
An Overview of the Tourism World

Our study of the relationship between tourism practices and places in the world is based on an analysis of statistics produced by States and the World Tourism Organization, according to modalities to which we will return. Within all forms of mobility, travel, of which tourism is a *self-rebuilding*¹ modality, is distinct from migration, in the sense that individuals' plans fit within a short-term, limited time frame, with a predetermined return date. Beyond that, of course, tactics are used by individuals to circumvent regulations that attempt to curb or control migration. Furthermore, the pretext of tourism can make it easier to overcome these barriers. However, it is on this fundamental distinction between tolerated and less tolerated border crossings that the definition claimed by the World Tourism Organization [STO 17] is based. The challenge of this first part is to expose and understand the world tourist space and its recent evolution.

To this end, we use the statistics compiled by the World Tourism Organization. This institution, founded in 1953 and based in Madrid, has become a specialized agency of the United Nations. In this field, it is a globalization actor since it produces standards and values, such as "sustainable tourism", tries to set political objectives, such as tourism and the fight against poverty, and develops analytical tools, such as statistics or the tourism satellite account (TSA)².

1 In French, the neologism ("*re-cr ation*") was proposed in 2002 by the MIT team [MIT 02] in order to characterize tourist mobility and give it meaning, in relation to a scientific context that tended to minimize the importance of tourism for individuals.

2 The TSA is a technique that makes it possible to calculate the contribution of the tourism sector to national economies by aggregating the value added produced by characteristic tourism activities (in particular accommodation, catering, caf s, etc.) with that created by tourists in other sectors (transport, for example). Because if the latter are not integrated, the effects of tourism are underestimated.

After a critical analysis of the data that allow us to produce an image of mobility that is wrongly described as touristic, we will show the hierarchical space that is emerging. Finally, we will discuss the major dynamic under way, namely the setting in motion of all the world's societies. Exponential growth in the number of travelers crossing a border has been observed since the end of the Second World War.

1.1. Presentation of data and criticisms

The analysis of “international tourism”, as it is known, is based on statistical data produced by States and collected and disseminated by the World Tourism Organization, which is itself one of the indicators of the globalization of the phenomenon. With the rapid assimilation of disparate mobility to a social practice, tourism is questionable. Even if it is not possible, in the current state of the issue, to do without these data, the identification of their limitations is a prerequisite for any analysis.

1.1.1. Development of statistics

The World Tourism Organization is now a specialized agency of the United Nations and, as such and in this field, it appears to be a major player in globalization. Indeed, the UNWTO contributes to constructing the World. It develops measurement tools – of which we will make use – such as the travel count, which includes border crossings, or the TSA, a technique that measures the economic effects of “tourism”. The UNWTO is not limited to this simple book keeping role; it functions as a forum and also sets standards and values that form the backbone of a global tourism policy.

The UNWTO has two publications that bring together statistics on “tourism” in the World: the Yearbook and Compendium. The first informs us of the origins of travelers, for each country of destination, according to the States of the world. Groupings are carried out differently, depending on the destination, when the number of people concerned is small. The second offers, still by State, a very large amount of data on economic flows and repercussions. Most importantly, this book also provides the number of travelers departing from each country, however the data are incomplete for many States. Publications are released 2 years after the year of data measurement.

1.1.2. Limitations induced by these sources

1.1.2.1. Too general a definition

The criticism of the sources of so-called international tourism is, in a quite justified way, a theme often addressed [CAZ 98, VIO 00, DEH 08]. However, we

believe that an overview is necessary because of the lack of scientific consensus on the definition of tourism, the persistence of dregs in the analyses, and because the data produced influence the perception of the object studied, which is hastily qualified as “international tourism”.

In the yearbook published by UNTWO, it is in fact travel that is recorded – in the sense that the same person who makes several trips in a year will be counted for each trip – and is defined as travel including departure and return to a so-called country of residence, or sometimes to an issuing country. This poses a semantic problem, suggesting that the tourist is forced, projected, with little to no involvement. As a result, the global departure rate is not the ratio between the number of trips and the world population. The calculation must take into account, in the numerator, this number divided by the average number of trips per person including border crossings. Moreover, the number of people who have left a country of residence is not equivalent to the total number of people welcomed to the destination countries, as Jean-Michel Dewailly and Émile Flament [DEW 93] have already noted. This is because, during the same trip, a person who visits³ several States will be counted as a unit at each border crossing.

Second, and as mentioned in the introduction, the definition that the UNWTO has been working to disseminate includes different forms of mobility. And this option leads us to use the word “traveler” rather than “tourist” when referring to the flows counted by the UNWTO, or to use the word “tourism” in quotation marks, whenever we use it in the sense given by this institution. The question of the definition of tourism or tourists was not a scientific issue until the late 1990s, but was raised by the MIT team [MIT 02]. For us, in fact, the UNWTO proposal is too broad to justify the use of the word “tourism” as a scientific concept. According to this institution, a “tourist” is a person who travels outside his or her main residence for a period of between one night and 1 year, regardless of the reason for travel. Moreover, these publications do not distinguish individuals according to the reasons given in the definition used by the institution. One piece of data was published by the UNWTO, on a global scale, which indicates a breakdown into three categories for 2012: “leisure and holidays”, to use the terminology used by the institution, would show 52% were trips, visits to relatives and friends, 27% and professional purposes, 17%. Intention is not specified for the remaining 7%.

Our analysis [MIT 02, KNA 03, DUH 13a, DUH 13b] has modified the approach by questioning the moving individual’s intention and, by giving to the

3 Here we mean the word “visit” in the broadest sense. In fact, when statistics count tourists, the traveller is only taken into account if he or she spends an overnight stay in the country, whereas when the country chosen to visit, within the meaning of the UNWTO, the simple crossing of the border without overnight stays is recorded.

question of changing location, content that is neither objective distance data, a variable capital endowments disqualify, nor a simple form of data today in the sense that the social diffusion of a polytopic habitat [STO 06] makes the approach complex. For us, the tourist is an individual who moves to rebuild herself or himself by implementing practices of rest, discovery, play and sociability. Tourism is also distinguished from other forms of mobility by the increased flexibility individuals have in choosing the destination and the practices they deploy there. We consciously use the expression flexibility rather than freedom in order to emphasize that we do not ignore that abilities influence choices, particularly through the *habitus*, i.e. the different processes of socialization – notably family education – at the origin of the distinction [BOU 79]. On the contrary, business travel involves the company exercising control over the individual, in the choice of locations, in terms of schedule and in organization, with the counterpart that the company takes full responsibility for the travel. Contrary to the statement made by Jean-Michel Dewailly and Émile Flament [DEW 00], incentive travel is indeed a management technique and is the responsibility of companies. Beyond that, the possibilities of temporarily escaping from the fixed framework, either as leisure activities, the end of the day, or as opportunities that individuals know how to seize, do not fundamentally change the nature of the movement, which is indeed a hierarchical decision. As much as these times can be qualified as tourist moments, since the individual finds some flexibility in a space outside daily life, they do not fundamentally call into question the more constrained nature of these business trips. School trips, even if they open up much more exciting prospects than confinement to the classroom, nevertheless imply that they are part of an intertwining of rules that are as justified from the point of view of the institution as they are more or less demanding. Pilgrimages are also part of a slightly more constrained system. Rituals must be observed. The places are part of a prescribed program within the framework of the religion concerned⁴.

In all forms of mobility, the individual can break away from the rules and use the opportunities offered by tourism to engage in a wide range of strategies. This is the case for migrants who use customs facilities related to tourism. For their part, the authorities are stepping up procedures to discourage them and force people to return to the country of departure. However, at individual level, it is the observation of practices that makes it possible to distinguish between what tourism is and what refers to other forms of mobility. For example, in the case of pilgrimages, the program separates religious and tourist instances. Beyond that, a very great diversity of behaviors can be observed, because the believing individual remains so when he or she becomes a tourist. In fact, there are tourists, and a continuum of practices will be established between those who adopt only tourist attitudes and those who, on the contrary, are totally oriented toward the contemplation afforded by pilgrimages, and between the two extremes, a rich palette of varied combinations.

