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Tourism is not an industry

Hazel Andrews

Abstract

This paper is a response to an invitation from the Euro-Asia Tourism Studies Association to “Picture Europe”. It is a thinking through of what the ideas of Europe and tourism mean and is situated in the study of British tourists holidaying in the Mediterranean island of Mallorca. The discussion acknowledges the complexity of trying to disentangle what Europe is understood to be in relation to understandings of the non-European. This rumination of the idea of Europe in this paper is intended to stimulate further exploration about how understandings of self and identity are formed and how, in turn, these might be used in the socio-cultural constructions of places for tourism purposes. The second aim of the paper is to get a better understanding of what tourism actually is. It is framed by two provocations: 1) “tourism is not an industry” and 2) “there’s no such thing as tourism”. The arguments posed seek to move tourism away from essentialised and instrumental understandings that frame tourism within the language of industry towards acknowledging that tourism is a constellation of different socio-cultural practices that manifest in the doing. This phenomenological approach to conceptualising tourism means tourism is not something external to which we respond. Rather, tourism is us as we make and bring it into being.

Keywords:

Europe ,Mallorca ,phenomenology ,tourism industry ,tourism theory ,tourists

Introduction

This paper is based on a keynote speech delivered to the 10th Euro-Asia Tourism Studies Association (EATSA) conference in Karlsruhe, Germany in July 2024. The

title of the conference was *Picture Europe*. The call for papers (CfP) posed the question *What is Europe?* and situated this within the context of touristic practices. My response to the cfp was intended to invite reflection on the key terms in the call – Europe and tourism – that appears to me to be so often taken for granted. To this end, I first sought to problematise the idea of Europe. Following this, to discuss what tourism means I developed two provocations: 1) tourism is not an industry, and 2) there's no such thing as tourism.

The problematising of the idea of Europe was intended to speak directly to where notions that inform our imaginings of might Europe come from, and to illustrate that discourses of Europe that emerge in the promotion of places and people tend to essentialise cultural practices. This is not a new argument, and we can turn to Roland Barthes' (1993) *Mythologies* and the essay *Guide Bleu* (or Blue Guide), in which he argues representations of people and places in texts such as guidebooks effectively flatten the complexity of culture and cultural practices. Indeed, scenery is “the picturesque” (Barthes, 1993, p.74) and “men [sic] exist only as 'types'” (Barthes, 1993, p.75). Promotional material and other forms of media (e.g.: YouTube videos, Instagram, etc) give ideas about peoples and places to potential tourists, but the complex histories and local cultural voices are invariably absent. What we find, and what Barthes (1993) so skilfully alluded to, is a stereotype, something that appeals to our own sense of who “they” and “we” are. This is not necessarily unique to tourism, but tourism provides plenty of examples (see Figure 1), a picture taken from within the World Heritage Site of Alhambra, Granada Spain.

The Alhambra is an example of medieval Muslim architecture, built during the period of Muslim rule in the Iberian Peninsula that spanned nearly 800 years. The Alhambra is one of the most popular tourist attractions in Spain (Escudo de Oro, n.d). Figure 1 is a view towards the bell tower of the Alhambra's church of Santa María de la Alhambra, a building symbolic of the Christian Spain that replaced the Moors. If asked to picture Granada, a tourist may well imagine The Alhambra with its striking Moorish architecture, but does the fact of its location in Spain make it European?

Santa María de la Alhambra was built in the 17th Century on the site of the former

citadel's mosque (Escudo de Oro, n.d.). Bringing together two distinct architectural styles into one, what the photo in figure 1 illustrates, along with the actual siting of the building, is the complex intertwining of ideas of European with ideas of what is non-European. We could read the construction of one religious building on top of the site of another from a different religion in different ways, but what I suggest here is that it demonstrates that the history of Europe is the history of that which is identified as not Europe.



