



Locating geographies of tourism

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I Introduction

This is the first of three progress reports on geographies of tourism. Although articles on tourism have appeared previously in this journal (eg, Mansfeld, 1990; Squire, 1994; Crang, 1997; Del Casino and Hanna, 2000), and over 20 years ago reports were written on recreation and leisure (see Patmore, 1977; 1978; 1979; Patmore and Collins, 1980; 1981), systematic progress reports on tourism have been absent until now. In this report, I attempt two things: first, I situate tourism in postwar geography, through an analysis of work published in the field; and, second, I briefly sketch areas of emphasis in recent tourism geography. Although not taken seriously by some, and still considered marginal by many, tourism constitutes an important point of intersection within geography, and its capacity to gel critical, integrative and imperative research appears to be increasingly realized.

What follows, then, is an admittedly condensed report, given the decades of work and current breadth of research for which some account needs to be provided. My intention

is that this report will broadly survey the field and make a few observations, before subsequent progress reports explore focused themes in more detail. For pragmatic reasons I have chosen to concentrate especially on tourism research with overt links to geography – that is undertaken by individuals located in geography schools and/or who identify as geographers, publish in geography journals or explore overtly geographical themes. Like Coles *et al.* (2006) I do not see disciplines as natural ‘homes’ for particular questions or paradigms. The geographical does, however, mark a particular neighbourhood of inquiry – a place that fosters certain kinds of research being done (Mee, 2006). It is in this light that I more narrowly focus this report.

II Tracing the production and circulation of tourism geographies

Both the rapid rise of tourism and its complexity have shaped the conduct and location of research. As a newly important industry, emerging in the same era that academic specialisms and publication outlets

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proliferated, tourism growth was mirrored by a boom in research on its dimensions, management, marketing and economics – to which some geographers contributed (Clawson and Knetsch, 1966; Mercer, 1970; Mitchell, 1979; Butler, 1980; Mathieson and Wall, 1982). As tourism became more strongly supported by government, particularly in countries such as Australia, Spain and Aotearoa/New Zealand, new schools in tourism and hospitality studies were established that became bases for applied research and industry training (Coles *et al.*, 2006). Accordingly, in tourism studies the link between academic knowledge production and the interests of the state became particularly visible (cf. Barnes, 2007). Researchers were also drawn to tourism from other disciplines such as sociology, anthropology and geography to ask questions of cultural representations, expectations and interactions, and related issues of authenticity and identity (MacCannell, 1973; 1976; Cohen, 1988; Urry, 1990). Indeed, it is probably still little recognized that it was through engagements with tourism that significant advances in ‘new’ cultural approaches in the social sciences were made in the 1980s.

Geographers have been responsible for innovations in tourism research, some of which were substantial in an interdisciplinary sense (Hall, 2005a). Indeed, Alan Lew, in his inaugural editorial for the first edition of the journal *Tourism Geographies* (1999) noted then an over-representation of geographers in tourism studies, despite geography’s small size as a discipline. Geographers researching tourism have long sought audiences outside geography – perhaps even more so than within their discipline.¹

What, then, have been among the more significant of geographers’ contributions? Rather than roll out predictable lists, or falsely depict the development of tourism geography as a single, linear process, I am interested in how geographies of tourism have been done, to what effect and how these have been situated and mediated (cf. Lazzarotti, 2002; Coles *et al.*, 2006). In order to get some sense of contributions made

over decades of contemporary human geography, I decided against trawling through my own collection of materials to ‘pick favourites’; nor have I sought to replicate previous comprehensive reviews (eg, Butler, 2004; Hall, 2005a). Instead, I utilized online academic databases to build a bibliography of articles written by geographers on tourism. The point was that such a bibliography could be treated as a data set – capable of being quickly analysed to reveal some of the contours of the conduct of tourism geography over several decades. I deliberately focused on research published in overtly geographical outlets (particularly journals); this enabled certain kinds of numerical analysis, and placed some necessary parameters around the task.