4 Indeed, Saudi Arabia does not issue tourist visas.

It is indeed the quality of the break with everyday life that distinguishes tourism from other forms of mobility. As Norbert Élias and Eric Dünning have proposed in the spectrum of leisure activities, which includes in the category of the most “off-track” practices, “travelling during holidays... devoting oneself to non-daily physical care such as sunbathing, walking” [ELI 94, pp. 131–133]. It could be argued that such an approach ruins any statistical enterprise in advance, but is it important to count or to understand the world? Therefore, we also do not share the analysis of Dehoorne *et al.* [DEH 08] who contest the status of individuals who frequent Algeria as tourists on the pretext that they are Algerians of origin. In addition to the fact that some of them rightly claim their attachment to the country in which they were born, more than, or in addition to, that of their forefathers, there is nothing that allows such a global approach. Many of them reside in France, work there and return to Algeria for tourism practices, as shown by the work on diasporas [ZYT 09].

Another form of confusion comes from the fact that authors do not take precautions with political issues. The fact that legitimate actors in the suburbs of metropolitan areas develop strategies to better integrate marginalized urban neighborhoods, abandoned wastelands or populations in distress, is part of their role and the implementation of their convictions. Whether they call it tourism probably reflects a better recognition of the practice within society, or even a move to mobilize public funds more easily. However visiting these neighborhood frequented far less, and in which, sometimes, a few authentic tourists get lost, do not constitute tourism at all.

1.1.2.2. *Different counting methods*

Despite efforts to achieve uniformity in Member States’ practices, the UNWTO was forced to validate four methods of counting “tourists”. In addition, while some States used the same definition throughout the study period, others varied, making longitudinal studies difficult. The four counting methods proposed by States lead to more or less overestimated or underestimated variations depending on the spatial configurations of the territory concerned [STO 17].

First, it is possible to opt for a border-crossing count of “tourists” within the meaning outlined by the UNWTO, i.e. a non-resident individual who crosses customs to spend at least one night in the host country. Second, it may be preferable to focus on “visitors”, those who enter a country without necessarily spending an overnight stay. It should be noted that the difference between this second method and the first has little impact on the outcome in a relatively isolated and insular country such as New Zealand, a position that facilitates controls and makes frequent and daytime visits unlikely.

This is not the case for landlocked States surrounded by many neighbors such as the Ukraine, which is easily visited by the inhabitants of neighboring Russia, given

the long-standing ties on both sides of the border. The smooth passage through customs, which opens up very timely commercial opportunities for certain products, tends to overinflate the number of “tourists” to the point of totally distorting the assessment⁵. The third mode is, on the contrary, restrictive, since it only counts nights spent in commercial accommodation. Admittedly, the use of so-called non-commercial accommodation, particularly by relatives or friends, is more often carried out within the framework of the internal market, but it also exists in foreign countries. Moreover, participatory methods or so-called “homestay” accommodation do not count, although they do not always exclude monetary exchanges. In a fourth mode, all accommodation is concerned, excluding of course the underground economy.

1.1.2.3. Playing on the States’ borders

Finally, UNWTO statistics are based on the crossing of a border. As a result, the States’ boundaries influence the image of such mobility. In particular, the pre-eminence of Europe must be re-examined in light of its territorial fragmentation, which mechanically produces a large number of international visitors [CAZ 98]. A more accurate assessment would be given by an approach that would mitigate the effect of State size. A network based on more homogeneous spatial units should be used, either by measuring mobility from larger groups – the European Union (EU) in relation to China, NAFTA to Mercosur for example – or by developing smaller homogeneous units in principle for EU statistics, and thus comparing European countries with Chinese provinces.

Beyond that, the economic stakes contained in “tourism” make this mobility, which is peaceful, so desirable that border crossings are made easy by States and, consequently, the so-called “tourist” visa – which is nevertheless subject to restrictions, in particular restrictions on duration and prohibition of working – becomes a means of moving around the world with complete peace of mind.

These many limitations have prompted us to use the word “tourism” in quotation marks since it does not reflect the scientific definition we have helped to develop, but that of the UNWTOs. We have also tried to develop a method to study tourism in the world without these statistics [VIO 11]. This method, which will be used for the analyses developed in this book, is presented at the end of this chapter.

1.2. A hierarchical world

Maps based on UNWTO data highlight a hierarchical world, beyond the pre-eminence of Europe, which is very much concerned with the combination of

⁵ For example, in the 2018 edition of the UNWTO Yearbook, for Poland there were just over 80 million visitor arrivals and just under 6.4 million arrivals to commercial accommodation.

measuring travel by border crossings, on the one hand, and its political fragmentation, on the other hand.

1.2.1. Disparities

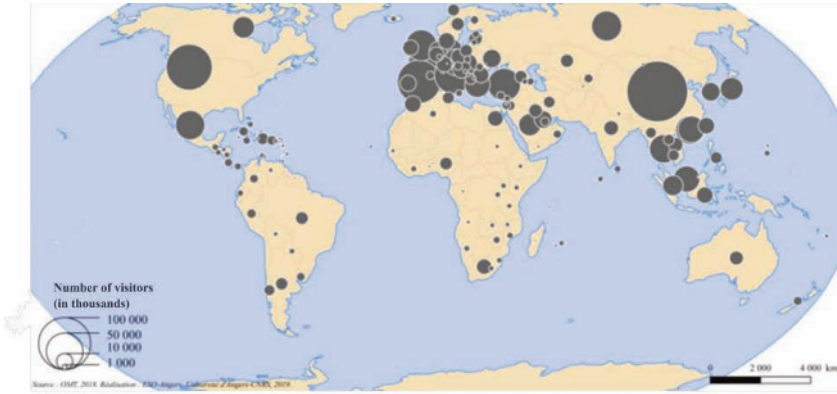
The world of travel clearly contrasts two groups. On the one hand, the full world, which welcomes the most tourists, with, from west to east: North America, Europe and all of East Asia and the Pacific, and, on the other hand, the relatively empty world with South America, Africa and the Middle East, as shown in Map 1.1.



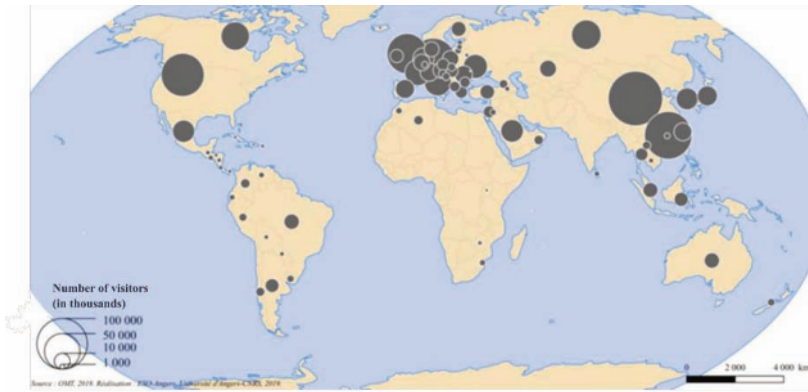
Map 1.1. World traveler flows in 2011 (source: [OMT 13]). For a color version of the maps in this chapter, see www.iste.co.uk/violier/touristplaces.zip

The quasi-similarity between the maps of the countries of departure (Map 1.2) and those of destination (Map 1.3) reinforces this opposition, even if the distribution of the countries of destination shows a greater diffusion in Africa, the Caribbean and the Indian Ocean than the distribution of departures. This is an old observation. In 1994, Georges Cazes highlighted this opposition between a North, where the majority of individuals with the economic capital necessary to be tourists resided, and a South where only a minority share was found.

However, as the author also wrote, the resulting wealth is a relatively decisive factor in undiversified economies, especially in micro-island States, but also in larger ones [CAZ 94].



Map 1.2. *Travelers' country of departure in 2015 (source: [UNW 17])*



Map 1.3. *Travelers' destination countries in 2015 (source: [UNW 17])*

This system is in no way original and is based on the classic hierarchical spatial system of the current state of globalization [LEV 08, RET 10]. The reason Map 1.1 highlights a rhombus shape rather than a triad is because of the interest shown by North Americans and Japanese, particularly for the islands in the central Pacific, the Hawaiian archipelago in particular [COE 14]. Admittedly, the vagueness of the UNWTO's definition can help to produce this image, namely that part of the mobility recorded as tourism is in fact a business relationship and is therefore modeled on the world economic order and the globalization of companies. However we have noted that the influence of business travel within international mobility is low. In fact, these latter relations between countries of residence and destinations underline the importance of regional proximity flows, ahead of intercontinental mobility [CAZ 98, DEH 08, GAY 10, particularly maps, pp. 268–270]. How can we explain this?