Figure 1. A view of Santa María de la Alhambra from a window in the Nasrid Palaces, Alhambra (photo: author, 2010)

Discussions about what is Europe, how it is has been formulated along with the associated discourses of questions of identity and belonging deserve a more in-depth discussion than I can do justice to here. There is Said's (1978) classic text *Orientalism* as a starting point. I also suggest work by philosopher Kwame Anthony Appiah (2018); political scientist and historian Anthony Pagden (2002); work on Trieste by Luiza Bialasiewicz (2009); and with specific reference to the European Union, anthropologist Cris Shore (1993) and regarding the UK's departure from the European Union, Andrews's (2021a) edited collection on tourism and Brexit.

As noted, the cfp, necessarily, drew attention to the practice of tourism. To understand this, we need also to comprehend what tourism is. It is 23 years since sociologist Adrian Franklin and geographer Mike Crang (2001) posed the question “the trouble with tourism and travel theory?” (p.5). In their opening of the then newly launched journal *Tourist Studies*, they note that tourism is seen as an object of study and that the problems with the theory related to this arise because the arguments were “dominated by policy led and industry sponsored work” (Franklin & Crang, 2001, p.5). This led to a further problem: the main theorists lacked “the necessary tools to analyse and theorize the complex cultural and social processes that have unfolded” (Franklin & Crang, 2001, p.5). Franklin and Crang’s (2001) intervention was a welcome attempt to focus the study of tourism away from predominantly business concerns – notwithstanding the existence of an academic literature that already brought critical analyses to tourism. For example, Emanuel de Kadt’s (1979) classic text *Tourism Passport to Development?* or work by social anthropologists, for example Jeremy Boissevain’s (1996) edited volume *Coping with Tourism: European Reactions to Mass Tourism*, or Tom Selwyn’s (1996) edited collection *The Tourist Image: Myths and Myth Making in Tourism*, all of which preceded the launch of *Tourist Studies*. Despite the existing work, and Franklin and Crang’s (2001) call to think more about the role of the body, elements of performance and a whole range of socio-cultural life that contributes to what makes tourism it remains positioned as an industry. Further, the study of tourism is still often approached as if there is a tangible *thing* that can be pointed to which stands for the complex socio-cultural practices by which touristic practices are infused. Tourism, like Barthes’s (1993) “men” is in a danger of being categorised as a stereotype. This leads me to the two provocations about tourism that I explored in the keynote: Tourism is not an industry and There’s no such thing as Tourism. It is these two provocations that form the basis of this paper. Before beginning that journey, a brief word about methods.

Methods

This paper cannot be read in the conventional sense of a predetermined structure

that sets out data collection methods, analysis, results, discussion and conclusion. Rather, it should be read as a “thinking through” of, or “thinking out loud” about, ideas that have coalesced over 30 years of study and research about tourists and tourism. The ideas put forward in this article are based on my reflections that are drawn from my practice as a social anthropologist conducting ethnographic fieldwork consisting mainly of participant observation.

In terms of the data collection upon which I make my core observations in this paper, this has been in progress since the late 1990s and is based on ethnographic fieldwork involving periods of participant observation in the charter tourism resorts of Magaluf and Palmanova on the Mediterranean island of Mallorca (see Figure 2).

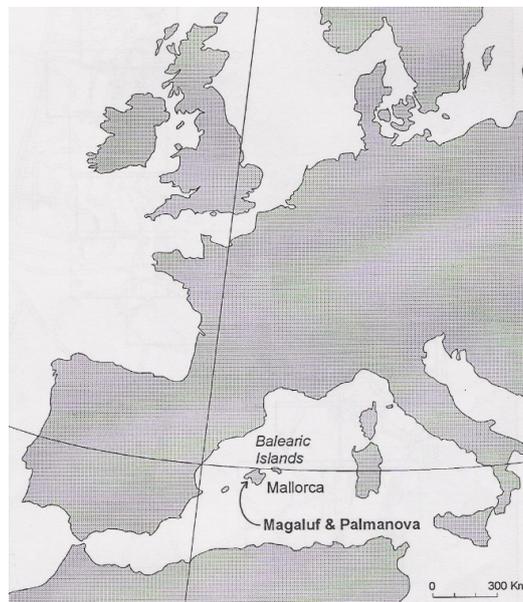


Figure 2. The location of Magaluf and Palmanova, Mallorca (image: author, 2004)

