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Introduction

As tourism continues to expand across the world, not just in terms of numbers of arrivals, but also in the types and forms that the phenomenon assumes, so too does its impacts and global importance increase. Concurrently, the potential for the anthropological study of tourism grows. This paper discusses the relationship between anthropology and tourism, commencing with an overview of the historical context. How, and why, these two areas of study are relevant to each other is investigated, highlighting some of the forms of involvement of anthropologists and sociologists with tourism and the types of research that have been undertaken. This leads to the current context, and the argument that contemporary tourism poses new theoretical challenges for anthropological research.

What is tourism?

That tourism is a very complex phenomenon is perhaps best demonstrated by the fact that any attempt at a universal, interdisciplinary, definition has historically been problematic (*c.f.*, Crick 1988; Pearce 1993a, Van Harsseel 1994). Most definitions have in common the consensus that tourism involves travelling and a temporary, and voluntary, visit to a place away from home (Przeclawski 1993:11, Smith 1989). Most definitions of tourism are also peculiar to Western societies and based on properties of leisure - such as notions of escapism or the perceived need for a 'break' from daily life (Lanfant 1993:75). A further point that is widely accepted about tourism is that it is a recognised industry (Eadington and Redman 1991; Hollinshead 1998, Lea 1988; Sinclair and Stabler 1991) since rivalry for it, as a commodity, exists between nations (Turner and Ash 1975:113).¹ Tourism is perhaps best seen as a multi-compartmentalised 'modern industry' (Bramwell and Lane 2000:1), taking many shapes and forms.

Some recent attempts to explain tourism have tended towards a 'systems approach' which recognises the complexity of tourism, and endeavours to position it within a holistic framework (Burns 1999, Burns and Holden 1995, Leiper 1995, Weaver and Oppermann 2000, Sofield 1999).²

[[The advantage of a systems approach is that tourism is not automatically seen in isolation from its political, natural, economic or social environments ... It emphasises the interconnectedness between one part of a system and another. This encourages multi-disciplinary thinking which, given tourism's complexities, is essential to deepen our understanding of it (Burns 1999:29).]]

As will be discussed, it is within this systems approach that anthropology may have finally found its niche.

An avoidance relationship

Tourism is one of the world's largest industries and, as such, has profound and multi-faceted importance in contemporary settings (Tisdell 2000). As noted by Nash (1995:179), any human subject of such magnitude cries out for anthropological analysis. Despite its widespread global influence and constant expansion, however, the phenomenon of tourism has, until quite recently, rarely occupied a central focus in anthropological research and writing. Tourism itself is, of course, by no means a new phenomenon and has long been analysed by economic and marketing scholars; its history of study in these disciplines arising because tourism was primarily seen as an activity of economics, rather than of people.