1.2.2. Paradigms in action: wealth of nations, distance and otherness

This spatial system responds to several factors.

First of all, travel remains a privilege of prosperous societies because it presupposes that a population can collectively, and the individuals who make it for themselves, devote wealth to an expensive practice that induces, at least partially, an interruption of the economic activity that creates it. However, mass tourism, defined as access to tourism for the majority of individuals in a society (at least 50% in France and, in most Western European countries, this share reaches 65–70%⁶), is only achieved in Western societies. Among emerging societies – those that experienced an acceleration in economic growth from the end of the 20th Century onward – the rate was around 30%. Travel is first and foremost a mobility of the richest inhabitants of the planet.

Second, and in the long run, distance remains, despite the significant progress made, a constraint that opposes mobility and continues to structure social space [GRA 10, LUS 14], contrary to discourses that highlight the abolition of distances [ROS 10]. While it is undeniable that the progress made by means of transport has enabled the advent of mass tourism, the “global village” observed from tourist mobility remains a utopia. Foreign destinations are, for the most part, countries close to those in which they reside, so that globalization presents itself as a form of regionalization. Indeed, so-called international tourism is, in fact, a neighborhood visit. Nearly 55% of the “tourists” who entered the United States in 2011 (UNWTO)

⁶ Let us add that among the non-participants, about half mention non-economic reasons such as a preference for sedentary life or temporary and circumstantial choices that lead to the renunciation of tourism for a certain period (acquisition of a property, pregnancy, etc.).

came from Canada and Mexico. The regions and countries of residence of “tourists” visiting France are the British Isles (nearly 13 million arrivals), Germany (nearly 12), Belgium and Luxembourg (nearly 11), Italy (10) and the Netherlands (8). There are a few exceptions around the World, particularly among micro-island States whose tourism depends more on distant countries than on neighbors. Thus, visits to Mauritius are dominated by the presence of the French (254,000, or 22% of total international arrivals, according to the UNWTO for 2015) far ahead of Réunion Island (144,000, 12.5%), considered here because of territorial discontinuity, and South Africa (102,000 arrivals, 9%).

Moreover, the distribution of tourists in the World, if we combine it with the distance paradigm, also depends on population densities. Indeed, the number of tourists is a function of the number of people scattered in different regions of the World. However, the history of settlement opposes a meridian axis that crosses from east to west Europe-Asia-Africa as a whole, at subtropical and temperate latitudes, while the northern and tropical margins, on the one hand, and the world’s islands on the other, are less densely occupied. Australia and America, in particular, were populated later, and are in fact less occupied [GRA 10], which brought fewer tourists to the countries of these continents, and especially the closest ones.

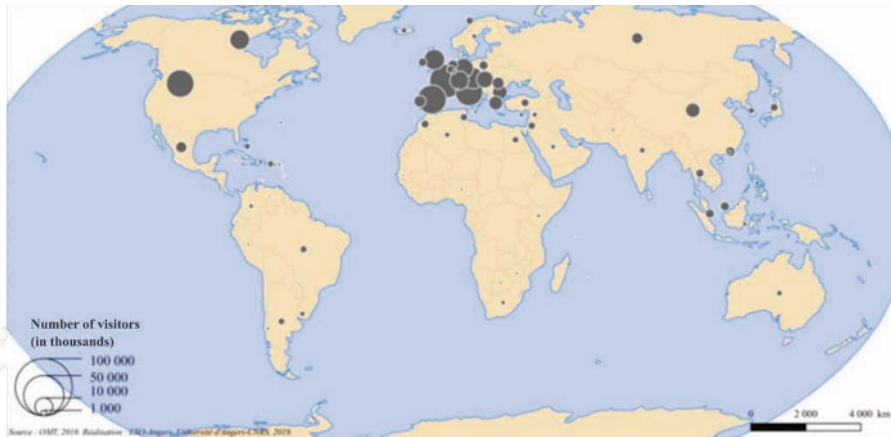
Finally, travel is the mobility of the rich to rich countries, which is underlined by the close correspondence of the map of departure countries and that of destinations, due to the otherness that opposes the desire to travel the world. On the one hand, distance is at the root of the proliferation of civilizations, which brings about dialectics of attraction for unknown societies and constraints to discovery, including the diversity of languages, customs, ways of being, food, etc. Furthermore, the diversity of conditions given by mountainous areas or a range of climates, which are representations, is also a function of distance. On the other hand, the state of the world highlights areas that are more difficult to access, where wars, social tensions and health risks combine. Moreover, economic prosperity combines with social stability and sanitary comfort to create safe conditions in our societies that are very favorable to travel, and at the same time, to erect barriers that lock us into comfort standards that are increasingly difficult to abandon, even temporarily.

DEFINITION.— *Otherness* is “the quality of what is different for an individual whose personal identity (‘identity’) and social identity (‘we identity’) are the familiar, even unquestioned points of contact, in relation to a foreign world whose norms and conventions and ways of doing things are radically different” [STO 08, p. 147].

This otherness therefore explains why tourism remains essentially confined to spaces of greater familiarity and why, it is only possible for the greatest number of people in the form of organized travel; ridiculed by fine minds who take the

appearance of the organization for what it is not – a straitjacket – while it alone allows freedom of movement for the greatest number. Indeed, TOs can be interpreted as a modality of space technologies which, as organizations, mobilize others; from air-conditioned coaches to international hotels, even bars and other tourist counters [GAY 01], in order to make it possible, at the lowest cost, to discover tourism. Indeed, the importance given to the analysis of tourism [URR 90] prevents us from thinking about what the movement of bodies means. Unlike the media, which show us the world from our living rooms, being a tourist means being physically in a place and suffering all the aggression and confrontation with unknown living conditions and being in contact with individuals with whom you do not immediately share any means of communication. It is not consistent to question the conditions of encounters, to accurately highlight difficulties and at the same time to claim that mediation is not useful.

1.2.3. Toward a multipolar world



Map 1.4. *Countries of destination for travelers in 1985 (source: [UNW 17])*

A final map completes the analysis by highlighting the evolution of world travel since 1985. The date was chosen because it was just before the spread of the phenomenon of economic emergence to the continental States, which ensured the media coverage of the process. Indeed, in the field of travel and particularly tourism, precursors appeared in the 1960s and 1980s, Japan then followed and in its wake the “Asian tigers”, according to the media expression used at the time, namely South Korea, Taiwan, Hong Kong and Singapore. However Japanese society’s access to prosperity has had limited effects on tourist numbers in nearby countries.

On the one hand, until the end of the 1980s, tourism was in contradiction with the cardinal values of work and the group “within which the Japanese individual thought of himself” [LAN 11]. On the other hand, the dynamic set in motion at the end of the 1980s, particularly by the 1987 law allowing the deployment of infrastructure in peripheral regions, a favored practice within the country. Finally, behaviors remained marked by the refusal of chance and the reduction of adventure [LAN 11].

At the end of the 1980s, the emergence process involved many societies such as China, which joined the movement following a fundamental ideological disruption orchestrated by Deng Xiaoping, moving from isolation to international openness.

Thus, what George Cazes had predicted [CAZ 92] based on the UNWTO forecasts occurred and was confirmed before our eyes: East Asia strengthened the Asia-Pacific region, becoming a Tourism area equivalent to the other two, North America-Caribbean and Europe-North Africa. This transition from a Western-dominated tourist world to a multipolar world was therefore a major breakthrough from the end of the 20th Century [CAB 10, VIO 16b, GAY 18].

This evolution is not without its problems for European tourists, and Western tourists in general, who must now learn to share the World with others. As we will see in the chapters devoted to the regions of the World, the top places are frequented by all the societies of the World, and this implies many visits and it is according to these two criteria that we define them. When there is also a concentration of flows due to an inherited holiday schedule that has not been adapted to the current level of departure rates, as in China, the situation becomes difficult to manage unless spatial and temporal bypass strategies are implemented, as proposed in the *Lonely Planet* guide.

