist industry has increased. Even if the host government is keen to assist the tourist industry, the tourist companies may still apply additional pressure. It is very easy to lose money if there is no relaxed atmosphere at the tourists' destination or if there are airport delays or other inefficiencies.

The need for repeat business means businesses cannot afford to have bored and discontent customers. As a result, a great deal of political pressure is brought to bear on the host govern-

ment. The tour companies express their wishes through their international organisations and lobbies. They demand improvements to airports, taxes and general inefficiency and they usually get their own way. They have the whip hand and can divert trade to neighbouring countries. Both Britain and Germany have suffered from planes being landed elsewhere to apply pressure (Turner and Ash, 1975). The tourist industry has a great deal of commercial leverage as being such a flexible industry they can go where they like. Not only is the competition getting tougher, but the average expenditure of the tourist is falling (Young, 1973). The high margin tourist is still around, but once the mass tourist moves in, the elite move out. With falling profit margins only the most efficient and well-placed industries will continue to make money.

The tourist industry is thus a rapidly changing industry. In the last few years, we have seen many travel agents and airlines squeezed out. It has become extremely difficult to predict even ten years in advance. A planning mistake in tourism can be fatal. Spain's 'el cheapo' developments for example, have cashed in on a market, but this is now hampering their future survival. All products, including tourism, have a product life cycle (Kotler, 1976). They have their ups and downs and changes of clientele. The World Bank (1972) states: "An awareness of possible future shifts in market tastes might also lead to restricting the total size of the tourism industry relative to economy, at least where there are viable investment opportunities in addition to tourism." Flexibility and caution would seem to be the names of the game.

3.5 THE SELLING OF TOURISM

Some of the business ethics of tourism are also worthy of consideration. The selling of an idyllic situation that doesn't exist while exposing the unwitting tourist to diseases such as typhoid, cholera, dysentery, hepatitis and malaria, to name just a few, and the risks of substandard air travel, air traffic control and hijacking without warning, seems highly questionable. There is also a lack of information conveyed to the tourist about local customs and laws of which he may fall foul. It is not really safe to assume that all visitors are prepared to put up with dissatisfaction and boredom. Nor are they all unable to distinguish fact from fantasy.

3.6 THE INTERNATIONALNESS OF THE INDUSTRY

The tourist industry has also become a truly international industry. Even the Soviet bloc countries have entered the industry. They need hard currency as much as anyone else to import advanced western technology. Tourism is being seen as a god-send. Young (1973) gives a comparison by Soviet statisticians where the 'profit' from one tourist is equal to the export of nine tons of coal, fifteen tons of oil, or two tons of grain. Russia, in 1975, had 2.5 million visitors. The costs were low compared with elsewhere, which has helped its industry grow tremendously. This has taxed the available manpower needed to keep tourists in control and linguists to translate for them. Special access has been made available to tourists, e.g. Lenin's tomb, beaches, restaurants, and special 'foreign currency only' shops. Such tourism is likely to cause major ideological problems in the future for Soviet countries. They will have

to either upgrade facilities to compete and resolve the problem of greater freedom for tourists when it arises. Turner and Ash (1975) suggest that they may be wise to create 'Golden Ghettos' like Spain's in places like the Black Sea well away from the bulk of their population.

They will still face the problems of tourists interfering in internal issues and Russians wanting to travel abroad. Hungary has realised the problems of reconciling tourism with an authoritarian society and has opted for scaling down its tourism. If the other authoritarian governments of the world take a similar course of action, it could precipitate further radical changes in the mass tourist industry.

Tourism then is a complex industry, subject to many pitfalls and of varying benefit to countries attempting to cash in on it. Its real economic benefits need to be carefully weighed up against the costs and the social effects.

SECTION FOUR

NEW ZEALAND AND THE INTERNATIONAL TOURIST INDUSTRY

NEW ZEALAND AND THE INTERNATIONAL TOURIST INDUSTRY

4.1 INTERNATIONAL TOURISM IN NEW ZEALAND TODAY

Tourism in New Zealand is still a very minor part of our economy. In 1979 it represented only 4.08% of our total exports, and less than 1% of our Gross Domestic Product. Many people, when looking for miraculous solutions to our balance of payments problems, see tourism as a likely saviour. Bearing in mind the pitfalls and drawbacks of tourism already discussed, and the size of the balance of payments deficit, it would certainly require a miracle for tourism to be the answer. Tourism could, however, play an even greater role and more profitable one in our economy than it does at present.

In 1979, 418,000 tourists came to New Zealand and left \$165.9 million in travel receipts. New Zealanders travelling abroad, on the other hand, spent \$388.3 million 1979. We need an increase in our foreign exchange earnings from tourism even if it is only to counteract our own expenditure in this area.