The most consistently used online academic databases (though not necessarily the best) are Thompson’s Citations Indices (a source used in similar analyses elsewhere – see Yeung, 2002). For this progress report, 889 articles were identified within 73 geographical journals included in the Social Sciences Citation Index (SSCI) using the keyword ‘touris*’ (enabling capture of articles with ‘tourism’, ‘tourist’, ‘tourismus’, ‘tourismo’ or ‘tourisme’ in their title, abstract or key words). Information on authors, institutional affiliation and location, title, key words, abstract and type of publication were retrieved for articles satisfying key word criteria. Interrogation of the SSCI data base was not limited to articles in English, although most retrieved were in that language – a function of the Anglocentric bias in the data base itself. Another limitation was that the resulting bibliography excluded books, which for some researchers have been particularly significant (eg, Williams, 1998; Hall and Page, 1999; Lew *et al.*, 2004; Hall, 2005b). For brevity’s sake, I also did not search for articles by other key words such as ‘leisure’ and ‘recreation’, which many associate with tourism studies. Yeung (2002: 2099) warned that the worst abuse of citation indices was ‘to see these data as unproblematic and therefore fully comparable across individuals,

journals, and disciplines without putting them in proper context'. Although I dedicate some discussion to articles with substantial citation impact, I am not interested in making judgements about relative academic merit based on citation counts alone. I have instead used the SSCI for a sense of the overall efforts undertaken in tourism geography, and the geography of its production and circulation. Even if not a complete sample, tracking a geography of academic knowledge production was made possible, shedding light on the biases and particularities of this field (cf. Gutiérrez and López-Nieva, 2001; Paasi, 2005).

1 Tourism geography: inherently diverse

In the 1960s and 1970s, very little work was conducted on tourism geography (averaging about five or six articles per year internationally). Growth occurred in the late 1980s and particularly into the 1990s, as human geography itself diversified. About 40 articles have been published annually in the last decade, across the selected geography journals (not including the specialist *Tourism Geographies*), and their breadth and diversity is striking. Over 1000 key words were recorded in the SSCI for approximately 230 of the 889 articles captured. Even though key words were therefore available for barely a quarter of the articles, they reveal the breadth of topics covered. As well as place names and generic interdisciplinary keywords (eg, urban, rural, social, culture, economy), the most common were: environment (26), sustainability (20), heritage (17), globalization (14), landscapes (14), beaches and coasts (13), history (10), ecotourism (7), land use (7), conservation (6), representations of place (6), water (6), consumption (5) and climate change (4). It is not surprising that geography has been the disciplinary location from which the most consistent and substantial contributions to the study of the environmental dimensions of tourism have been made. But a kaleidoscopic range of key words was also present beyond these: everything from semiotics to small island

states; weather to world music; pilgrimage to public transport; erosion to embodiment; storm-chasing to same-sex desire; resorts to religion; discourse to dendrogeomorphology. Results of analysis of key words were simply too extensive to reproduce in table form here, reflecting tourism geography's impressive diversity.

Among the 20 most-cited articles (Table 1) are themes common throughout tourism geography: the link between tourism, place and economic cycles (Butler, 1980; Hovinen, 1981), environmental processes and problems and issues of sustainability (Turner *et al.*, 1998); critical perspectives on history and memory (DeLyser, 1999; Dwyer, 2000; Nash, 2002); macroscale analysis of tourist flows (Williams and Zelinsky, 1970); tourism and development in poor areas (Zurick, 1992; Oakes, 1993); and place marketing, representations and experiences (Goss, 1993; Crang, 1997; Cloke and Perkins, 1998).

Also pertinent to note was that geographers' engagements with tourism have not been limited to research foregrounding tourism as the subject of analysis. Much influential research in geography discussing tourism has done so only in the context of wider concerns such as poverty (Neumann, 1995), the rights of indigenous peoples (Butler and Hinch, 1996); environmental sustainability (McAfee, 1999) or changing rural land-use practices (Holmes, 2002).

A related point is that many researchers featuring in the SSCI bibliography would probably not consider themselves tourism geographers or may not even list tourism as a specialist research interest. Richard Butler – author of the most cited work in tourism geography – certainly is widely known as a tourism researcher, yet Dydia DeLyser, who has published the third most-cited work (DeLyser, 1999), lists her research interests as cultural geography, historical geography, feminist geography, qualitative methods and social theory. Even though tourism is not acknowledged, such descriptors make sense because DeLyser is most active in these subfields. Geography is thus a particular

Table 1 The 20 most-cited journal articles identifying 'tourism' through key word search, geography journals, 1965–2007^a