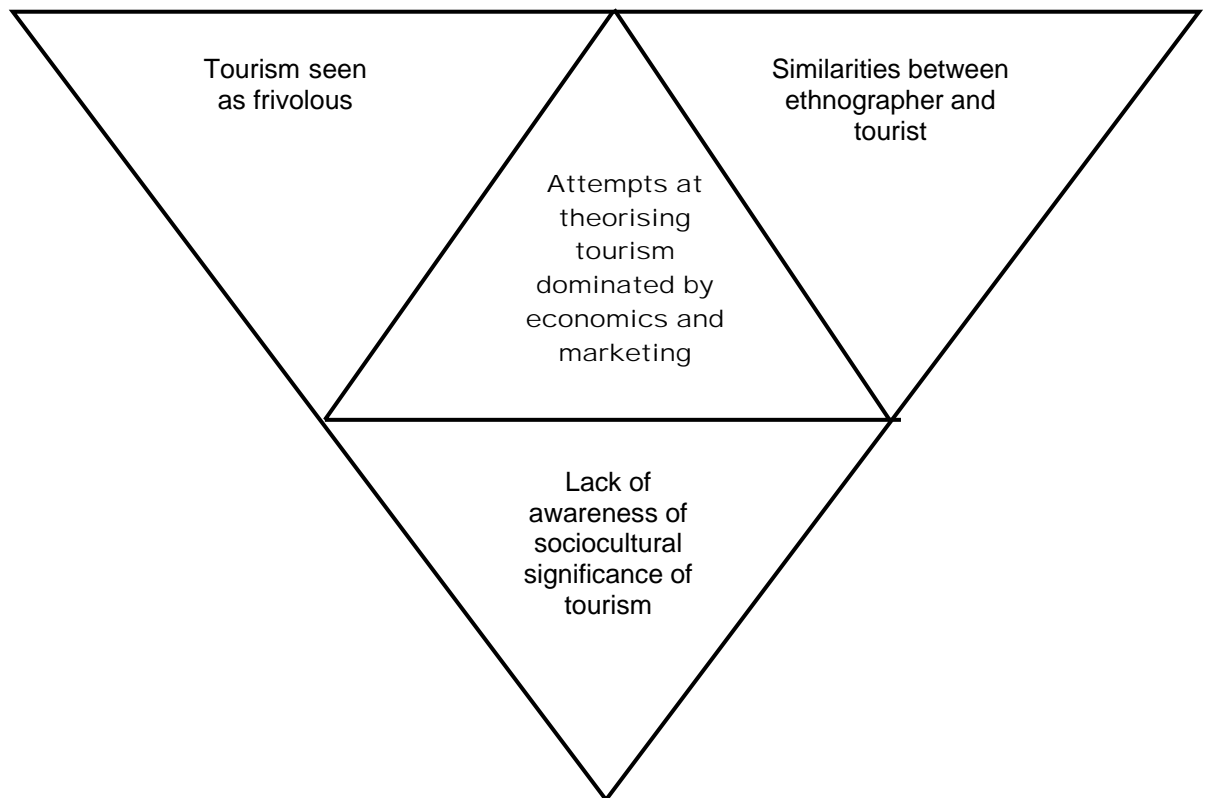


Figure One: An Avoidance Relationship (adapted from Burns 1999:73, after Nash 1981).

There are several possible reasons for anthropologist's reluctance to involve themselves with tourism (see Figure One). Firstly, tourism has been seen as an area of study to be avoided by serious scholars; a belief that is still prevalent. The study of tourism was deemed by anthropologists to be something frivolous; something not worthy of academic pursuit. This perception is maintained by many today:

[[Judging by the smirk which the mere mention of tourism brings to the face of my colleagues, most social scientists do not take tourism seriously ... most of my colleagues strongly imply that a professed interest in tourism constitutes little more than a clever ploy to pass off one's vacations as work. I would not deny that the study of tourism is great fun, but must a subject be boring to be worthy of study? By now, enough fascinating work on tourism ... has been produced to document that tourism is not only a phenomenon of gigantic import to the modern world but also one presenting intellectually challenging problems (van den Berghe 1994:3-4).]]

[np]The second reason anthropologists avoid the study of tourism stems from the possible similarities between the journey of the tourist and the study of the anthropologist. Clifford (1990), for example, points to the similarities between ethnographers and travel writers, and Redfoot (1984) even proposes the anthropologist as a particular type of tourist. The anthropologist as fieldworker, and ethnographer, did not want to be identified with tourists in any way. If the similarity was recognised, then studying tourism became like studying oneself; a self-reflexive stance from which anthropology traditionally shied away.³

This desire by anthropologists to distance themselves as much as possible from tourists becomes complicated by the fact that members of the communities anthropologists study, and tourists visit, might not separate the two into distinct categories. For example, in a Fijian village where I lived and studied (Burns 1993, 1994, 1996, 2003), tourists regularly visited the village as part of a package tour. For the family with whom I stayed, and those with whom the tourists stayed, there is little operational difference in dealing with these outsiders to the community. The same applied to Peace Corps workers who occasionally stayed in the same village. While each of the outsiders was keen to distinguish between themselves and the others, to both the host community and anthropological subject the differences were unperceivable and irrelevant.

A third reason, and perhaps the one for which anthropology deserves the least sympathy, relates to the widespread lack of awareness of the sociocultural significance of tourism. Tourism was thought to be about economics and tourists, not about the local community or hosts (who have long been anthropology's focus). Tourism was viewed as a Western phenomenon, something that happened in industrialised or large-scale societies, and therefore was not relevant to studies of indigenous peoples or small-scale societies. For these reasons, the study of tourism was deemed suitable for economists, geographers, and sociologists (those social scientists more inclined to use quantitative approaches to data collection and analysis) but not anthropologists. For a long time then, tourism was rarely mentioned in anthropological literature, such as ethnographies, and when mentioned it was most commonly noted as incidental to the major topic of discussion.⁴ For example, it may appear appended to sections on Western impacts on indigenous people, as another form of Western contact following colonisation or as an emerging form of trade,⁵ but was rarely recognised as a separate entity encompassing a discourse of its own.

Thankfully this situation is changing. The first anthropological study of tourism was undertaken by Nunez in 1963, while the validation of tourism as an appropriate field of anthropological study was perhaps first taken to heart by Cohen in 1972. Although at the time Cohen was emphasising how tourism was relevant to sociology, this had strong implications for later anthropological involvement. Following Cohen, the 1970s then became a decade for the brave; those who were willing to acknowledge that tourism was globally and locally important enough not to be overlooked any longer, and to be tackled seriously by anthropology. Although these authors were few in number,⁶ this core group of researchers recognised that the study of tourism was appropriate for anthropology and was something that could be confidently embraced without compromising the credibility of the discipline.

The rise of an 'Anthropology of Tourism'

The rise of the anthropological study of tourism can be traced through key journals in both the fields of anthropology and tourism. For example, the *Annals of Tourism Research* (ATR) started in 1973. It is the official journal of the Society for the Advancement of the Tourism Industry and remains one of the most important tourism journals. A first article on tourism and the social sciences was published in this journal in 1974 and, although the first article with 'anthropology' in the title was not published until 1977,⁷ the work of anthropologists had already appeared in the journal. For example, Smith⁸ wrote on tourism and cultural change in 1976 and 1977. Greenwood's work also appeared in 1976, on tourism as an agent of change, and by 1979 Jafari (the editor of ATR) was able to put together a 45 page bibliography on 'tourism and the social sciences.' On its tenth anniversary (1983), ATR devoted a special issue to the anthropology of tourism and this served to clearly separate the involvement of anthropology in this field from the involvement of other social sciences.