My first visit was in 1997, and I have made several return visits since, staying for periods ranging from four days to six months, the most recent of my visits was in the summer of 2024. Sometimes I have travelled alone, at others with members of my family and on occasion, I have met with colleagues from the University of the Balearics. The focus of my fieldwork has been to explore the ways in which touristic experiences give insight into the relationship between ideas of the self and other, primarily in relation to understandings of national identity. The resorts

of Magaluf and Palmanova were chosen because of their heavy reliance on a tourist market drawn from the UK and the subsequent development of these spaces to appeal to such a market in terms of the signals of Britishness^[1] characterising the resorts (for a full account see Andrews, 2011a).

My practice of participant observation was shaped (and still is) by anthropologist Judith Okely's (1994) assertion that,

the anthropologist rarely commences research with an hypothesis to test. There are few pre-set, neatly honed questions, although there are multiple questions in the fieldworker's head. There are theories, themes, ideas and ethnographic details to discover, examine or dismiss (pp.18-19).

My data collection involved doing what tourists were doing, including sunbathing by the pool or beach, going on island tours, attending various nighttime entertainment activities, joining pub crawls, and so on. I spoke also to local people, tourists, tour operator representatives, bar workers, and members of the British expatriate community. Some people I spoke to once, others more than once. Studying tourists is different from many other fieldwork settings because of the transient nature of the main population of study and this was a barrier to developing in-depth, long interviews. Thus, the conversations I had were not formal interviews around specific themes, rather they developed organically. I spoke to people about holidaymaking practices, life in the UK, and, for the non-tourist population, about living and working with tourists.

Participant observation involves a constant dialogue between the practitioner and the field. As notes are made reflections already begin to form and themes emerge that help to direct lines of enquiry. In many respects the analysis of the data is ongoing and although it may mainly occur once the immersion in the field has been and gone it is not a neatly bounded exercise. The field researcher has embodied their experience. The analysis therefore may emerge in dreams, from memories, it may be triggered by hearing some music, looking at photos or other forms of media (Okely, 1994). Analysis involves reflection. For example, the basis of my arguments about the connection between tourism and violence (Andrews, 2014) in the context of my field sites was based on a post-data collection examination of the hand drawn maps (Andrews, 2012) that I had made of the resorts. These maps

enabled me to identify the numerous names of facilities in the resorts that referred to past British military endeavours. Data collection, analysis and theory are not then separate from each other.

Theoretically, I have been influenced by the work of Marcel Mauss (1979) and Pierre Bourdieu (1979), particularly in relation to the concept of *Habitus*, which proves useful to understanding the relationship between our internal and external worlds. By this I mean how our actions and dispositions are socially and culturally produced and reproduced in practice and develop throughout our life course. I also draw much inspiration from existential anthropology^[2] and anthropological approaches informed by phenomenology^[3]. In this regard, I have been influenced by the anthropologists Michael Jackson (1989, 1996, 2005) and Tim Ingold (1995, 2011, 2012).

An approach to understanding tourism and touristic practice based on phenomenology and existential anthropology is little rehearsed in the study of tourism. There are notable exceptions, however, and an increasing body of work has developed that discusses tourism and practice and travel more broadly, in phenomenological and existential anthropological terms e.g.: Crouch (2001), Andrews (2009a, 2017, and 2024), Palmer (2018) and Roberts (2018). Thus, it is the *doing* of tourism, how its practiced and on what terms that is important. As Palmer (2018) notes, “any search for meaning through tourism cannot be divorced...from the doing, thinking, reflecting, feeling and sensing that permeate engagement with tourism” (p.11). For me, among the questions that emerge with such an approach are those that relate to what does the practice of tourism mean to people? What insights into the nature of our socio-cultural worlds can we garner from understanding how people bring into being touristic activities and how these are experienced? This leads me to my first provocation.