Author(s)	Year	Article title	Country of first author ^b	Journal	ISI subject categories	No. times cited ^c
Butler, R.W.	1980	The concept of a tourist area cycle of evolution	Canada	<i>Canadian Geographer</i>	Geography	224
Britton, S.	1991	Tourism, capital and place – towards a critical geography of tourism	Aotearoa/ New Zealand	<i>Environment and Planning D: Society and Space</i>	Environmental Studies; Geography	78
DeLyser, D.	1999	Authenticity on the ground: engaging the past in a California ghost town	USA	<i>Annals of the Association of American Geographers</i>	Geography	32
Squire, S.J.	1994	Accounting for cultural meanings: the interface between geography and tourism studies	Canada	<i>Progress in Human Geography</i>	Geography	30
Neumann, R.P.	1995	Local challenges to global agendas: conservation, economic liberalization and pastoralists rights, Tanzania	USA	<i>Antipode</i>	Geography	30
McAfee, K.	1999	Selling nature to save it? Biodiversity and green developmentalism	USA	<i>Environment and Planning D: Society and Space</i>	Environmental Studies; Geography	27
Dilley, R.S.	1986	Tourist brochures and tourist images	Canada	<i>Canadian Geographer</i>	Geography	26
Goss, J.D.	1993	Placing the market and marketing place: tourist advertising ... Hawaiian Islands ...	Hawai'i/USA	<i>Environment and Planning D: Society and Space</i>	Environmental Studies; Geography	26
Zuidema, P.J.	1981	The Katayama syndrome: an outbreak in Dutch tourists to the Omo Nat. Park, Ethiopia	Netherlands	<i>Tropical and Geographical Medicine</i>	Public, Env. and Occupational Health; Tropical Medicine	25
Turner, R.K. <i>et al.</i>	1998	Coastal management for sustainable development ... env. and socio-economic changes on the UK coast	England	<i>Geographical Journal</i>	Geography	22
Williams, A.V. and Zelinsky, W.	1970	On some patterns in international tourist flows	USA	<i>Economic Geography</i>	Economics; Geography	22
Cloke, P. and Perkins, H.C.	1998	Cracking the canyon with the awesome foursome: representations of adventure tourism in NZ	England	<i>Environment and Planning D: Society and Space</i>	Environmental Studies; Geography	21

Dwyer, O.J.	2000	Interpreting the civil rights movement: place, memory, and conflict	USA	<i>Professional Geographer</i>	Geography	19
Crang, M.	1997	Picturing practices: research through the tourist gaze	England	<i>Progress in Human Geography</i>	Geography	19
Zurick, D.N.	1992	Adventure travel and sust. tourism in the peripheral economy of Nepal	USA	<i>Annals of the Association of American Geographers</i>	Geography	19
Nash, C.	2002	Genealogical identities	England	<i>Environment and Planning D: Society and Space</i>	Environmental Studies; Geography	19
Holmes, J.	2002	Diversity and change in Australia's rangelands: a post-productivist transition with a difference?	Australia	<i>Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers</i>	Geography	18
Hovinen, G.R.	1981	A tourist cycle in Lancaster-County, Penn.	USA	<i>Canadian Geographer</i>	Geography	17
Johnson, N.C.	1996	Where geography and history meet: heritage tourism and the big house in Ireland	Northern Ireland	<i>Annals of the Association of American Geographers</i>	Geography	16
Oakes, T.S.	1993	The cultural space of modernity: ethnic tourism and place identity in China	USA	<i>Environment and Planning D: Society and Space</i>	Environmental Studies; Geography	16

Source: ISI Social Sciences Citation Index, accessed 5 June 2007.

73 journals were searched in the SSCI database. These included journals with geog in their title; plus other journals normally considered geography journals without geog* in their titles (e.g., *Area*, *Antipode*, *Ecumene*, *Environment and Planning Series A and D*, *Geoforum*). Subject key word search term was touris*. This enabled location of articles with 'tourism', 'tourist', 'tourismus', 'tourisme' or 'tourisme' in the title, abstract, subject descriptors or key words. Articles in journals in all languages in SSCI were searched. Articles in languages other than English were identified and included in the master data base, but all of the 20 most-cited articles were published in English. All document types were searched (including research articles, reviews, notes, etc.). A total of 889 articles were identified and included in this analysis.

¹Country of first author listed according to their place of institutional affiliation at time of publication, not nationality or current country of affiliation, even if it has changed since publication.

²Times cited according to the SSCI index. Does not include citations captured in non-SSCI listed journals.

kind of disciplinary locale for the creation of knowledges on tourism where thematic boundaries are regularly transgressed in productive ways, by researchers who work on tourism, but sometimes only within a wider mix of concerns.