The questions to be posed are: Do we want tourism? If so, what type of tourism? What sort of costs both financial and social will we incur? In what ways can be minimize these while maximising the return?

4.2 CONSIDERATIONS FOR A TOURISM FUTURE

If we assume that a small, profitable, carefully planned industry is what we are after, then there are a number of pitfalls we need to avoid. Mass-tourism of the resort variety is not very profitable. Most tourism that requires a major new

infrastructure also tends not to be very profitable. To survive in the rapidly changing market-place of tourism, it is essential to keep up market research and structure the industry so that it is flexible enough for rapid change. Diversity within the business helps ensure survival. In New Zealand, it is necessary to accept the limitations that exist.

1. We are a considerable distance from the bulk of the markets of North America and Europe.
2. We lack the sun, sea, sand and sex essential to mass resort tourism.
3. While the visiting tourist may be interested in the Maori culture of New Zealand, bearing in mind the socio-cultural aspects already discussed, it may be better not to attempt to 'cash in' our cultural heritage. The economic returns are unlikely to balance the social impacts.

The international tourist market is highly competitive. In its existing form, we are unable to compete with it. If we want to compete we need to develop a new form and create a new target market. Any industry so created needs to avoid creating a large semi-skilled work force. It also needs to beware of subsidising beyond an economic level and needs to build in a few controls against the more negative side-effects such as absentee landlordism. In this way, we are more likely to secure a safer and more stable return.

The ideal development areas for New Zealand are small-scale, special interest tourist visits. In this way, we could make use of the existing infrastructure without having to make large capital investments. There would need to be tight restrictions on foreign ownership if there are to be any real benefits for

the country. In the area of subsidies, we can afford to subsidise to similar levels as farming if the return is equivalent or better in foreign exchange. If we lack the expertise necessary in some area, it would be sensible to employ an individual rather than allowing a foreign company in.

4.3 POSSIBLE MARKETS FOR TOURISM IN NEW ZEALAND

There are a number of possible markets. Bearing distances in mind, our best neighbouring markets are Japan, the western seaboard of the United States, and Canada, Asia and Australia. In addition, there is the wealthy Arab market who are not interested in the sun, sea, sand and sex holidays but are looking for something different. All of these market areas have sectors to whom New Zealand could offer a great deal and benefit from in return.

The Japanese market is one that is often seen as having tremendous potential. For the traditional forms of tourism, this is not usually the case. While the Japanese generate a volume of tourists, they are generally too fast moving with too much group discipline and as a result, tend to spend very little money in the host country. Kitson (1973), in an evaluation of the prospects and strategies for promoting tourism between Japan and New Zealand, makes some interesting suggestions for this market. He suggests special interest recreational visits, business visits, and gathering and educational tourism. The other possible markets would also respond well to these special interest visits.



New Zealand's Tourism
Future ?

4.4 POSSIBLE TYPES OF TOURISM FOR THE FUTURE

The type of holidays we would be able to market and service best would be recreational special interests. Some of the possibilities would be: hunting, fishing, yachting and other boating, skiing, shooting, mountaineering and golfing.

Golfing and fishing, for example, have a tremendous following from Japan. There would be a range of consumers interested in fishing for instance, from those interested in only the wild situation, while for others the pseudo-event of a fish-out pond is an experience enough in itself. There is a tremendous interest in the Arab and Asian markets in our horse industry. It would be possible for us to build a keen interest in horse trekking holidays. A far more profitable utilization of our existing infrastructure, though, would be horse-racing holidays. The T.A.B. system is fairly secure from Mafia-style abuse and we have a tremendous reputation throughout Asia and the world in this field. The Australian market would also be a good candidate to visit for 'gambling and horses holidays'.

The attributes of the New Zealand environment and our pristine areas are another area that we could market to a sophisticated special interest group. At present, these attributes are being sold from behind the hotel and bus windows. It would probably be of greater benefit to appeal to those with a real interest in getting out and enjoying an area. Having guests staying longer in our remote hotels and being encouraged to do day walks and take part in educational or recreational activities would help make them a more paying proposition. The present 'fast-through-put' tourist in these areas tend to see very little because of the weather, the times they are moving and spend little because the few shops there are generally

closed when the tourist is prepared to shop. It would probably benefit both the host and the guest if a more leisurely style of tourism was adopted.

The 'organic image' is of particular value when marketing to the city dwellers of massive industrialised areas. The pure air, lack of pollution, tranquillity, beauty, the food, exercise and rest available in New Zealand need to be played up. In other words, New Zealand could be marketed as a place to get into shape. We need to be seen as a place to come and do things, not just view scenery through a bus/plane/hotel window.