However, this awakening of East Asia to tourism does not call into question the paradigms of distance and otherness mentioned in the previous section, which structure the global tourist space. Note that 91% of visitors to China come from the East Asia and Pacific region, as defined by the UNWTO ; 77% of Japan’s visitors also come from this region, 27% from South Korea, 17% from China, 16% from Taiwan and 11% from North America [TAU 17].

How can you avoid crowds in Angkor?

“Let’s be honest: we know that some of you are sceptical about our advice to avoid other tourists. If travelers own Lonely Planet’s *Cambodia*, they represent only a tiny fraction of the total number of visitors. Some 580,000 Chinese, South Koreans and Vietnamese tourists came during the first half of 2011, accounting for more than half of

all tourists. Very few if any had the *Lonely Planet* guide in their pockets and they visited the temples in groups of 25 to 75 people... Therefore, the following tips may be helpful.

Angkor is well and truly on the tourist trail and it is only getting busier, with over two million visitors annually, but – with a little planning – it is still possible to escape the crowds. One important thing to remember, particularly when it comes to sunrise and sunset, is that places are popular for a reason, and it is worth going with the flow at least once.

Avoiding the crowds

It is received wisdom that as Wangkor Wat faces west, one should be there for late afternoon, and in the case of the Bayon, which faces east, in the morning. Ta Prohm, most people seem to agree, can be visited in the middle of the day because of its umbrella of foliage. This is all well and good, but if you reverse the order, the temples will still look good – and you can avoid some of the crowds.

The most popular place is Angkor Wat. Most tour groups head back to town for breakfast, so stick around and explore the temple while it's cool and quiet between 7am and 9am. Sra Srang is usually pretty quiet, and sunrise here can be spectacular thanks to reflections in the extensive waters. Phnom Bakheng could be an attractive option, because the sun comes up behind Angkor Wat and you are far from the madding crowd that gathers here at sunset, but there are now strict limitations on visitor numbers each day.

The hilltop temple of Phnom Bakheng is the definitive sunset spot. This was getting well out of control, with as many as 1000 tourists clambering around the small structure. However, new restrictions limit visitors to no more than 300 at any one time. It is generally better to check it out for sunrise or early morning and miss the crowds.

Staying within the confines of Angkor Wat for sunset is a rewarding option, but it is quite busy at this time. Pre Rup is popular with some for an authentic rural sunset over the countryside, but this is also crowded these days. Better is the hilltop temple of Phnom Krom, which offers commanding views across Tonlé Sap lake, but involves a long drive back to town in the dark. The Western Baray takes in the sunset from the eastern end, across its vast waters, or from Western Mebon island, and is generally a quiet option".

Box 1.1. *The tourist guide despite the West being subjected to the touristic movements of others (source: Lonely Planet⁷)*

This development corresponds to a major turning point in the history of tourism. Indeed, after the invention of tourism in the 18th Century [BOY 96], this mobility

7 <https://www.lonelyplanet.fr/article/cambodge-visiter-angkor-sans-la-foule>, accessed July 17, 2017.

remained a European privilege, which was extended to societies as a result of the colonization of the world. However, we are now witnessing a second diffusion which, after having been marginal with Japan in particular, is becoming massive, namely the development of tourism in all societies of the world [VIO 16b, GAY 18]. Therefore, we reject the historical breakdown proposed by Dehoorne *et al.* [DEH 08] and Dehoorne [DEH 13]. According to these authors, the “beginnings of tourism” were followed by the “advent of mass tourism” between 1950 and 1990 and then “all tourism”, followed by a period of generalized uncertainty, “2001 and beyond?” This proposal does not provide a distinct insight into so-called international tourism on the whole. In addition, it is necessary to distinguish the history of tourism systems (transition from the small to the large number, the advent of mass tourism, and the current personalized mass tourism), from its spatial diffusion. This is because borders are crossed very quickly, especially by the English. Then it is European-centric. There is no doubt that mass tourism was established in the United States before the Second World War in the 1920s. Finally, the authors consider that the events of the first decade of the 21st Century, including terrorist attacks on tourists, constitute a major breakdown. However, the overall growth in tourist flows has continued. And, generally speaking, in tourist destinations – see in particular Egypt [VIO 14, pp. 20–21] – attacks are certainly followed by a significant decrease in visitor numbers, but this does not last. In Bali, cited by the authors, due to the attacks of October 12, 2002, the resumption of growth came very quickly, particularly with the arrival of the Chinese and Indians, so that the problem, at least the one some people point out, was the influx of tourists and not the decline [BEA 10], despite a new attack in 2005. Undoubtedly the strategies of companies [CLE 14], and in particular the commercial offers, help to convince hesitant individuals but above all, the desire to visit the top places of the world prevails. In addition, incidents constitute threats to a given destination, or even a region of the world, but others derive benefits from them, as tourists move to other places that are considered safer. Thus, the “Arab Spring” was a blessing for Greece, Turkey, Italy and Spain, especially since the disaffection is, this time, more sustainable because of a stabilization process that takes time to assert itself beyond the differences between a more democratic outcome in Tunisia and a much more authoritarian one in Egypt. In general, history shows that the prophets concerned about the “end of history” [FUK 92] are only wrong to predict according to a finalist and univocal model.

We propose to replace a chronology that highlights the major breakthrough that access to tourism for all societies in the world represents for us. Indeed, so-called international tourism developed early in the mid-19th Century [TIS 00], with universal exhibitions in particular. In 1862, Thomas Cook took a group of his most loyal customers to Switzerland to test out the Swiss destination. In 1869, the exit from Europe took place under the impetus, in particular, of the same TO, which organized the first round-the-world trip and a cruise to Egypt. Two major changes then occurred. The first was the transition to mass tourism of international

destinations. Here too, it seems that border crossings were closely following socioeconomic changes. As a result, access to tourism by non-European societies, which began in the 1970s and 1980s and became widespread at the turn of the 20th and 21st Centuries, was a revolutionary phenomenon in the sense of a radical change to the established order [VIO 16b]. In particular, it initiated a second movement that took place from non-Western households [GAY 18].

1.2.4. Conclusion

The state of statistics on “tourism” does not really make it possible to distinguish, strictly speaking, tourism from other forms of mobility, particularly business mobility. We therefore need to extrapolate. The spatial arrangement that is emerging is marked by a very strong hierarchy that opposes a North group composed of three basins, the North and Central American-Caribbean space, the Europe-North Africa group and finally the region composed of Central and East Asia and the Western Pacific. This is reflected in the combination of three factors. The wealth of societies enables access to tourism. The distance is limited to the relative proximity of the largest number of trips. Finally, otherness under a different name, which justifies mobility, also opposes its constraints. Beyond that, the current period is characterized by a major change, marked by access to tourism by non-Western societies and therefore by a second movement, in the sense that the first, initiated at the end of the 19th Century, was essentially the conquest of the world by Westerners.

1.3. Touristic mobility: tourists conquering the World

Being a tourist means temporarily leaving one sedentary lifestyle for another characterized by mobility. Indeed, our way of life places us under house arrest all year round. Admittedly, a move toward greater mobility is gradually becoming a necessity in everyday life. On the one hand, the increase in mobility now makes polytopic housing possible [STO 06], i.e. the possibility for individuals, although wealthy, to move between several living spaces according to circumstances. On the other hand, the increase in the length of life in advanced societies leads to the solidification of a category of elderly individuals whose living situations are totally free from work constraints. However these nuances do not principally affect the fact that tourism is emerging as a mobile life that is at odds with the dominant sedentary mode, particularly because it is part of a longer period of continuous free time. So what are the factors that influence the choice of destinations? Work on consumer behavior analyzes the decision-making process but does not focus on the objects that are sought-after.

1.3.1. *Places, a social construction*

Two main categories distinguish tourist objects, in the sense of those actually visited by tourists⁸: those that are human-made and those that result from biophysical processes on the origin of which humanity does not intervene. However, this pedagogical distinction must be handled with caution because it varies according to social representations. For example, the region in Norway, north of Lapland, is perceived by southern city dwellers as a natural park, while for the Sami, the landscape is cultural [VIK 11]. Similarly, for Australian aborigines, Inselberg Uluru, one of the most visited places by tourists from all over the world, is a sacred place (see section 11.2.1).