Provocation 1: Tourism is not an Industry

I have already suggested that people are central to the study of tourism. It is people that make tourism. Although it is easy to slip into the instrumentalising language of industry there is a danger here of essentialising and reducing a complex area of socio-cultural life into something that happens to us rather than

because of us. In short, tourism seen only as an industry, or business practice, divorces what we are talking about from the people that bring tourism into being and from the complex array of activities and human endeavours from which touristic practices emerge.

In my thinking that tourism is neither industry nor business I am not alone. Academic and practitioner Thomas Lea Davidson argued, “considerable effort has been devoted to creating the impression that tourism is a legitimate industry. At best it is a collection of industries” (2005, p. 25). He further suggests that categorising tourism as an industry works against its important economic role in national and global economies. Davidson (2005) and I would be unlikely to share the same position on a continuum of tourism studies with his interest in marketing and business and my social anthropological interests in understandings of self and identity, but on this point – tourism is not an industry – we concur. How can tourism be an industry when it is made up of a multiple of different sectors (e.g. banking, transport, catering and so on)? As Davidson (2005) says, it is a collection of industries. And, if it is not *an* industry, then it is most certainly not a single business, although tourism businesses clearly exist and they include many facets of the business world – supply chains, project management, marketing, enterprise, etc. I also agree with Davidson’s (2005) assertion that tourism is important economically, it is worth trillions of dollars to the global economy on a yearly basis and provides millions of jobs.^[4] Davidson (2005), however, argued that thinking of tourism in terms of industry obscures its economic value. I disagree. If anything, in my view, it promotes it because once we bring the words “industry” or “business” to the fore what inevitably follows is financial profit, neither survive without it. Reducing tourism to a monetary value misses its worth as a means to understand the socio-cultural world from which it emerges and to which it contributes.

The next section addresses provocation two which explores the many elements that contribute to the practice of tourism. By highlighting that tourism cannot be understood simply in terms of thinking about it as a business or an industry, or as an object that is separate from people, I wish to demonstrate an approach that illustrates tourism as a practice of socio-cultural life, one which incorporates many different aspects of living and the everyday that are not unique to tourism,

although central to it.

Provocation 2: There's no such thing as Tourism

Quite simply, what I am referring to here is that tourism is not an object, it is not about one thing and cannot be understood only in terms of being *an* industry or from the perspective of business concerns. Rather, there is a discursive set of practices, thoughts and emotions that are so varied and numerous that that any attempt to pin down exactly what we are about is likely to miss something out. So, what should we do? We could begin by making an initial observation, one that also shores up the point I am endeavouring to make and is as follows: Tourism is probably one of the most adjectival, described, pre-fixed activities there is. Figure 3 is a word cloud I began in 2022 and which by October 2024 had reached 306 different tourism typologies. I cannot think of another type of human activity that has so many different descriptions applied to it. If this does not belie the idea that we can reduce what tourism is to a single, known entity then I do not know what else would.