2 *Tourism geography – a geography of its production and circulation*

Does the 'Anglo-American axis' that dominates scholarly publishing (Berg and Kearnes, 1998; Gutiérrez and López-Nieva, 2001) also permeate tourism geography? Ioannides (2006) has argued that:

While tourism research continues to exist on the margins of geography in general ... this situation is particularly problematic in the USA. By contrast, geographers in Canada, Europe and Oceania demonstrate enormous awareness of the sector and research on this topic has expanded by leaps and bounds. (Ioannides, 2006: 82)

The SSCI bibliography enabled observation of whether tourism geography has this kind of differential geography. Tables 2 and 3 compare the geography of publishing in the whole discipline of geography with that of articles specifically on tourism-related themes. Countries of authors are tracked in purportedly 'international' geography journals, across all articles, and then compared with tourism-related articles (following Gutiérrez and López-Nieva, 2001). Conformity was apparent between the Anglo-American dominance of geography generally, and the specific subset of tourism-related articles analysed here. Indeed, tourism articles in 'international' geography journals were even more dominated by the countries contributing most articles (the USA and Britain in all but one journal).

There were, however, discrepancies and divergences revealed upon closer examination. Overall, the USA had fewer contributing authors to tourism geography than for all geography (26% of tourism geography articles compared with 38% of all geography), and Australia, Singapore and

Aotearoa/New Zealand were slightly over-represented (Table 2). Variations across supposedly 'international' journals were also apparent. Although in some journals Britain and the USA were the countries with the largest number of authors (*Geoforum*, *Environment and Planning D*, *Journal of Historical Geography*), they remained a numerical minority. In other journals (*Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, *Area*) tourism articles were overwhelmingly by authors from one country – disappointing for journals that purport to be 'international'. Differences were also apparent in the extent of support for tourism-related articles. Some journals (*Geography*, *Environment and Planning A*, *Professional Geographer*) regularly publish articles on tourism, while others have either not received many contributions from tourism geographers or rarely accept them. It is remarkable, for instance, that only two research articles have appeared in over four decades of *Economic Geography* (the other 12 counted in Table 3 were all book reviews) and only four in *Antipode* (the others listed in Table 3 were book reviews).

It was also possible to analyse patterns of publishing on tourism geography within journals not claiming international status, or with an explicitly national remit (Table 4). Such analysis could reveal whether there was there a 'national' identity to tourism geography publishing – whether scholars tended to focus on their own countries, in their own national journals, largely for national consumption (cf. Pearce, 1999; Coles, 2004). Results reinforced Pearce's (1999: 419) observation of tourism geography's 'hybrid nature ... and its relative youthfulness' (Table 4). Higher levels of internationalism were recorded for tourism-related publishing in certain, often newer sub-disciplinary journals (*Social and Cultural Geography*, *Journal of Geography in Higher Education*), while some national journals published tourism-related articles only by authors from that same country (eg, *Canadian Geographer*, *Australian Geographer*).

Table 2 Country of origin of authors of articles published in 19 selected journals^a

Country	Number of tourism geography articles in SSCI data base (1965–2007) ^b	Percentage of total tourism geography articles in SSCI data-base (1965–2007)	Average in Gutiérrez and López-Nieva (2001) for all geography articles (1991–1997)
UK ^c	182	37.53	35.14
USA	125	25.77	38.25
Canada	43	8.87	8.58
Australia	20	4.12	3.24
Aotearoa/NZ	10	2.06	1.42
Singapore	8	1.65	0.61
South Africa	6	1.24	1.19
Ireland	5	1.03	N/A
Israel	5	1.03	1.51
Netherlands	5	1.03	1.09
Spain	4	0.82	N/A
China	2	0.41	0.62
Italy	1	0.21	0.51
Germany	1	0.21	0.47
Greece	1	0.21	0.47
Sweden	0	0.00	0.52
France	0	0.00	0.52
Japan	0	0.00	0.49
Others/no data	67	13.81	5.36

Source: adapted from Gutiérrez and López-Nieva (2001: 56) and SSCI, accessed 5 June 2007.

^aData set of articles analysed in this table is a subset of that used in Table 1. It analyses only those articles in the SSCI data set published in 19 selected 'international' journals. These journals were those analysed by Gutiérrez and López-Nieva (2001) because of their purportedly 'international' scope and appeal. They are: *Annals of the AAG*, *Antipode*, *Applied Geography*, *Area*, *Economic Geography*, *Environment and Planning A*, *Environment and Planning D*, *Geoforum*, *Geographical Analysis*, *Geographical Journal*, *Geographical Review*, *Geography*, *International Journal of GIS*, *Journal of Historical Geography*, *Political Geography*, *Professional Geographer*, *Progress in Human Geography*, *Transactions of the IBCG*, and *Urban Geography*. The total number of tourism geography articles analysed from the SSCI database for these journals was 485.

^bOnly the countries of first named authors were tabulated in the SSCI data base for tourism geography articles. These were tabulated by country of institutional affiliation rather than nationality of author. All articles were published in English.