However whether they are artifacts or given objects, they share the same social constructs. The vague notion of attraction that suggests that objects exert supernatural forces on individuals deserves to be revisited in light of Pierre Bourdieu's work on the construction of taste in the field of the arts [BOU 79]. Indeed, the beauty, which he describes as material and immaterial objects built by humans, or those given, independent of us in terms of genesis, results from multiple socializations. Bernard Lahire completed this approach by pointing out the dissonances that result either from "plural identities" or from social interactions and that can reflect the gaps between education received and affirmation of tastes that may be out of step [LAH 04]. Social or socialized individuals express all the nuances of social values through their touristic quests for objects. As a result, tourist places are ranked by different degrees of attendance, which is often seen as a problem to be addressed, there being "too many tourists". In fact, top places are the expression of our values and we must resolve to plan, manage, organize, etc.

These two categories of tourist objects, those that are built or are artifacts, and those that are given or are biophysical, share common characteristics, foremost among which is monumentality. Roland Barthes, in *Mythologies* [BAR 57, pp. 113–117], when discussing the *Blue Guide*, deplors the fact it is also part of our Western values and penalizes societies with less or are that less Promethean, as we will see in the chapters devoted to the regions of the World.

These places are subject to dynamics. On the one hand, a diffusion process constantly integrates new objects in new places. This expansion of tourist ecumene is coming to an end, as the whole world seems to be touristic. On the margins, the

8 This clarification is important because some authors describe tourist objects, or places, whose qualifier is imposed by political purposes that appear as such, either by self-justification or by incantation, where no tourist, or a very small number, is concerned, but rather inhabitants. This stance blurs the reflection.

Moon is a new horizon. Areas that were previously excluded are integrated, such as Antarctica, which receives about 90,000 tourists annually, or Greenland [DEL 16]. Different sets of actors contribute to the persistence of tourism development. If, in some cases, the invention by tourists, qualified according to the times of adventurers, backpackers [DEL 16], is working again – as in the early days of tourism – other modalities have since been deployed, with more or less combined interventions, including those of States at different levels, from infra-State to local, supranational bodies, permanent inhabitants, organizations, associations and enterprises, etc.

On the other hand, other actors are starting to move in places that are already tourist destinations in order to increase their intensity. This provokes some opponents, convinced that there are too many tourists, without knowing very well what this too many means, having never been measured⁹. The case of Venice is thus regularly brandished as a specter of what happens when tourism soars. While Venice is highly oriented toward tourism, i.e. in the scientific sense of the term, tourism has become the city's main or even only activity, it is first and foremost because of the decline of other, previous economic driving forces that have left the place empty. As a result, tourism has rather saved Venice from ruin. The fact that the infiltration of huge cruise ships into the lagoon constitutes an inconvenience, a danger, even an aesthetic problem, is not doubtful; it remains for the authorities to assume their responsibilities, albeit very late.

The heterogeneity of the World is thus a powerful factor in the discovery of tourism, provided that it is the representations of this diversity and beauty that drive mobility. Beyond that, this heterogeneity is dialectical, on a small scale, that of civilizations, diversity is marked, for example each religion has brought about the construction of places dedicated to worship that differ from each other: churches, mosques, Mayan, Hindu, Buddhist temples, etc., take variable forms, easily distinguishable. On a larger scale, heterogeneity is based only on the materials used and less on the forms. Thus, a certain fatigue may result from repetition of identical or weakly differentiated shapes. For example, in regions where the same type of object is concentrated, only the most recognized elements are used¹⁰. This is the case, for example, for the castles of the Loire Valley, mosques in Central Asia or monasteries visited in an imaginary country.

⁹ Without mentioning the excesses of some demonstrators who do not hesitate to compare tourists to terrorists.

¹⁰ Thus, for the castles of the Loire, the greatest number of tourists only visit Chambord, Chenonceau, Amboise or Blois, etc.

Finally, tourism can disappear from certain places. Rather than a decline linked to excessive numbers of tourists, as William Butler theorized [BUT 80], tourist destinations are threatened by the weather and by changes in practices, to which they cannot adapt, when they decide not to move with the times. Beyond that, specialized places, such as tourist counters or resorts, follow several routes; either they renew themselves by remaining touristic, integrating new practices while the old ones persist or give way, or they diversify by adding other economic driving forces, for example a classic route is event hosting, as in Cannes. Alternatively they abandon tourism for other functions, starting by becoming a residential district when they are close to a metropolis within which they are functionally integrated [MIT 11]. Non-specialized tourist sites are more resilient since, by definition, other dynamics can compensate for them in the cities, as in metropolitan areas. However the examples of highly touristic cities show that this is not inevitable either.

1.3.2. Diversity of biophysical worlds

Tourism is primarily a route that allows us to escape the living conditions imposed by our sedentary life, but this freedom results from constructions and a symbolic production of nature. Indeed, being able to spend a week or two, during the winter, in temperate areas of the northern hemisphere on a tropical island implies a representation of the biophysical world that has gradually developed between the great discoveries of the 17th and 18th Centuries. These discoveries, made by explorers who deliver a vision marred by the difficulties of their adventures, and the dissemination of colorful images by artists, writers and painters. Thus, this nature is relational in the sense that it is only seen, judged and regulated through the eyes of different societies. The result, first, is that this tourist nature is valid for, and because of, what tourists do with it. Second, this relationship varies spatially as societies are heterogeneous. Finally, it changes over time [STO 17]. Thus, coastal use was primarily linked to cold baths and white skin aesthetics, before a shift to warm waters and tanning occurred at the beginning of the 20th Century [DUH 09, GAY 09, GAY 17]. This major revolution, combined with others, such as that of jet aviation, has led to the development of tourism in the tropical islands, which offer an air temperature combined with almost constant calm waters, as we will see in the chapters dedicated to the regions of the World.

Nature is invested in by tourists for three uses that will justify the actions carried out in order to facilitate their realization. First of all, it is hedonic due to the enjoyment that elements such as the sea or the air bring. Furthermore, it offers amenities to the fore, in the sense of play defined by Caillouis, as a free practice, inscribed in a circumscribed space-time, marked by unpredictability, lack of productivity, regulation and perhaps a level of fictitiousness. For example, scuba

diving can be a recreational activity when it is carried out near your home, in a swimming pool. But this game gains a tourist dimension when it takes place in the colorful tropical seabed, populated by a great diversity of animals. Finally, it is a beautiful landscape through our eyes that summarizes the elements and evaluates them according to our social and individual criteria. Thus, the mountains, the tropical island, the wild but friendly nature of the wilderness, have become the archetypes of tourist imagery.

But these different constructions of nature do not function universally or timelessly. Thus, the sun that heats us and turns our skin brown only became a value of tourism at the beginning of the 20th Century, first in the United States. In 1907, in *The Cruise of the Snark*, Jack London wrote the first laudative description of a brown body written by a white man. Then this reversal spread to Europe in the 1920s, due to the rise of American leadership over Western civilizations. In the past, European aristocrats and those of independent means used to frequent the coasts of cold seas in the fall, taking care to remain white, while farmers browned in the fields. Staying white remains perennial in China and India in terms of social status.

Within the same society, the meaning of the manifestations of nature varies according to individuals. Summer, which is the tourist season favored by tourists along the Mediterranean coast, is a climatic disaster for farmers who have had to invent techniques to compensate for the water deficit. The villages perched on the tops of the hills spend part of their life implementing a hydraulic system that combines the creation of water reserves placed in cisterns under houses, and distribution during the hot season through the slopes. For years, it was necessary to go back to the village in the evening, after work in the fields. Another reason also contributed to this: insecurity due to pirates and the need to be able to be protected by the castle of the lord overlooking the town. The touristic nature is therefore constructed according to symbolic referents, which then commissioned the development of infrastructures intended to promote the realization of the tourist project.

1.3.3. Variety of human constructs

The heterogeneity of human societies is also at the origin of the production of rather oversized objects, scattered throughout the worlds, that tourists want to see. This quest for tangible and intangible monuments that bear witness to the existence of ancient and modern societies has its origins in invention and diversion, both linked to the Industrial Revolution.