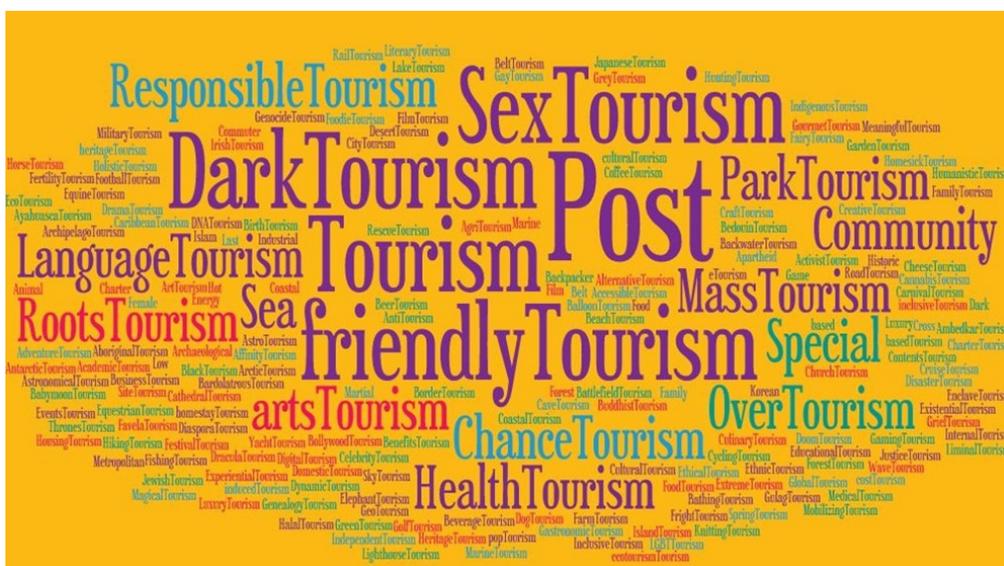


Figure 3. Word cloud of 350 different types of tourism (image: author, 2024)

Regardless of how a particular act of tourism is described (and one might question the actual value of such descriptors that might pitch one type of travel against

another) I suggest that they all involve us, either individually or collectively, drawing on our humanness as we use and respond to elements of the socio-cultural world which shape and is shaped by us.

Tourism is about our imaginations

That people imagine a life elsewhere that exists away from the quotidian inhabitation of the world characterised by work and at times deprivation, is connected in the trope of travel across cultures and through time (Coleman and Elsner, 1995). In Europe, during the Middle Ages, fantasies about a better life elsewhere were manifest in the idea of the Land of Cockaigne (Pleij, 2001, Andrews, 2023). As argued by Pleij (2001), Cockaigne was a country, tucked away in some remote corner of the globe, where ideal living conditions prevailed. ...Work was forbidden, Food and drink spring automatically into one's mouth, and was also possible to eat one's surroundings, it was always spring, life was peaceful, there was plenty of opportunity for sex without commitment, everyone had beautiful clothes, there was a fountain of youth and money could be earned during one's sleep (p.3).

It was a world in which there was an emphasis on the sensual pleasures of life, where the body was at ease with itself.^[5]

According to Pleij (2001), people believed that Cockaigne could be found in the world beyond that of Europe and that some had visited. Christopher Columbus was apparently, in part, driven by a search for Cockaigne as much as he was for trying to reach the east by going west (Pleij, 2001). It was the accounts of such journeys that contributed to the othering of what we now call Europe against other parts of the world (Kunzle, 1978). As already noticed, we see echoes of this in contemporary tourism in the marketing images and promises made. For example, Tahiti is associated with ideas of myth, romance, and the sensual.^[6] But such ideas do not just exist in the tourism marketing material. As Said (1978) argued about ideas of the Orient, they exist in works of literature, paintings and a plethora of other sources – the films/TV programmes we watch, Instagram images and TikTok videos we consume. Simultaneously, what tourists imagine is not simply a static, pre-

given but comes into being in the practice of tourism at the destination (Andrews, 2017).

Reference to imagining and picturing bring to the fore the importance of visual culture to tourism. When we think about forthcoming holidays, we propel ourselves forward imagining what it will be like to be in that place, it is in our mind's eye. The marketing literature and machinations of tourism businesses set out to enchant the potential tourist by the creation of the myths of tourism places (Selwyn, 1996, 2007, Andrews, 2014).