Anthropologists writing about tourism in anthropology journals was slower to emerge. Although anthropologists were publishing in tourism journals (such as ATR) in the 1970s, it was a decade later before such publications appeared in the anthropology journals.⁹ A significant event was the *Kroeber Anthropological Society Papers* dedication of a special edition to tourism in 1988. *Cultural Survival Quarterly* produced similar special editions in 1990 and 1999.

Prior to the development of a recognisable anthropology of tourism, elements that now form part of it were being explored by sociologists and anthropologists in a number of contexts (*c.f.* Burns 1999). This illustrates that anthropology did not, and does not, have to reinvent itself to study tourism. The key elements making the combination of these two disciplines desirable are already in place. For example, Graburn's (1977) work on tourism as ritual and sacred journey picks up on Durkheim's (1915) notions of sacred and profane. Similarly, Turner (1967) takes van Gennep's (1908) idea of transition from one social category to another, to propose that travel may be a stage in life before settling down (for example, between high school and university, or university and working life). In this analysis, tourism is seen as ritual or rite in which tourists, like pilgrims or initiates, pass through three stages; 1 separation, 2 liminality, 3 reintegration (see also, Howland 2000).

Sociologists began writing about the implications of increased leisure time in the 1960s,¹⁰ and were joined by anthropologists in the 1970s.¹¹ A key early difference between these two disciplines was that sociologists first examined leisure in non-indigenous societies, whilst anthropologists focussed on indigenous societies (for example, Mead 1928 and Sahlins 1972).¹² Valene Smith organised the first American Anthropological Association symposia on Tourism in 1974, the papers of which became *Hosts and Guests: The Anthropology of Tourism* (1977). In a second edition of this book, published in 1989, the original contributors reviewed their fieldwork to provide time-depth in their analysis. This work has recently been revisited (Smith and Brent 2001) and examines continuing, and new, issues for anthropology and tourism in the 21st century.

By the late 1980s Graburn, who had then been publishing in the field for 10 years, described the study of tourism as 'an entirely suitable, albeit neglected, topic for anthropologists' (1988:64),¹³ and this view has been vindicated by a gradually growing corpus of anthropological studies of tourism.

In reviewing the social science analysis of tourism, a recurring pattern of bi-polarities is evident. Although anthropology has been the propagator of some of the bi-polar views, Burns (1999:113) argues that because tourism as an industry impacts on people's lives, there is scope for anthropology to play an essential role in drawing together some of the binary separations.

One of the binary separations very obvious in the literature is based on the notion that tourism can be classified as either fundamentally positive or negative.¹⁴ This view, contrasting evaluations of tourism as opposing ends of a continuum, is not without criticism. Crick, for example, refers to these poles as 'myths'; the first seeing tourism as a 'godsend' and the second as an 'evil' (1988:88). MacCannell (1976) describes this in terms of a 'pro-tourist' and an 'anti-tourist' position. The pro-tourist position is one which is 'held by many planners in marginal economies who look to tourism as a new way of making money ... (and) ... only see tourism in traditional economic terms' (1976:162). In contrast, the position of the anti-tourist 'is held by urban and modernised liberals and Third World radicals who question the value of touristic development for the local people' (1976:162). In most cases in the earlier literature, the positives and negatives being weighed up were economic ones, and little attention was paid to other advantages or disadvantages the tourism industry might bring to a host country in terms of social, cultural, political, or religious changes.¹⁵

Anthropologists initially argued the case for the negative side, with the observation that economic benefits from tourism often did not 'trickle down' to the local host community as significantly as originally believed. This led authors such as Turner and Ash (1975), Mathieson and Wall (1982), Smith (1989a) and Lea (1988) to claim that when the tourist industry is managed by outsiders, tourism becomes a form of imperialism and may develop into neo-colonialism.¹⁶ Expanding these arguments, Nash (1989:39) blamed the 'power over touristic and related developments abroad for making a metropolitan centre imperialistic and tourism a form of imperialism'.

Prior to this however, the application of an acculturation model of contact between different cultures to the study of tourism was the first thing to be investigated. It was

the topic of Nunez's 1963 paper, in which he showed that although tourism was a relatively new subject of scholarly study it was, nevertheless, possible to apply to it traditional methods and theories (Nunez 1989:274). Graburn (1980) also recognised the usefulness of the acculturation model, and in fact 'much early work by anthropologists began as a spin-off from other research on acculturation or development' (Nash 1995:181).

Tourism has also been studied by anthropologists as a form of cultural commoditisation and/or cultural commercialism.¹⁷ Davvyd Greenwood, a dominant voice in these studies in the 1970s and 1980s, declared that 'culture is packaged, priced, and sold like building lots, rights-of-way, fast food and room service, as the tourism industry [inexorably] extends its grasp' (1989:179). He wrote of the 'use and abuses of "local colour" by the tourism industry' (1989:172), and argued that commoditisation of a local peoples' culture resulted in them being exploited.