^cTotals for England (153), Wales (12), Scotland (11) and Northern Ireland (6) were combined to concord with data in Gutiérrez and López-Nieva (2001).

Other 'national' journals appeared to be even more international than the purportedly 'international' journals, when it came to publishing tourism-related material (Table 4). This was the case for both authorship and case studies (eg, *Annales de Géographie*, *Geographische Zeitschrift*). When articles were

counted by country of case study, it was evident that the Anglo-American axis was far less dominant in tourism geography than for geography as a whole. There were as many articles discussing case studies in Canada as in Britain, and the USA ran sixth behind these countries and Australia, Spain

Table 3 Comparison of the geography of tourism geographical articles with all geography articles, selected 'international' journals^a

Journal ^b	All articles by groups of countries (1991–1997)				Tourism-related articles by groups of countries (1965–2007) ^c			
	Country contributing most articles (%)	Other Anglo-Saxon countries (%)	Rest of the world (%)	Number of tourism geography articles per journal ^d	Country contributing most articles (%)	Other Anglo-Saxon (%) ^e	Rest of the world (%)	
1. <i>Geoforum</i> (3)	42.0 (UK)	37.9	20.1	22	27.3 (UK)	45.5	27.3	
2. <i>Environment and Planning D</i> (4)	42.8 (UK)	44.0	13.2	16	37.5 (USA)	56.2	6.3	
3. <i>Journal of Historical Geography</i> (2)	40.3 (UK)	44.8	14.9	15	40.0 (UK)	46.7	13.3	
4. <i>Environment and Planning A</i> (5)	44.9 (UK)	38.8	16.3	42	42.9 (UK)	45.2	11.9	
5. <i>Antipode</i> (9)	50.0 (USA)	30.1	19.1	6	50.0 (UK)	50.0	0	
6. <i>Economic Geography</i> (11)	58.8 (USA)	32.7	8.5	14	50.0 (USA)	35.7	14.3	
7. <i>Transactions, IBG</i> (17)	79.2 (UK)	14.8	6.0	11	54.5 (UK)	36.4	9.1	
8. <i>Progress in Human Geography</i> (7)	46.5 (UK)	45.2	8.3	25	56.0 (UK)	40.0	4.0	
9. <i>Geographical Journal</i> (12)	65.3 (UK)	13.9	20.8	24	62.5 (UK)	12.5	25.0	
10. <i>Professional Geographer</i> (16)	78.8 (USA)	14.6	6.6	48	66.6 (USA)	27.1	6.3	
11. <i>Applied Geography</i> (8)	47.7 (UK)	38.1	14.2	22	68.2 (UK)	22.7	9.1	
12. <i>Geography</i> (14)	75.3 (UK)	7.7	17.0	71	74.6 (UK)	14.1	11.3	
13. <i>Geographical Review</i> (18)	84.0 (USA)	10.3	5.7	24	75.0 (USA)	25.0	0	
14. <i>Urban Geography</i> (13)	68.4 (USA)	22.6	9.0	13	76.9 (USA)	7.7	15.4	
15. <i>Area</i> (15)	75.5 (UK)	16.8	7.7	34	79.4 (UK)	14.7	5.9	
16. <i>Political Geography</i> (6)	45.6 (USA)	31.4	23.0	6	80.0 (UK)	20.0	0	
17. <i>Annals AAG</i> (19)	84.3 (USA)	11.4	4.3	34	82.4 (USA)	17.6	0	

18. <i>International Journal of GIS</i> (1)	37.4 (USA)	38.3	24.3	1	100.0 (Canada)	0	0
19. <i>Geographical Analysis</i> (10)	57.5 (USA)	25.8	16.7	0	0	0	0
Average	59.2	27.3	13.5		64.42	27.2	8.38
Total articles (with country affiliation)				428			

Source: adapted from Gutiérrez and López-Nieva (2001: 57) and SSCI, accessed 5 June 2007.

^aJournals selected were those analysed by Gutiérrez and López-Nieva (2001) because of their purportedly 'international' scope and appeal. See footnote to Table 2 above. In this table journals are ranked in inverse order of dominance of authors from one country contributing most tourism geography articles; ie, *Geoforum*, with only 27.3% of its tourism geography articles coming from the country with the largest number of articles (UK), is the least dominated by a single country. Although the SSCI search identified articles in various languages, all the articles published in the selected journals were in English.

^bIn this column, the number in brackets = rank in order of least dominated by authors contributing from one country – from Gutiérrez and López-Nieva (2001: 57).