Tourism is about Visual Culture

Seeing the sights has been a staple of touristic practice from early on and recording of those sights and our related experiences has equally been part of the practice of tourism – from travel writing and sketch books, to taking photos and collecting and/or sending postcards. Increasingly, because of the emergence of digital culture and social media, we might share our experiences on Instagram, Facebook, WhatsApp, Snapchat etc and with a wider audience of people (many of whom we may not even know) creating our stories in real time, as we go. Taking a picture increasingly mediates touristic practice – we take photos and videos of scenery, other people, ourselves, food and so on. The world around us is often increasingly viewed through the lens of a smart phone rather than directly by the naked eye. For example, in March 2023 when I visited Amsterdam for the Vermeer exhibition at the Rijksmuseum, I often found myself at the back of a throng of people all trying to see one of the paintings. I invariably could not see over the others' heads and shoulders; but what I could see was their mobile phone screens. Held aloft, much of my initial viewing of a painting was through the smart phone screens of those in front of me, as illustrated in figure 4.



Figure 4. View by author of Vermeer's Girl with a Pearl Earring (photo author, 2003)

Tourism is about visual culture, but it has not always been that way. In her paper on the origins of sightseeing, Judith Adler (1989) notes that a change in social attitudes towards the senses saw a shift in the purpose of travel at the time of the Grand Tour in Europe (from 17th century to early 19th century); from touring to *listen* to great orators to touring to see places. This reflected the importance given to rationalisation and science based on a desire to list, measure and record with an emphasis on seeing for oneself. The other senses became less significant and yet the sensuousness of “taking the waters” for example is deep rooted in travel history and tells us that tourism is as much about our bodies as sightseeing (Adler, 1989).^[7]

Tourism is about our bodies

The visual practice of tourism and the staple tourism activity of sightseeing are very much ocular pursuits, but tourism engages the whole body, all the senses as the idea of being willing to travel for the purpose of immersing ourselves in water for healing, relaxation, etc. indicates. Other senses are also engaged, as for

example the tourist in Mallorca who told me that she knew she was in Spain by the smell of the drains; the importance of taste manifest in the consumption of the English Breakfast that only tastes right if the sausages and bacon are like those eaten in the UK; the significance of sound to creating atmosphere in nightclubs, there being too much noise to sleep or not enough noise to be entertained; the role of touch when rubbing in suncream, either on our own bodies, or those of friends and family (figure 5).



Figure 5. Tourists' bodies on the beach, Palmanova (photo author, 1998)

In addition, we can also mention one of the core ideas of a holiday as finding a sense of freedom (Andrews, 2021b), an idea which is embodied in the unbuckling of the body when more flesh is exposed, for example, on the beach, than in the everyday world of home.

In the case of Magaluf and Palmanova there was a sense of the sensual body at ease with itself. At the same time, much of the focus on the body related to its sexualisation and particularly the sexualised bodies of women, which was especially pronounced in Magaluf. It was not uncommon to find sexual position games played as part of hotel entertainment and on bar crawls. In one nighttime entertainment offer - Pirates Adventure - there were regular calls for women to "get your tits out for the boys" (Andrews, 2009b). Both resorts had an endless assortment of souvenirs based on the sexualised parts of both women's and men's bodies. The souvenir brings into focus the role of material culture in tourism.

Tourism is about material culture

The importance and meaning of material culture in tourism is manifest in different ways. For example, the size of the luggage we choose to take with us to enable us to pass more quickly, or not, through the airport, to the clothes that we might take with us – for some specially bought and only ever used for their holidays (Andrews, 2011a, p.12, p. 139). Touristic activity is supported by an array of material objects: beach towels, buckets and spades, the hotel or apartment bed, the restaurant chairs, crockery and cutlery, the transfer bus or hire bike, and the souvenir, which is not only to remind us, or tell others, about the good time we had but can be meaningful in other ways.

For example, during my fieldwork in Magaluf, in the late 1990s, I was intrigued by the plethora of pig souvenirs and pig imagery on postcards available in the resort. Figure 6 shows an example of the type of souvenirs available.