Disagreeing with this stance were authors such as Cohen (1988:373) and McKean (1989), who saw Greenwood's notion of exploitation as an over-generalisation. The impact of commoditisation on the meaning and authenticity of cultural products, they said, should not just be assumed to be destructive, but should be looked at 'within an emic, processual, and comparative framework' (Cohen 1988:383). Cohen's argument that 'the emergence of a tourist market frequently facilitates the preservation of a cultural tradition which would otherwise perish' (1988:382)¹⁸ casts commoditisation in a positive light that is quite opposite to Greenwood's negative claim.¹⁹

So it was that by the late 1980s some rigorous academic debates on the anthropology of tourism appeared in the literature.

Anthropology, tourism and development

From its beginnings as a subject suitable for academic study, tourism has been strongly associated with notions of development. The tourism industry has been, and in some cases continues to be, seen as vital for the development of small scale, underdeveloped or 'less developed' (Harrison 1992) societies, and anthropologists have contributed to the tourism literature in discussions on the many theories surrounding the issue of development.

Authors such as Nii Plange (1989:22) have argued that although tourism plays a significant role in the economic sector of many developing countries, it also creates a form of dependency and insecurity. Plange is by no means alone. Britton, for example, expounds the case for tourism as a form of underdevelopment in Pacific societies (1980a, 1980b, 1981, 1982a, 1982b, 1983). Hoivik and Heilberg (1980) explore the centre/periphery relationship in the light of tourism, and Harrison (1992) has discussed tourism in relation to modernisation theory.

Lea investigates the contribution of tourism to Third World development (1988:2), and in doing this describes two major approaches (a further bi-polarity) - the 'political economy approach' and the 'functional approach' (p.10). The political economic approach²⁰ views the tourism industry from the periphery of the Third World and is

'based on the premise that tourism has evolved in a way which closely matches historical patterns of colonialism and economic dependency' (p.10).

In contrast, the functionalist approach views the tourism industry from the metropolitan (or centre) core nations and classifies tourism in terms of its many functional parts (Lea 1988:10-11). While political economists portray tourism as a means of exploiting Third World societies, functionalists prefer to concentrate on describing characteristics of the tourists, as well as their various impacts and differential kinds of destinations, and in taking this approach pay little attention to the actual industry (p.16).

In the early 1990s, Lanfant (1993:76) and Dann and Cohen (1991) claimed that tourism research had been, and continued to be, 'undertaken in a fragmented and unsatisfactory fashion'. The minimal anthropological commitment to this field has no doubt added to this fragmentation, but there is the potential to rectify this oversight. In early studies of tourism anthropologists only focussed on part of the picture, which lies in opposition to the fundamental principles of this discipline that promotes itself as having a holistic framework for analysis. It is time for anthropology to move forward.

Anthropology and tourism today

In 1993, Przeclawski proposed an interdisciplinary approach to the study of tourism, in which issues can be examined from different viewpoints. This approach stressed that tourism is a very complex phenomenon, encompassing issues that are:

- economic (to do with supply and demand, business, and markets),
- psychological (such as need and motivation),
- social (roles, contacts, and ties),
- and cultural (where it can transmit knowledge, and be a factor in change) (1993:11).

Because of this complexity, an integrative, interdisciplinary approach seemed appropriate (and necessary) to provide a holistic view of tourism. It is from these kinds of ideas that the systems approach developed (Figure Two).