1.3.3.1. *Birth of touristic heritage*

The Industrial Revolution and its destructions led to an awareness of the value of ancient civilizations, threatened by progress, while until the early 19th Century in Europe, ancient buildings were neglected. They were falling apart when they were not used for modern constructions. From the 1830s onward, European society began to classify, preserve and renovate selected objects according to standards that would continue to expand, until today, where everything is considered to be an example of heritage. And from the very beginning of this movement, tourists have been part of it [LAZ 07, LAZ 11]. The colonization of the World by Europeans applied these values to other continents and brought to light other civilizations, and thus supported the spread of tourism. The UNESCO World Heritage classification has thus been criticized for being European-centric, underlining the great monuments of Western countries. The category of intangible property was thus created to allow the integration of civilizations that have expressed their genius in different ways. Moreover, colonial and political domination in the broader sense was an opportunity for the powers of north-western Europe to take over property from the dominated countries, including in Europe, particularly in the Mediterranean. Thus, the museums of the metropolises, from the Louvre in Paris to the British Museum in London or the Pergamon Museum in Berlin, exhibit Greek, Egyptian and Mesopotamian antiquities; likewise those dedicated to the early arts, such as the Quai Branly Museum, rich in looted works. The haunting question of restitution is regularly asked.

1.3.3.2. *Spatiality influenced by history*

The high levels of tourism of the worlds therefore depend on the spatiality of civilizations and the representations we have of them. Thus, a hierarchy is formed, at the top of which are the building societies that have raised the most visible monuments. However, these are not located anywhere in the World but along a longitudinal and mesogean axis centered on the 30th parallel with respect to the continental Europe-Africa-Asia block. As Christian Grataloup has shown, biophysical conditions – temperate climate and open forest, easy to clear – have facilitated the emergence of worlds (Mediterranean basin, Western Asia, North India, China) [GRA 10]. These sites then developed, particularly by trading with each other and with others, to respond to the demographic pressure caused by their economic growth. Some of the accumulated wealth has been converted into monuments that symbolically affirm the power of political, religious and economic powers.

1.3.3.3. *Diversion of dominant values*

However, tourists also travel the World in search of modernity. From the 19th Century onward, universal exhibitions that showcase industrial power in spectacular and entertaining ways have become more common. Today, the race for the highest towers in the World has taken over from the major events that no longer seem to

have any support. Each of these towers is dominated by a platform designed to welcome tourists and provide a panoramic view of the metropolises.

1.3.4. Attendance modalities

Tourists seize objects, artifacts or gifts, according to different categories of practices, i.e. what the tourist does and the meaning they give to what they do [CUV 98]. In the first work of the MIT team [MIT 02], we proposed four categories of practices: rest, discovery, play and sociability, in order to break with the infinite list of tourists in some form or another. Beyond that, the analysis has shown that individuals implement various combinations of which the standard ideals are dominant.

However, since the first diffusion of tourism in the World has shown the different societies how Westerners experience tourism, dialectics of appropriation and innovation has become engaged throughout the World. While some practices are invested in by non-Western societies, with possibly minor enrichments – for example, night skiing is a Japanese invention – shopping is an invention of East Asian societies. These processes of enriching tourism by giving societies access to practices began very early on, since the natural park is a North American invention of the 1870s based on the ideal of wilderness.

These practices are combined with ways of dealing with universal space, in the sense that all societies in the World, up to the present day, implement them in the same way through devices that can vary. Traveling within a network of places characterizes discovery, while rest induces you to relax. This general proposal is subject to exceptions [VIO 17]. Play lends itself to one or the other modality depending on the case. “Spots” are therefore high places that invite you to stay, while forms of hiking involve a more active trip. In metropolitan areas, the density of artifacts leads to rather short stays, while setting oneself up does not exclude someone from visiting sites during the day. But this duality, discovery-circulation versus rest, is perpetuated according to a variation of ways of doing things. Thus, Club Med had to install karaoke rooms in its clubs in China and elsewhere to meet the expectations of individuals who were not very interested in tanning on the beach. Also, walking is the dominant practice of this society on the beaches of Rio.

1.3.5. Social scales

Tourism practices depend on the tastes of social individuals. On the one hand, they are structured by the provisions which themselves are shaped by the “multiple processes of socializing experiences (family holidays during childhood, summer

camp during adolescence, stays with friends, couples or families during adulthood, etc.)” [GUI 17, pp. 149–150].

The multiplicity of socializations invites us to summon the “plural tourist(s)” as Christophe Guibert invites us to do [GUI 17, p. 152] paraphrasing Bernard Lahire’s plural man [LAH 98]. On the other hand, “to this individual dimension is necessarily added an understanding of cultural and societal singularities” [GUI 17, p. 150]. An analysis of practices must therefore be carried out at the level of individuals, families, and social and cultural groups. Our study in this book on World connectiveness focuses on the scale of the world’s societies, but it was important to note that our bias is undoubtedly excessive, to put it simply.

1.3.6. Conclusion

Tourist practices unfold in places in which the arrangement of objects is the basis for representations and experiences. We will mobilize the typology of tourist places in its most complete version, developed by Philippe Duhamel and presented in Table 1.1 [DUH 18].

1.4. Constraints on the movement of tourists opposed by the worlds

Being a tourist therefore means implementing a recreation project elsewhere, in a place where success seems assured. But this is confronted by multiple constraints that lead either to giving up on the dream destination and postponing, or to protecting oneself by taking precautions.

1.4.1. Combination between the unequal wealth of nations and distance

The deployment of tourism within the society of a State requires the combination of economic and social conditions. The very history of this social practice reveals this [BOY 96, TIS 00, VIO 16b]. On the one hand, society is committed to industrial civilization because it is this major event that triggered the invention of tourism by allowing a fraction of the population to escape material contingencies and devote their resources to an expensive practice. Certainly forms of proto-tourism have preceded and served as a matrix for this evolution, but in ways that contrast with what we call tourism. The rhythms were different. The Grand Tour lasted 2–3 years and had an educational purpose. The aristocratic resort, part of whose time was dedicated to hunting, was also and above all devoted to the surveillance of agricultural estates, the economic base of the aristocracy and the land bourgeoisie. As for urban leisure, it emerged from the 18th Century [COR 95] but remained confined in a nearby area, while tourism consists of implementing these practices outside everyday places.

Type of tourism development	Tourism implementation process	Type of places	Spatial characteristics and operation
Current tourist situation: places dominated by tourism			
Invented places – “find, imagine for a particular purpose”	Invention	Site	Monofunctional space, no accommodation, brief visit/visit almost exclusively
Places created by tourism in the sense of “doing, doing something that did not exist before”. If a place, a hamlet or even a village existed before, it now constitutes only a tiny part of the place	Creation <i>ex nihilo</i>	Tourist post	Monofunctional space, closed space in relation to the local society, control by one or more developers, exclusive presence of commonplace accommodation, stay/rest and play
		Station	Monofunctional space, place open to local society, more or less numerous actors and promoters, local and/or common and/or non-standard accommodation. Stay and visit/stay and play
Places invested in and subverted by tourism. Here, the term “subvert” or “subversion” means “to disrupt, to overthrow an established order”.	City of departure	City station or station-city	Juxtaposition of a resort type tourist district (created by and for tourism) with an ancient core with agglomeration, persistence of polyfunctionality and tourism in a district
	Subversion of the city or village by tourism, which has become the essential function	Tourist towns or villages	Original spatial structure patrimonialized and subverted by tourism and extensions linked to tourism, accommodation is located either in the heart of the place or on the periphery, brief visit and stay/visit
Current tourist situation: places not dominated by tourism			
Places invested in and entertained by tourism. Entertainment means to divert, to distance, to subtract for one's own benefit”	Insertion of a tourist function in the city, tourist territorialization of certain sectors	City with tourist functions or tourist city	Insertion of a tourist function without fundamental modification of the overall urban structure, appearance of a Central Tourist District, standardized accommodation. Almost exclusively visits and shopping
	The tourist function is limited to accommodation	City stopover	Insertion of a tourist function without fundamental modification of the overall urban structure, commonplace accommodation characterized by hotels. Brief visit with one night on site

Table 1.1. Typology of tourist places (source: simplified according to Philippe Duhamel [DUH 18])

On the other hand, the social diffusion of the practice, which has taken place in successive stages, in small numbers and then *en masse*, defined as access to the practice by the majority of the population [VIO 16b], has considerably increased its effects by changing scale. In particular, the circulation of wealth that accompanies people leads to the creation of a dedicated economic system. Thus, the transition of tourism from elites, aristocrats and the wealthy individuals to the largest number of people led from the 1830s to the 1850s to the invention of a literary genre, printed guides, the creation of organizations, TOs [TIS 00], the construction of suitable places, stations boosting construction and public works [MIT 05], the use of trains for tourism, a means of mass transport designed for industrial activity. More recently, from the late 1950s onward, jet aircraft helped put distances into a perspective [GAY 17a, GAY 17c]. In particular, for tropical islands that suffered until that period from extreme isolation, insularity became an “asset because it tended to certify the myth of paradise and the authenticity of local societies” [GAY 09]. At the same time, it guaranteed for those who could afford to pay the cost of access to a sought-after place, one that is proclaimed in the images of deserted islands and unspoilt beaches of all humanity, distributed by TOs’ catalogs. A system began to be set up, with airports, airlines and accommodation companies, as well as State interventions [GAY 17c].