Figure 6. Collection of pig souvenirs, Mallorca (photo-collage Les Roberts, 2011)

The depictions of pigs as tourists in the fridge magnets and little ornaments all strike a tourist pose of sunbathing or playing on the beach/in the sea. My analysis of this piggy-infused landscape led me to think about the place of the pig as a symbol of a particular kind of British identity. In British culture pigs have both a negative and positive symbolic meaning. On the one hand, the pig is lazy and greedy, but on the other hand it has been used as a signal of heroic fights for

freedom by popular right-wing media with an anti-EU agenda (see Andrews, 2011b). The objects in figure 6 also tell us something about the holiday-making practices in the resort e.g. sunbathing and Magaluf's renown for being a place of opportunity for casual sexual relations. The extent to which Magaluf was known for sexual activity led to its nickname Shagaluf.^[8] The focus on casual sexual relationships in the resorts is evident in the plastic windup toy depicting two copulating pigs called Porkin' Piggies (figure 7).



Figure 7. Porkin' Piggies plastic windup copulating pigs (photo Les Roberts, 2011)

The presence of Porkin' Piggies (figure 7) in Magaluf, contributes to the creation of a sense of place based on indulging in casual sexual activity. That we can understand the material world around us as meaningful links to Durkheim's (1915) suggestion that "in order to express our own ideas to ourselves, it is necessary...that we fix them upon material things which symbolize them" (p. 228). This leads to the final point I wish to make in this section about what tourism is: that it allows us to understand who we are.

Tourism is a story we tell ourselves about ourselves

My research is informed by a social anthropological concern to understand how people comprehend who they are, and what and why things are meaningful to

them. Based on his participant observation of a cockfight in a village in Bali, anthropologist Clifford Geertz's (1973) argues that the symbolic role of the cocks, the system of betting, and the importance to the owner of a cock winning reflect elements of Balinese society. Geertz (1973), suggests that in the practice of taking part in the cockfight (as audience member, bird owner, gambler, etc) the participants are in effect holding a mirror up to themselves and the fight "is a Balinese reading of Balinese experience, a story they tell themselves about themselves" (p.448). In other words, a cockfight is a performance of a narrative of Balinese society.

I have applied similar analysis to the British through the lens of touristic practices in resorts that have been known to be dominated by British tourists to the extent that they have felt like British enclaves. Many of the facilities have been aimed at a British clientele by providing a familiarity in terms of place names, food and drink offered, entertainment available and language spoken. Whole hotels might be booked out to a single tour operator bringing exclusively British customers. Figure 8 provides examples of the "British" landscape in the resorts.



Figure 8. Various examples of the way in which the resorts were encoded with signals of Britishness (photos, author, 1998-2009)

I have discussed the signals of Britishness in detail elsewhere (Andrews, 2011a) and concluded that the tourists were not interested in a search for difference or engagement with an “other”, rather the holiday was a chance to tell themselves a story of Britishness that was meaningful to them:

The tourists..., travel in hope of difference and freedom, a time to be themselves. What this being themselves refers to is a particular construct of British identity..., in which the other is kept at bay.... They interact with signs of home, which they identify with, and continue to craft the resorts, via a dialogue with them, in their own image (p.242).

Similar observations about touristic practices feeding notions of self-identity have been made by Mark Neumann (1992), who discussed what the travel accounts of Americans revealed about a sense of self. Neumann (1992) observed, as people assign meaning and significance to their travel experiences, they reveal how culture and identity become incorporated through travel, the kinds of selves people find and lose while away from home, how identities are made as people confront others, and the peculiar and paradoxical ways that everyday life appears as people seek to escape in their journeys (p.178).

The purpose of discussing provocation two has been to argue that the examples presented show how tourism comes into being through practice, that it touches all areas of our lives and all areas of our lives touch tourism. Thinking about tourism in this way demonstrates that what it means goes beyond essentialised and reductionist notions that categorise tourism as a business or an industry. Tourism means different things to different people and so there is no such *thing* as tourism, only the people who practice it.