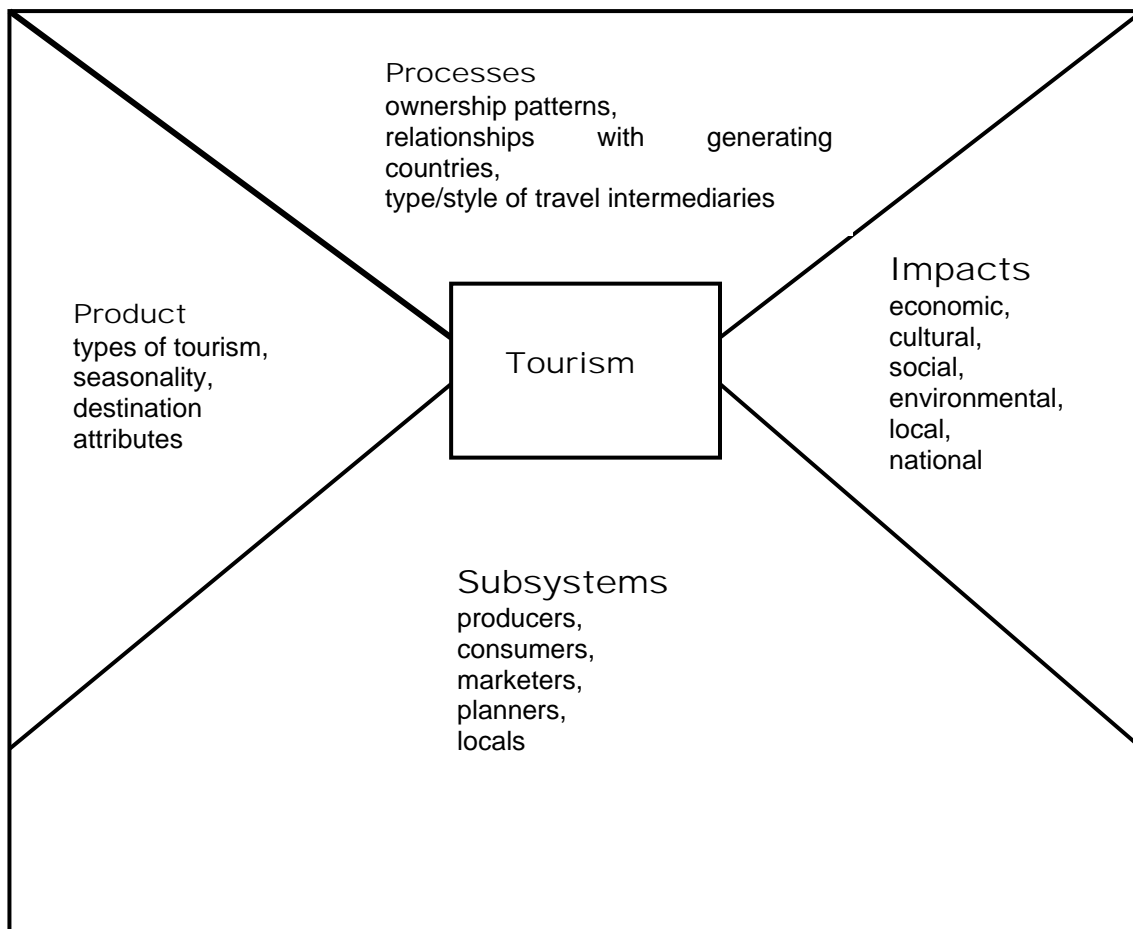


Figure Two: Tourism as a System (adapted from Burns 1999:28, after Burns and Holden 1995).

In anthropological literature today, few texts are dedicated entirely to the anthropology of tourism (exceptions include Burns 1999, Chambers 1999, and Smith and Brent 2001), though authors of ethnographies sometimes include a section on tourism (as they used to include sections on colonialism and its effects). Ethnographers increasingly find that for the people with whom they work, tourism is an important part of their lives (Burns 1996). For example, Pierre van den Berghe, first visited the Mexican town of San Cristobel in 1959 and wrote about inter-ethnic relations in the region (1961, 1977). However, between visits in 1977 and 1987 he found that San Cristobel had moved from seeing a small number of backpackers to a daily flow of hundreds of tourists of many varied types. This had an obvious impact on his studies and his resultant book, *The Quest for the Other* (1994), is the first book length study of ethnic tourism.

Today, there are many types of tourism, and they are increasing. As this happens, more understanding of the tourism industry, from all angles, is needed and it becomes apparent that different disciplines have specialised expertise that can be

applied to different areas of the tourism system. One area in which the application of anthropological theories may be especially pertinent is that of ecotourism.

'Sustainable tourism' is a term that has been in use for over a decade, and from this arose 'ecotourism'. The concept of sustainability in tourism came into vogue as an alternative to mainstream tourism, and as part of a search for development which is 'ecologically sound and respectful of the needs of all involved' (Nash, 1996a:119).²¹ The search for sustainability is especially important for countries who are economically dependent on tourism, and therefore need it to continue. de Kadt (1992:56) holds the opinion that making sustainability the focus of alternative development may be the most productive way to move forward in terms of tourism policies. A problem with this ideal is the reality that development tends to address economic conditions before social or environmental ones (Nash, 1996a:121). The idea of environmental conservation through tourism must not and can not be divorced from development issues and therefore, to satisfy the multitude of interests involved now and in the future, tourism needs to be sustainable. Ecotourism is one form of tourism that attempts to be sustainable.²²

There are many definitions of ecotourism, although most echo similar sentiments (see, for example, Cater 1994, Scace et. al. 1992, and Western 1993). In general, ecotourism is used to describe tourism that is nature based, sustainably managed, conservation supporting, and environmentally educated (Buckley 1994:661). It is seen as a type of alternative tourism (Smith and Eadington 1992), as opposed to mass tourism (Boissevain 1996), which aims to preserve the integrity of both the social and physical environment. Ideally then, it has attributes of sociocultural and ecological integrity as well as responsibility and sustainability.

There is much debate over the value of ecotourism from an ecological perspective. Missing from the literature is depth in the debate over its professed sociocultural values (Macbeth 2002); an area to which anthropology could, and should, contribute.

For example, that ecotourism can, and does, involve indigenous people and offer greater opportunities for their participation than other forms of tourism demands anthropological analysis. So too, ecotourism, ideologically, has the potential to empower hosts, but it also has the potential to continue to exploit and/or denigrate them and their culture. Attempts at understanding hosts are often done from an etic perspective, and a more emic approach should be pursued. There is a need to understand the role indigenous people want and/or take in ecotourism, if for no other reason than because this can influence the tourism's successes and failures (Stronza 2001:270). A holistic anthropological approach can provide understanding of the hosts, as well as the tourists and the tourism operators.