Water-related holidays are another area with appeal for the Arab market. Perhaps in this area, we could make better use of coastline, fiords and sounds for yachting trips. These could be tied in with a range of river trips, be they raft, canoe or jet boat. Our lakes also offer a number of possibilities. Fishing or diving might also be of interest on a water sports holiday.

The possibilities in the recreational activities area are immense. The tourist who is actually doing things other than just travelling around is also likely to inject a good deal of foreign exchange into the economy. Firstly, there is the employment aspects. The wages generated for skilled ski instructors, yachting instructors or the like is far greater than for an unskilled hotel worker. The generation of more skilled employment has the added advantage of being less demeaning for the workers in the industry. The spin-off or multiplier effects from these more active holidays would be greater. The new enthusiasm and interest generated in sports while here in New Zealand will undoubtedly help bias purchases of gear towards our own products. Hopefully, such a bias would carry over on

the return of the visitor home if the experience has been really memorable. The returns from gambling on the horses in New Zealand are already high. The added volume of 'betters' could only increase those returns.

Kitson (1973) suggests that business trips to New Zealand to see our expertise in agricultural technology and other business-related trips could be a valuable form of tourism. Kitson (1973) also cites the cultural interest of the Japanese in learning the English language. He sees Christchurch's 'more English than England' image as a useful promotional aspect for selling it as a place for teaching English. 'As this market will be very largely the youth market, cheaper living costs in New Zealand may be essential to sell such travel. Here the universities could play a role by providing teaching facilities and cheap accommodation during the vacation periods when their facilities are under-used.' There are other possibilities in this area such as teaching block and touring trips in special interest areas, e.g. farming or biological systems.

The lack of nightlife is one of the major criticisms levelled at New Zealand by visiting tourists. Bearing in mind the size of our population and their social interests, it is unlikely that we would be prepared, able, or want to create the kind of nightlife to be found in the tourist resorts of the world. In aiming at a more integrated tourist industry, we are more likely to be able to involve the tourist in the existing nightlife. The appeal of the local hotel would be far greater to the tourist if a welcome was assured.

There are many more possibilities and variations on the suggestions already made for a future tourist industry for New Zealand. Careful forethought as to the direction we wish to take in relation to tourism would seem, however, to be of prime concern.

SUMMARY

Throughout history, tourism has evolved and changed. It caters for those seeking to escape the uniformity and complexity of their lives in the world's urban metropolis by providing a more simple and exotic lifestyle.

In early Greek times, health spas and resort areas were the initial form of this escapist tourism. The rise of the Roman Empire saw the imitation of the Greek health resorts and spas. A new facet of tourism was also introduced. That was to tour the former civilisation to see the historic and famous places and learn of the past. Industrialisation gave the countries of Northern Europe a new supremacy over the older Mediterranean area. Tourists from these new industrial centres then began to make 'Grand Tours' of Europe. In 1845, Thomas Cook organised train excursions and made tourism available to the masses. He then extended the boundaries of tourist travel to encompass the world. Resorts specifically for beach holidays and gambling grew up as the social mores changed. With the increasing ease of travel created by the aeroplane, larger number of people are now able to reach any part of the world as tourists. Tourism has become a truly global phenomenon.

The cultural implications of this for society are great. Tourism creates a 'cultural package' that is simply another saleable commodity. It reduces vast and complex cultures into a few easily recognisable symbols for tourist consumption. Tourism may serve a conservationist or even revivalist role in other cultures, but often has an inhibiting or even disruptive role in the host community. The financial benefits of foreign

exchange and employment are of questionable value when compared with the social costs. The impacts of tourism relate fairly closely with the volume of tourists and the level of westernisation they demand. There are also implications for the tourists' culture of origin. Tourism enables the traveller to ignore the problems back home and indulge in a fantasy paradise elsewhere.

Tourism is another industry like any other. It involves all the expenses and business risks of any other industry. Because of its superficially glamorous nature, it is easy to be fooled into believing it is also a profitable business. The economic costs and benefits and the risks involved need to be carefully evaluated by host countries interested in or already being involved in tourism. The rapid change within the industry dictates a flexible industry for those wishing to profit long-term from tourism.

In New Zealand's situation, it is necessary to accept the limitations placed upon us and carefully consider all the socio-cultural and economic implications of tourism. New Zealand's best areas for a tourist future are probably in recreational, special interest, business and educational tourism.

On a global scale, the future of tourism is likely to be as subject to change as it has been throughout history. If the numbers of tourists wishing to travel increase, so too will the socio-cultural and economic implications. For the benefit of both host and guest communities, a wider understanding of this industry and informed planning decisions need to be made.

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