Conclusion

In this paper I have sought to briefly problematise the concept of Europe and to problematise the notion of tourism and in so doing move onto explore its meaning as part of the practice of socio-cultural life. As discussed, the question of Europe and European identity has a long and complex history. My intention here has been to point towards that. The focus of the rest of the paper is based on what we mean

by tourism and what its practice involves, for which I presented two provocations. The first provocation seeks to problematise the notion of tourism as an industry, to argue that if conceived only in this way it invites an essentialising of an aspect of the socio-cultural world. I argue that by identifying the many different facets of everyday life that are involved in the exercise of tourism, its complex nature as part of lived experience is foregrounded.

It is by placing tourism as practice that I arrived at my second provocation: “there’s no such thing as tourism”. Thus, tourism is not a single entity in a world outside of who we are. Rather, tourism is about us, through our responses to the world and through our performances of who we are we bring tourism into being. We practice tourism with our whole bodies, as embodied beings as we summon the cultural world in all its forms – tangible and intangible – in the process of holidaymaking. My research has focused on the tourist, but the providers of tourism are also embodied beings who bring the practice of tourism into being with their own sets of actions and dispositions.

My approach is rooted in a phenomenological perspective that sees life as made in the experience of living it. This living is ever pliable and is made as we proceed in life which has an endless number of possibilities of ways of doing. To borrow from anthropologist Tim Ingold (2012), I am referring to “a way of living creatively in a world that is itself crescent, always in formation” (Ingold 2012, p. 3). Tourism as practice involves all areas of life, it tells us about how we understand the world, how we create the world, what we hope from the world. Tourism is about us.

Notes

1. British and Britishness are complex terms. In the tourist resorts of my fieldwork tourists originated from England, Northern Ireland, Scotland and Wales. During participant observation it was not immediately possible to identify someone’s place of origin based just on how they appeared and if they did not express a view. Given this context, I use the terms more as a form of shorthand to discuss rather than needing to refer to the separate countries. See also, O’Reilly (2000) and for more discussion about regional and

- country differences in the resorts see Andrews (2017). ↑
2. Existential anthropology is rooted in the idea that “the world is ... something we do not simply live and reproduce in passivity, but actually produce and transform through praxis” (Jackson, 2005, p.xxii). ↑
 3. Phenomenology is a branch of philosophy within which there are different schools of thought. An early account of its use in tourism can be found in Pernecky and Jamal, 2010 and also in Roberts & Andrews (forthcoming) introduction to a special issue of *Humanities*. ↑
 4. See World Tourism and Travel Council for more details
<https://wttc.org/research/economic-impact>, accessed 18/10/24 ↑
 5. For more detail about Cockaigne and the stories of early travels see Andrews, 2023 ↑
 6. See for example
<https://www.gentlemansbutler.com/tahiti-and-the-love-islands-the-perfect-luxury-travel-experience/> accessed 31/10/24 ↑
 7. See also Veijola, S. & Jokinen, E. (1994). ↑
 8. This is a conflation of the colloquial term shag (for sex) and the second half of Magaluf. ↑

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- (forthcoming) introduction to a special issue of *Humanities*. ↑
4. See World Tourism and Travel Council for more details <https://wttc.org/research/economic-impact>, accessed 18/10/24 ↑
 5. For more detail about Cockaigne and the stories of early travels see Andrews, 2023 ↑
 6. See <https://www.gentlemansbutler.com/tahiti-and-the-love-islands-the-perfect-luxury-travel-experience/> for <https://www.gentlemansbutler.com/tahiti-and-the-love-islands-the-perfect-luxury-travel-experience/> example accessed 31/10/24 ↑
 7. See also Veijola, S. & Jokinen, E. (1994). ↑
 8. This is a conflation of the colloquial term shag (for sex) and the second half of Magaluf. ↑

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