Regardless of its success,²³ or opinions about it,²⁴ ecotourism as a dominant tourism label is part of the global tourism reality and shows no signs of diminishing in popularity. To be sustainable, ecotourism must not damage the physical environment that is the key attraction feature for tourists - it must be ecologically sound. It must also respect the social and cultural traditions in the host country, and thus preserve the social environment. It must also be non-exploitive of local people and ensure benefits flow to them. These are features that distinguish it from other forms of tourism, and they are features that fit well with the traditional outlook of

anthropology. A key feature of ecotourism, one that distinguishes it from other forms of tourism, is its dedication to maintaining social and cultural integrity. Herein lies another tourism niche for anthropologists. Who better placed to define and describe what social and cultural integrity is, and then to ensure that it is maintained?

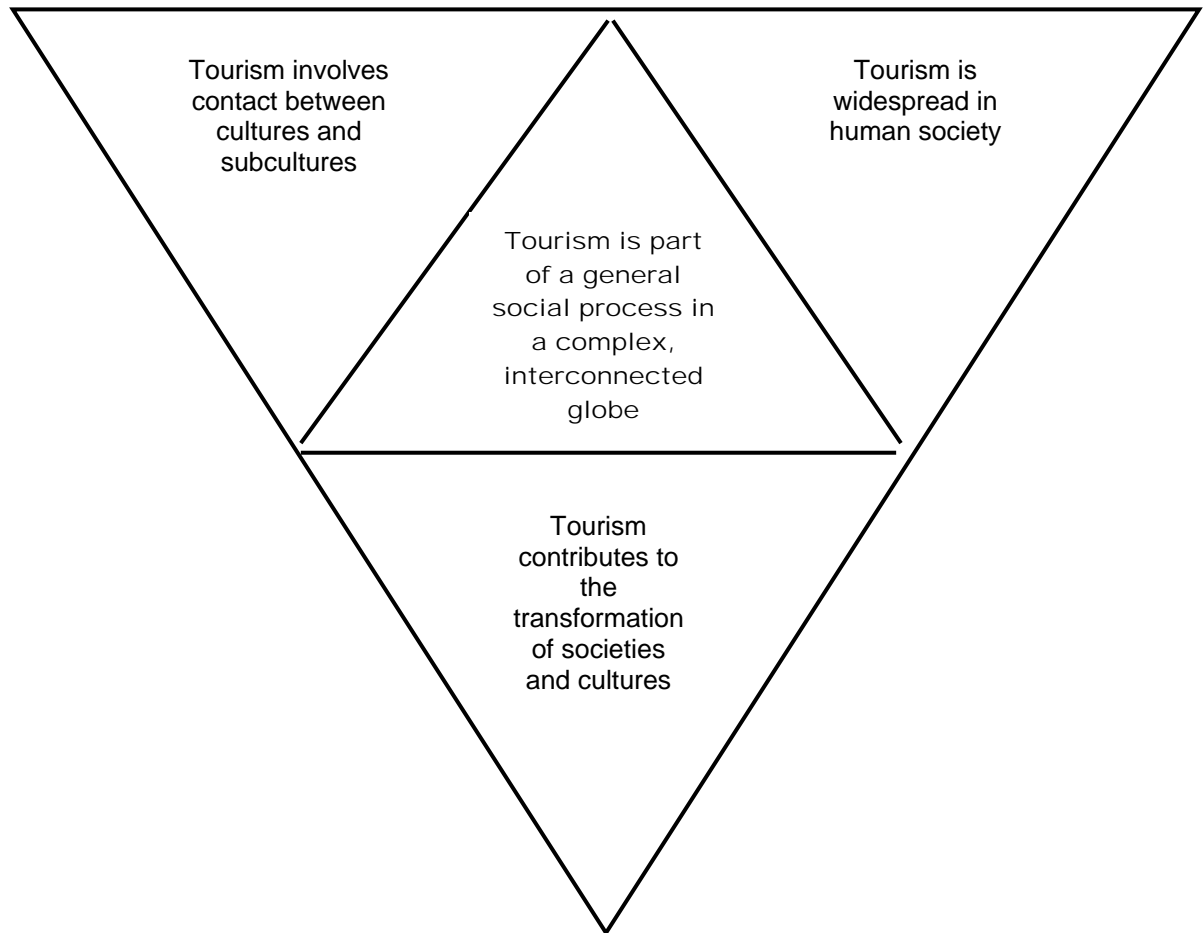


Figure Three: Why Anthropologists Should Study Tourism (adapted from Burns 1999:81, after Nash 1981).

The discussion above makes it clear why anthropologists should study tourism (see also, Figure Three). Anthropology at its very core is concerned with the holistic and comparative study of human societies and cultures. Its aim is to look at all the components of, and influences on, those societies and cultures. Tourism is both a component and influence for many peoples around the globe today.

The systems approach, as described earlier, sees tourism as a system incorporating many elements that need to be examined as part of a holistic analysis. In this, tourism is 'seen as part of a general social process in a complex, interconnected globe illustrating the nature of underlying value systems in a modern world' (Burns 1999:81).