^cSee footnote to Table 1 above for explanation of how tourism geography articles were identified. From the subset used in Table 1, articles containing no author country affiliation information (usually book reviews) were removed, leaving 428 tourism geography articles capable of being analysed by country – in this case, as in Table 2, by country of first-named author.

^dThis column indicated the number of tourism geography articles in each journal captured by searches of the SSCI data base. Included were research articles, literature reviews, editorial commentaries and research notes. Book reviews were excluded. As is obvious, many journals have published very few tourism geography articles, even over more than four decades. This needs to be taken into consideration when evaluating the extent of 'international' publishing in tourism geography based on percentage scores. Some journals simply do not have a large enough sample of tourism geography articles to make meaningful comparisons.

^eFollowing Gutiérrez and López-Nieva (2001: 57), for tourism geography articles compiled from the SSCI database, 'Other Anglo-Saxon countries' were defined as the UK or USA (whichever was not the numerically dominant country listed in the adjacent column), plus Australia, Aotearoa/NZ and Canada. Articles by authors from bilingual or multilingual countries such as Singapore or South Africa were counted in 'Rest of the world'. My preference would have been to include Canada and Aotearoa/NZ in this latter category because of the official bilingual status of both countries. However, in Gutiérrez and López-Nieva (2001) both were included in 'Other Anglo-Saxon countries'. For the purposes of comparison they remain so here.

Table 4 Geographical distribution of tourism geography articles in national or subdiscipline specific geography journals, 1965–2007^a

Journal	No. of articles	Languages	Summary of countries of case studies (only in percentages where indicated)	Summary of author nationalities (only in percentages where indicated)
<i>Tourism Geographies</i>	188	100% English	35 general; 15 Aotearoa/New Zealand, 13 UK, China, 11 Australia; 50 other countries with 1–8 articles each	21% UK; 18% USA; 13% Australia; 11% Aotearoa/New Zealand; 7% Canada; 23 other countries with 1–7 articles each
<i>Canadian Geographer</i> – <i>Geographie Canadien</i>	35	94% English, 6% French	51% Canada; 29% general; 5 others incl. Barbados, UK, Japan	74% Canada, 5 others incl. Australia, France, Zambia
<i>Tijdschrift Voor Economische en Sociale Geografie</i>	35	94% English, 3% Dutch, 3% German	17% general; 20 others incl. Antigua, Belgium, Namibia, Netherlands, Portugal, Sri Lanka, Tunisia	23% Netherlands, 14 others incl. Austria, Bulgaria, Hong Kong, Italy, Portugal, Spain
<i>Mitteilungen der Österreichischen Geographischen Gesellschaft</i>	28	89% German, 11% English	36% Austria, 18% general, 9 others incl. Argentina, Cape Verde, Nepal, Slovenia, Uganda, Ukraine	86% Austria, 2 others: Germany, Slovenia
<i>Singapore Journal of Tropical Geography</i>	18	100% English	3 Asia general; 10 others incl. Botswana, Maldives, Indonesia, Malaysia, Vanuatu	5 Singapore, 4 USA, 6 others incl. Botswana, Canada, Germany, South Africa
<i>Australian Geographer</i>	13	100% English	8 Australia; 3 others incl. Thailand, Korea, Aotearoa/NZ	All Australia
<i>Scottish Geographical Magazine</i>	13	100% English	6 UK, 2 Spain, Malta, General, 1 Peru	11 UK, 2 Canada
<i>Revue de Géographie Alpine</i> – <i>Journal of Alpine Research</i>	11	73% English, 27% French	5 general, 3 Switzerland, 2 France, 1 Sweden	4 France, 3 N/A, 2 Switzerland, 1 Germany, Sweden
<i>Annales de Géographie</i>	10	100% French	5 general; 5 others incl. Bulgaria, France	6 N/A; 3 France, 1 Tunisia
<i>Geographische Zeitschrift</i>	10	100% German	3 general, 7 others incl. Indonesia, Ecuador, Bahamas, Italy, Spain	6 Germany, 2 N/A, 1 Austria, Canada
<i>Social and Cultural Geography</i>	10	100% English	2 Ireland, USA, 6 others incl. Mongolia, India, South Africa, Israel	3 USA, 6 others incl. Canada, Ireland, Israel
<i>Journal of Geography</i>	9	100% English	3 USA, 6 others incl. Egypt, Greece, Cuba	7 USA, 1 N/A, 1 UK