If we cross these socioeconomic realities with the paradigm of distance, we obtain a spatial dimension: tourism benefits first of all the countries that have initiated development dynamics, and then by spreading it to neighboring countries. This is why, while tourism was invented in England, the territories that make up present-day France have been the first to benefit from it beyond its borders. Indeed, unlike some discourses, distance has not disappeared as a function of the organization of space. If it has been relativized, on the one hand, there is no erasure. Travel consumes time and always induces, for individuals, an expenditure of energy that must be compensated by rest. On the other hand, this generates costs that constitute obstacles to circulation.

The map of the tourist world is therefore influenced by the map of the wealth of nations. Thus, tourists come in masses from rich countries that have reached the stage of mass tourism, i.e. Western countries and a few others, such as Japan, South Korea, Taiwan, etc. Since the mid-1980s, economic developments have seen the spread of industrialization, partly through a process of relocation to a few emerging countries. This economic transformation is accompanied by a second spread of tourism throughout the world, characterized by access to tourism and the affirmation of new starting points [SAC 15]. These societies have therefore experienced the emergence of a middle class, about 30% of the population, who began to spend some of their earnings on travel, so that mass tourism seems a realistic horizon for these societies around 2030 to 2050. This is all the more so as China is embarking on an economic model in which domestic consumption, including tourism, takes

over from exporting industries as the main driving force of growth. In some countries, the practice was not totally unknown, but it concerned only a narrow class of privileged people, including members of the nomenklatura in communist countries (with regard to Vietnam [PEY 15]). Some of these new States accessing tourism are highly populated. China in particular has become the leading country of departure for travelers according to the UNWTO, surpassing the United States in 2013 with 140,000 travelers crossing borders (although 70% of them only travel to Hong Kong). Finally, the collapse of the Soviet system, which initially led to an economic slowdown, did not completely relegate Russia and its satellites to underdevelopment. Most of these countries have embarked on a transition at different rates, some of which have emerged quite quickly. Thus, in Russia, an elite quickly emerged that took the path of ancient tourism, pre-revolutionary. In addition, the collapse of the Soviet system and the conversion of China's economy have extended the capitalist form of tourism to a hegemonic form, while the communist mode based on State monopolies, business-organized mobility and travel control has virtually disappeared.

We therefore understand why disparities in the world divide large sites and their surrounding areas, where arrivals are concentrated, from smaller gaps.

1.4.2. *The heterogeneity of the world*

The heterogeneity of the world is also a fact of distance because, as Christian Grataloup [GRA 10] has shown, it is the product of the dispersion throughout the world of human groups that have long evolved in a world characterized by reduced connections. This has resulted in (in addition to the diversity of languages) a wide variety of ways of thinking and acting. The experiential approach to living in the world through tourism thus highlights the degrees of otherness with which mobile individuals are confronted.

Thus, the diversity of languages, social norms, cultures, etc. constitutes as many horizons of otherness. For example, the use of cutlery (spoons, forks, knives) distinguishes the Western world from the use of chopsticks characteristic of the Far Eastern worlds. Each technique requires learning and the norm, once acquired, is experienced as "natural" by the populations concerned. In other words, these practices get fully incorporated. In addition, access to places of worship depends in each society on more or less strict rules. In the land of Islam, the entrance to mosques is reserved for the faithful. In the Maghreb, only Casablanca, built following the decision of King Hassan II and inaugurated in 1993, is open. In Christian churches, a universal religion, all individuals can enter, but restrictions are imposed on hours (prohibition during worship), on clothing which must comply with the codes (women must have their shoulders and heads covered, skirts and dresses must go beyond the knees, etc.). In Orthodox churches, women should not wear

make-up, etc. Thus, the heterogeneity of the World is both one of the foundations of tourist travel and one of the major obstacles faced by socialized individuals.

1.4.3. Tensions

An individual's plan to implement a tourist practice comes up against the tensions that are stirring the World [CRO 05].

1.4.3.1. *Tourism during the Cold War*

The possibility of tourism in a given country also implies, on the one hand, the acceptance of this mobility by the authorities both for the population of the State and for people residing across borders. Specific terms and conditions are defined in advance: need of a passport, tourist visa, time restrictions, etc. On the other hand, conditions of peace that guarantee the safety of individuals and the availability of infrastructure are also required. While tourist traffic is now widely accepted or even sought after by States, this has not always been the case. All the countries of the communist system regulated international mobility according to rigid modalities and through State institutions, including centralized tour operators. Inside, a specific tourism functioned, largely organized by State institutions. The companies operated in a network with rest facilities, so mobility was strongly regulated.

However, the overall picture was not homogeneous. On the one hand, ideological divides were gradually created, particularly following the disruption between the USSR and China, or following the desire for empowerment implemented by some States. The development of capitalist tourism was thus one of the means used by Yugoslavia, Romania and Bulgaria from 1955, to distance themselves from Moscow's authority and to obtain the international currencies necessary for greater flexibility. In these two countries, a policy for the development of the coastline, the Adriatic or the Black Sea, aimed to create wider reception conditions [BAR 70]. Cuba also had to rely on tourism to compensate for the relative relaxation of USSR support. While the embargo put in place by the United States government prevented the establishment of American transport groups and hoteliers, Spanish and Canadian firms did not hesitate to take up the vacant space. Other States, which did not clearly belong to the system but claimed to have a socialist ideology, also refused tourism, such as Algeria or Libya. The revenues from oil made it possible to maintain an anti-tourist ideological stance. However, experience has shown that they were affected by high instability, so the Algerian government decided to implement a tourism policy [BID 15]. However, mobility was not totally prohibited. Foreigners, including those from capitalist countries, could cross borders but only under restrictive conditions ranging from the need for the prior issuance of visas issued in limited numbers and the mandatory currency exchange before departure and for established daily sums, in order to be allowed to pass through non-State institutions considered friendly. Thus, a trip to

China was facilitated for members of the *Association des amities franco-chinoises*, ideologically close to the Maoist regime. Also, among the inhabitants, the privileged could move more easily and have access to trips abroad, as Emmanuelle Peyvel reports about Vietnam [PEY 15]. These limitations are now residual but they acted as obstacles to tourism during the transition to a market economy in the absence of a tourism system capable of sustaining flows. This transition was approached in a differentiated way according to the States, so disparities appeared between those who adapted quickly, who welcomed international investments, and those who lagged behind in the statistics on “international tourism” established under the aegis of the UNWTO. Other States retained their communist ideological bases but embarked on a policy of economic openness including a tourism dimension. China, following the reforms introduced in 1986, has developed their reception of foreign tourists. Since 2000, residents have also been able to travel abroad, though under conditions that remain restrictive for certain categories. A transitional period saw an increase in the number of open cities inside and outside the number of countries authorized under bilateral agreements [TAU 17].

Ideological oppositions to tourism have been largely swept aside except for a few residual cases such as North Korea, which remains one of the last completely communist strongholds, or Saudi Arabia, for reasons related to religious fundamentalism. There are signs of openness in both cases. So, in today’s world, the obstacles to tourism, in a geopolitical approach, result much more from tensions and conflicts that threaten the safety of tourists than from the goodwill of governments. However, these wars or threats are both a matter of world order (i.e. tension toward a peaceful settlement of disputes within and between States), and of the willingness of States to comply with them.