'Anthropologists, and other social scientists, argue that people, rather than business, lie at the heart of the need to analyse tourism' (Burns 1999:88). This is evidenced by the fact that tourism is widespread in human society. There are very few places left on our planet that have not been reached by tourists, and increasingly fewer people who have not travelled. Consequently, tourism has the potential to effect all of humankind. In addition, tourism involves contact between cultures and subcultures as tourists travel to places outside their normal places of work and rest. Finally, it cannot be denied that tourism contributes to the transformation of societies and cultures. It may not be the sole cause of such transformation, but doubtlessly plays a role regardless of the size or location of the society or culture being transformed (Figure 3).

Anthropology offers a valuable approach to the critical analysis of tourism through its holistic and comparative framework; that is, the ability to bring the local and the global together by recognising the interconnectedness of social, cultural, environmental, religious, political and economic domains (Burns 1999:88).

The future of anthropology and tourism

Anthropology has established a base in tourism studies, but where does it go from here? It would appear that anthropological theories informing tourism research and analysis have progressed over the last 30 years. As the types of tourists, and forms of tourism, change, and focus shifts from economic and marketing justifications to considerations of environmental and cultural implications, the voice of the host community is increasingly being heard and the applicability of traditional ethnocentric theories diminishes.

Relationships between hosts and guests, how they form and change over time, have been of profound importance to the anthropological study of tourism, and should continue to be (c.f. Ryan and Huyton 2002).²⁵ So too, empirical and analytical work on tourism impacts and tourist types maintains a crucial platform in this literature (see, for example, Joseph and Kavoori 2001, Hepburn 2002, Wickens 2002). There is, however, much more about tourism that anthropologists could, and should, examine in a critical and theoretical fashion. For example, voices from the host perspective, particularly indigenous hosts, remain in the minority and though there may be no shortage of case studies on tourism impacts 'we have yet to develop models or analytical frameworks that could help us predict the conditions under which locals experience tourism' (Stronza 2001:263).

Burns (1999:cover) claims that anthropology is the 'window through which tourism dynamics may be properly analysed and evaluated.' There are certainly other 'proper' windows, and I do not believe that anthropology alone should theorise about tourism. However, anthropology and tourism, as a combined field of knowledge, have obvious synergy (Burns 1999:72). Tourism has become a set of global activities crossing many cultures, and in doing this has forced itself into the traditional domain of anthropological study.

[[The challenge for anthropology is not to shy away from tourism as a legitimate area of research (as appears to be the case with many conservative faculties of anthropology, at least in Australia) but to ... help us better understand the complexities of the tourism system (Sofield 2000:11).]]

[np]It is not just suitable for anthropology to study tourism. It is necessary. In fact, as anthropologists persist with their avoidance relationship (Figure 1) they are in danger of being pushed out of areas that traditionally 'belong' to their discipline. For example, in a 1999 publication on tourism and culture (Robinson and Boniface 1999), just two of the thirteen contributors are anthropologists. A geographer has written on 'partnerships involving Indigenous Peoples in the management of heritage sites' (Wall 1999). Anthropologists may think of 'culture' and 'indigenous people' as their academic territory, but they are losing ground and need to act quickly if they are to reclaim their pre-eminence in this field.

A further publication that emphasises this situation is *The Future of Anthropology* (1995) edited by Ahmed and Shore. In the first chapter of this book it is noted that tourism deserves to be high on the anthropological agenda and two of the twelve chapters focus on tourism. Graburn (1995) writes on 'tourism, modernity and nostalgia', and Nash (1995) on 'prospects for tourism study in anthropology'. Nash holds the opinion that anthropologists have concentrated on the destination areas and by doing this are missing a potentially productive line of research at the tourist-generating end of the touristic process (1995:188).

Tourism is essentially an applied topic. It involves real people in real situations. Anthropology, like other social science disciplines, needs to become more applied to satisfy the needs of tourism. It needs to become more applied both in its theoretical orientation and its practical reality, a call that has been made before by Chambers (1997). Gardner and Lewis (1996:158-160) discuss the application of anthropological methodology, skills and expertise in the development context, arguing a place for anthropologists to 'work within' the large industries that impact on the lives of indigenous people. Anthropology needs to meet this challenge in the tourism arena, as it has done with the wealth of work on Native Title and Land Rights, for example. There is a need to operate competently and effectively in the tourism area, and not hide behind past notions of avoidance and the theoretical jargon that isolates us from potential practical intervention.

According to Nash (1995:179), 'one can still count the number of anthropologically oriented scholars with a serious interest in tourism on the fingers of one's hands'. Hopefully the situation, some seven years on, is not that dire. The engagement of anthropology with tourism does seem to be improving. We are now seeing anthropology journals, and anthropologists, publishing outside their traditionally conservative fields and topics.²⁶

The future challenge for anthropology is to increase its contribution; to expand its analytical work on tourism. As the practice of tourism becomes more focussed on hosts (Burns and Sofield 2001), not just as objects or commodities but as active participants, the demand grows for anthropology to apply its specialised knowledge

and generate new theoretical frameworks. Such application can assist not only the host communities, but also the tourists and the tourism operators that comprise the whole tourism system.

Ultimately, anthropology is about people. So is tourism. Anthropologists are both tourism participants and observers, whether they like it or not (Nash 1995:175). In anthropology, the wide range of possibilities for the study of tourism are only just being realised. It is an exciting and challenging time. It is also an important one, as anthropology and tourism need to be engaged correctly for the future of both.