<i>Journal of Geography in Higher Education</i>	9	100% English	2 general, 2 UK, 8 others incl. Singapore, Kenya, Austria	4 UK, 5 others incl. Austria, Australia, Singapore
<i>Boletín de la Asociación de Geógrafos Españoles</i>	8	100% Spanish	5 Spain; 2 general; 1 Brazil	1 Brazil; the remainder Spain
<i>Ecumene</i>	8	100% English	2 USA, 1 general, UK, China, Netherlands, France, Spain	5 USA, 1 UK, France, Northern Ireland
<i>Journal of Transport Geography</i>	7	100% English	3 UK, 2 general, 1 Germany, Europe	4 UK, 2 Germany, 1 Netherlands
<i>Cultural Geographies</i>	6	100% English	1 general, Latvia, South Africa, USA, UK, Ireland	3 UK, 3 USA
<i>Geografiska Annaler Series A and B</i>	6	100% English	3 Spain, 1 Italy, Grenada, Austria	3 Spain, 1 Italy, USA, Canada
<i>Scottish Geographical Journal</i>	4	100% English	3 UK, 1 Malta	All UK
<i>Petermanns Geographische Mitteilungen</i>	3	100% German	3 general	2 N/A, 1 Germany
<i>Scripta Nova-Revista Electronica de Geographia y Ciencias Sociales</i>	3	67% Portuguese, 33% Catalan	1 Spain, 1 Mexico, 1 Northern Africa	2 Spain, 1 Mexico
<i>Soviet Geography Review and Translation</i>	3	100% English	3 general	2 USSR, 1 N/A
<i>Soviet Geography</i>	2	100% English	1 general, 1 USSR	1 N/A, 1 UK

Source: SSCI accessed 5 June 2007.

^aJournals included here all returned tourism geography articles from the SSCI, and were not included in Gutiérrez and López-Nieva's (2001: 57) list of 19 journals purporting to be 'international' in scope. Book reviews were removed from the sample, leaving 251 research articles, literature reviews or research notes.

and Austria. In the specialist journal *Tourism Geographies*, which has an overtly internationalist agenda (see Lew, 2002), the picture of Anglo-American dominance was even less apparent: Aotearoa/New Zealand topped the list of most-studied country, and there were more articles on China than the USA. The full list of countries studied was extensive: over 90 countries were covered in the 425 tourism-related articles in the 'non-international' and 'national' geography journals.²

In a similar analysis of geographical biases in published research, Yeung (2001: 3) tabulated case study locations for all articles in selected major international journals in economics, sociology, management, political science and geography. He was compelled to argue that 'there are more empirical publications on the USA than on all other countries and regions combined'. This is clearly not the case for tourism geography. The Anglo-American bias is present in tourism geography – especially when measured in terms of authorship in journals based in the USA or Britain – but it is far from hegemonic.

Having said this, the situation is hardly perfect. Coles (2004) argued that tourism researchers in the West were notorious for ignoring progress in Germany, where tourism geography has seen substantial recent growth (Kreisel, 2004; see also Meyer-Arendt, 2002, and Bao, 2002, on Mexico and China). Results here concur with this: German-language geography journals were far more prevalent publishers of research on tourism than other national or non-English speaking journals (Table 4), particularly *Mitteilungen der Österreichischen Geographischen Gesellschaft* (the journal of the *Austrian Geographical Society*). However, work on tourism in German was very rarely cited in English. Linguistic divides appear to be far more significant than national divides in the publishing and circulation of work in tourism geography (Meyer-Arendt, 2002).

What this (brief) analysis of publishing on tourism geography highlights is that research is mediated by the specific academic

scenes that produce and support it, within countries, subdisciplines and epistemic communities (Gibson and Klocker, 2004). Tourism geography has its own geography of production and circulation, variegated differently than for other parts of geography. It still struggles to pervade publishing in 'global' journals, and yet, when eventually appearing elsewhere, tourism geography appears to be on the whole more cosmopolitan. To me this seems an important – even defining – contradiction of tourism in contemporary geography.

III Current developments in tourism geography

Despite repeated calls to take tourism seriously (Britton, 1991; Franklin and Crang, 2001), tourism geography still somehow appears to occupy a liminal position in the discipline: no one disputes its inclusion in geographical research, but many view tourism as little more than minor specialism or pursuit of the frivolous or fun (Hall, 2005a). Richard Butler (2004: 151) tells a particularly vivid story about the refusal by editors of the *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* to publish anything on leisure, recreation or tourism, 'regardless of quality, until a change of editors and policy well in the 1980s'. Things are obviously much-improved nowadays, yet many tourism researchers still complain of marginalization. Indeed, tourism has been completely absent from interventions and commentaries on the future of geography (see for example, Thrift, 2002; Hamnett, 2003); while reviews and progress reports written in whole-of-discipline style on critical geography (Blomley, 2007), re-materializing geography (Jackson, 2000), moral and ethical geography (Smith, 2001), and relevance and policy-orientated geography (Martin, 2001; Dorling and Shaw, 2002; Murphy, 2005) all appear to consistently ignore tourism (for an exception, see Longhurst, 2002).