NOTES

1 Some authors dispute this. According to de Kadt (1979:x), for example, there is no such thing as a tourist industry. His assertion is based on the fact that tourists are involved in a wide range of industries, not just one. Middleton (1998) agrees with de Kadt, proposing that tourism is better understood as a total market than as a single industry. Despite these concerns, most of the recent literature acknowledges the existence of a tourism industry therefore it is assumed throughout this paper that such a term can be used meaningfully.

2 These were not the first attempts to understand tourism as a system. This credit perhaps belongs to Mill and Morrison (1985), who were followed by Laws (1991) and Poon (1993); however, these studies were all undertaken from a marketing base.

3 Anthropology became more accepting of self-reflexivity once postmodernism began to inform its theoretical approaches in the mid-1980s, as can be seen in the work of O'Rourke (see, for example, 1984, 1987, 1991, 2000).

4 See, for example, Wax (1971:69), Japanangka and Nathan (1983:41), and Hilliard (1968).

5 For example, Weiner (1976) initially professed that she 'wanted to study the wood carvings fashioned by Kiriwina men in response to the growing tourist trade' (p.3), yet such tourism is rarely mentioned in her ethnography (1976:32, 79, 129).

6 Some key authors on the anthropology of tourism in the 1970s include: Aspelin (1977), Cohen (1972, 1973, 1974, 1979a, 1979b), Graburn (1976), Greenwood (1976), Nash (1978), Pi-Sunyer (1977), Pizam (1978), Reiter (1977), and Smith (1976, 1977a, 1977b, 1978).

7 This 1977 article entitled 'the anthropological analysis of tourism; indirect tourism and political economy in the case of the Mamainde of Mato Grosso, Brazil' was written by Paul Aspelin (ATR 4(3):135-160).

8 Smith has published extensively on tourism (1976, 1977a, 1977b, 1978, 1979, 1982, 1989a, 1989b, 1992a, 1992b, 1996, 1998, 2000, 2001), contributing much to theorising about the anthropology of tourism and to legitimising it as a subject worthy of study.

9 One of the earliest such papers was by Nash (1981). Entitled 'Tourism as an Anthropological Subject', it was published in *Current Anthropology* (Vol. 22, No. 5, October 1981).

10 See, for example, the works of Brightbill (1961), Green (1964), Larrabee and Meyersohn (1958), Peters (1969), and Wolfe (1966).

11 See footnote 6.

12 Mead (1958) was one of the first anthropologists to write about leisure in a non-indigenous society.

- 13 For further writings on the validation of tourism as an appropriate field of anthropological and sociological study see, for example, Burns (1996), Burns (1999), Cohen (1972, 1979a, 1984, 1991, 1995), Crick (1988), Dumont (1984), Graburn (1980, 1983), Graburn and Jafari (1991), Lanfant (1993), Nash (1978, 1981, 1995, 1996a), and Sofield (2000).
- 14 These positive and negative poles are found throughout much of the tourist based writing, such as in the titles of Young's (1973) critical discussion *Tourism. Blessing or Blight?*, and in Tuting and Dixit's (1986) *Bikas-Binas: Development-Destruction*.
- 15 For a diagram illustrating some of the costs and benefits of tourism, see Lea (1988:7-8).
- 16 Bryden (1973), for example, is also supportive of the idea of tourism as a form of neo-colonialism and imperialism. See also, Britton (1982a), Crick (1994:63-68), Krippendorf (1987), and Nash (1977).
- 17 Dominant voices in this discourse have included Cohen (1988), de Kadt (1979), Greenwood (1989), Turner and Ash (1975), Lea (1988), Mathieson and Wall (1982), McKean (1989), and Rossel (1988).
- 18 This line of argument has also been presented by others. See, for example, Deitch (1989) and Loeb (1989).
- 19 Analyses of authenticity and commodification still persist today. See, for example, Fawcett and Cormack (2001), and Halewood and Hannan (2001).
- 20 For more information on the introduction of 'classical Political Economy' by Marx to early capitalism, and a critique of this, see Larrain (1989).
- 21 For information on the history of the concept of sustainable development, and the connection between tourism and sustainable development, see Nash (1996a:120-131).
- 22 For information on the growth of ecotourism, see Beaumont (1998), Hvenegaard (1994:25), OECD (1980), Whelan (1990) and Wright (1983).
- 23 Authors who agree that ecotourism has the potential to offer 'unique opportunities for integrating rural development, tourism, resource management, and protected area management' (Hvenegaard 1994:24), believe it may be the most viable and effective means to limit the damage being caused by the world's constantly expanding tourism industry.
- 24 Nash (1996a:132), for example, argues that ecotourism provides no pancea for the problems caused by other forms of tourism.
- 25 This is not an opinion shared by all. Aramberri (2001:738), for example, argues that the host-guest paradigm should be discarded as it fails to adequately explain mass tourism or the complex interactions between 'modern and pre-modern' societies.
- 26 See, for example, Burns and Howard (2003), Peace (2001), and Nash (2000).

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