This seems more than a little odd, given the tourism industry's economic clout, its multiple and complicated entanglements

across rich and poor worlds, the links regularly forged between tourism research and policy, and the sheer ubiquity of travel in modern life. This oddity is even starker given the potential in researching tourism to connect or productively exploit tensions between social, cultural, economic, physical and environmental geography – the sort of synthetic and boundary-transgressing work that disciplinary commentators so consistently urge us to pursue. In progress reports subsequent to this one I will further explore recent emphases in tourism geography in reaction to this peculiar situation, seeking to highlight its criticality, its pervasiveness and its scope to catalyse cutting-edge research.

Critical assessments made by geographers of tourism in the context of development, poverty and sustainability provide one such emphasis. Although once the preserve of the elite, in the west tourism is now seen practically as an entitlement, a regular excursion in the seasonal rhythms of everyday life (Sheller and Urry, 2004). Although the majority of the world's population still cannot afford travel for sheer leisure, there is hardly a location on Earth – even in the poorest or most war-torn regions – not already touched by the tentacles of the tourism industry (Erhard and Steinicke, 2006). Tourism thus fundamentally restructures the relational positions of many places (whether small or very large) in global commercial and social networks, with commensurate implications for attempts to alleviate poverty (Hill *et al.*, 2006), trigger grass-roots development (Connell and Rugendyke, 2007) or to re-orientate struggling regional economies (Veeck *et al.*, 2006). Related to this, tourism is paradoxically dependent on natural resources and environmental amenity, even though it can produce enormous environmental problems (Cater and Goodall, 1992; Cater, 1995; Butler, 2000; Wong, 2004; Hall and Higham, 2005). Tourism is thus regularly discussed as portentous in the sustainability 'race' (Weaver, 2004; d'Hautesserre, 2005), and it looms large in debates about livelihoods

and resilience in the face of 'natural' and 'human' disasters, from New Orleans to Bali and Phuket (Birkland *et al.*, 2006; Gotham, 2007).

A second emphasis is the notion of encounter, and specifically the manner in which tourism creates a range of sites for intensified collisions and assemblages – of class, ethnicity, indigeneity, nature, sexuality and gender. Consequences of encounters are often far from straightforward – a point that geographers have repeatedly made (see McGregor, 2000; Kneafsey, 2002; Routledge, 2002; Malam, 2004). Encounters buttress the 'tourist gaze' (Urry, 1990), but also place the human body and all its sensory capacities in unfamiliar, sometimes unsettling circumstances (Saldanha, 2002; 2005; Gibson and Connell, 2007; Duffy *et al.*, 2007). Tourism is frequently an activity where human–nature relations are constructed and rearranged (Waite *et al.*, 2003; Matos-Wasem, 2005; Young, 2006), where cultural barriers dissolve and identities are created and performed (Johnston, 2005; Tucker, 2007), and new intimacies and ethical terrains are negotiated (Malam, 2006; Waite, 2006; Waite and Markwell, 2006). As I hope to show in the next two reports, far from shallow or mere 'fun', tourism offers real possibilities to enact vibrant, controversial, critical geographies, where a great deal is, in fact, at stake.

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Notes

1. The status of tourism studies *vis-à-vis* 'traditional' disciplines has been recently challenged by Coles *et al.* (2006: 293), who argued that 'tourism studies would benefit greatly from a postdisciplinary outlook, ie, a direction 'beyond disciplines', which is more problem-focused, based on more flexible modes of knowledge production, plurality, synthesis and synergy'. For them, disciplines were a product of arcane systems of academic

governance an outmoded academic division of labour that unhelpfully categorized knowledge, bounded the scope of inquiry and limited genuine 'progress' in the study of tourism. I have taken a more pragmatic approach here – seeing disciplines as institutional and intellectual contexts from which certain research is done, whether or not that research is intended for limited or wider readership. In these progress reports on tourism I thus address particular organizing themes, rather than discuss what might be 'unique' about geography or how its status as a traditional discipline might influence the politics of research production.

- This is reflected also in figures produced by the International Geographical Union's Commission on the Geography of Tourism, Leisure and Global Change, which has over 600 members from 80 countries (IGU, 2006).

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