1.4.3.2. *Contemporary world order*

The search for a world order is a recent desire, especially in its universalist version after the failures of the imperial and authoritarian versions that prevailed in the 19th Century in particular. After the failure of the League of Nations, international stability since the settlement of the Second World War has been based on principles (coexistence and cooperation of sovereign States, mutual respect), institutions (the United Nations Charter, the name of which clearly emphasizes that States remain the main actors) and procedures (negotiations and peaceful settlements of disputes). Regulation of international society has been established under the aegis of the Security Council and the General Assembly. These commitments seem to guarantee tourists the security they need for their movements all over the world.

However, this successful mechanism works in a chaotic way. From 1945 to 1991, the Cold War period, the world was dominated by tensions between the two superpowers, which clashed through peripheral conflicts. Between 1991 and 2001, a unipolar world was created that left the United States’ hands free. September 11,

2001 brought to light a new element of instability, while a multipolar world characterized by challenging US leadership by more or less emerging powers had been emerging since the end of the 20th Century. Among these powers, Russia has since seen Vladimir Putin come to power and resume a power policy, which has manifested itself in particular in the desire to restore an area of influence, if necessary by force (Georgia was invaded in 2008, Crimea was annexed from Ukraine in 2014 and was integrated into Russia, following a show of force) and by taking part in conflict resolution, particularly in Syria. For their part, other powers driven by the process of economic emergence are emerging either as regional powers such as Morocco, Iran, or even more so as China [SUR 17]. Some authors even add that the assumption of power, in the wake of populist protests, of unpredictable characters such as President Trump, is an additional element of instability [CHA 17].

However, contemporary disorder, after the collapse of the Soviet bloc, is mainly characterized by the emergence of Islamist terrorism, the manifestations of a warlike ideology that claims to be inspired by the Koran and Islam [GUI 17]. Although the most numerous and deadliest attacks are perpetrated within the Muslim world itself, which are already disrupting practices in these regions, tourism is under attack because it induces media coverage sought by the various terrorist groups. Islamist terrorism, which became a central issue in international relations following the attacks of 11 September 2001 in New York, gradually developed from the 1960s to the 1970s. But it is occupied on other fronts, fighting against communism, especially in Afghanistan, and against inside enemies, including the nationalist Saddam Hussein. The Gulf War (1990–1991), marked by the massive intrusion of the United States and its allies, changed the perspective. From then on, Western democracies were designated as enemies by Islamists and in particular by the two most active international groups, Al Qaeda, founded by Osama bin Laden to fight communism in Afghanistan, and Daesh, led by Al-Baghdadi. The death of the first leader in 2011 paved the way for the arrival of Daesh, while internal rivalries within the Muslim world, particularly between the Shiites led by Iran and the Sunnis behind Saudi Arabia, throw oil onto the fire [GUI 17].

1.4.3.3. *A mosaic of States*

The desire to build a world order is hampered by the power of States that are not prepared to relinquish some of their responsibilities.

The fragmentation of colonial empires and nationalist pressures has contributed to a sharp increase in the number of States from 51 signatories of the United Nations Charter in 1945 to 196 today. In itself, the increase is generating instability since the number of actors has tripled. By definition, State governments control border crossings and authorize them or not depending on individuals' intentions. Those related to tourism from the institutional point of view defined by the UNWTO are viewed very favorably as they generate economic benefits and a facility that is

considered temporary. They are subject to rather less restrictive conditions than other forms of mobility. It is sufficient to compare the reception given to migrants from regions affected by conflicts or serious economic disorders with that given to tourists in Europe to highlight these inequalities in treatment. The possibility of travel then depends on the security conditions that these actors are able to provide to tourists and on the risks perceived by individuals, an aspect we will then discuss, to venture into it.

Political science defines several types of States that are considered unstable (Box 1.2). Most are countries that have recently gained independence and were designed by colonial metropolises without reference to the underlying social realities.

The States:

- “failed... have never really been able to impose themselves”;
- “collapsed... that managed to exist for a time, before sinking”;
- “destroyed” by external interventions that did not allow the reconstruction of an organization capable of asserting itself (Libya, Iraq);
- “without a compass... one once seemed able... to judge the failures of others in turn [and we] seem to be caught in a strange dance of populism, a return to nationalism and protectionism sometimes tinged with xenophobia.”

Box 1.2. Identification of weak states according to Frédéric Charillon (source: [CHA 17])

In these weak States, competing actors take power more or less violently, without resorting to processes of expression by the majority of the population. These situations are common in Africa, the Middle East, South Asia and Latin America. The main reason is based on the colonization by the European powers, which interrupted the processes of historical evolution. The substitution of a colonial administration to local nascent executives has led to the elimination of indigenous structures and, as a result, has interrupted the process of building a strong State. Second, the young States emerging from decolonization, caught between external interventions and internal strife, have not constructed local orders that build consensus among the different communities. The cultural, economic and social factors of tensions are cumulative, as oppression is multifaceted.

Tensions and conflicts therefore act as deterrents and their analyses makes it possible to understand some of the gaps identified on the tourist map of the World. They also introduce a forward-looking approach that is useful for the strategy of networked companies seeking to establish themselves in this or that part of the World. Geopolitical science provides a typology of States and a periodization that

we can cross-analyze with tourist situations. Thus, the pace of a State's stability plays a crucial role in its tourist numbers, more than the nature of the regime or more than the actual state of freedoms. Indeed, tourism is not, in the first instance, affected by the liberticidal nature of an existing regime for its inhabitants but by the security conditions it offers to travel. Beyond that, tourists (i.e. individuals) may be more or less sensitive to the values displayed. The accusation was made of a certain form of complicity with the dictatorships. However, it is true that authoritarian or forcibly instituted governments do not prevent the spread of tourists. Or even a certain security that comes from a police State is reassuring. However, a boycott of Burma was launched by TOs when tourism projects involved forced labor. However, democracy is not a very widespread regime and, moreover, is it not considered a form of ethnocentrism to consider parliamentary democracy as the best of all regimes and to evaluate in a more or less negative way all situations that deviate from it? Finally, the tourist is by definition an outsider, in the sense of an "offside individual", and tourism is a moment of withdrawal, of relative relaxation, necessary for the reconstruction of individuals. One might lament this, and one might also fear that the quality of this digression will be affected when a permanently and flawlessly awakened consciousness is required.

1.4.4. Health and biophysical risks

The largest numbers of tourists come from developed countries that have achieved high levels of comfort and health security. Individuals who escape from this policed world are confronted with highly pathogenic conditions. While some pandemics are widespread throughout the world, the geography of health risks highlights the existence of significant disparities. On the one hand, the emitting sites and the most affected regions are concentrated in the intertropical zone because they are encouraged by the combination of the presence of stagnant water and high heat. The presence of animal species that cause genetic mutations is also an aggravating factor. On the other hand, poverty and weak human control are also related. Thus, health facilities are an indicator of economic and social underdevelopment. The intertropical regions of the African continent are thus the most affected. Here we have seen AIDS as well as Ebola and it is here that the largest area affected by the most intensive and resistant forms of different endemics such as malaria is located. In Western countries, areas have been largely eradicated. Similarly, medical supervision makes it possible to contain the epidemics that still occur there, far from the plagues that marked the history of societies until the 19th Century. In intertropical Asia, high human density, which has proved to be an influence and an outcome of rice cultivation, won over most violent forms of such illnesses because agricultural orientation induces a life-saving circulation of water.

Of course, individuals can take precautions, from vaccination to more or less sophisticated medications that control the unpleasant or worst effects of the health

problem, but the latter do not encourage travel because they constitute costs or generate reluctance.

Biophysical risks also interfere with tourism. Thus, land-based demonstrations are at the same time the source of tourist flows, from Réunion Island, the Piton de la Fournaise volcano, to Indonesia and America, La Soufrière stratovolcano in Guadeloupe, via Europe, Etna – all these volcanoes arouse interest. However, they disrupt mobility when they reach paroxysmal stages. The geography of seismic risks is influenced by the tensions produced by plate tectonics. Earthquakes and volcanic eruptions are related to subduction zones (movements characterized by the diving of a less dense oceanic plate under a continental plate that generates magma ascent and earthquakes), or obduction (clashes between continental plates that create tensions that cause earthquakes). These phenomena are all the more disruptive as they occur in the mountain ranges that are the scene of tourist practices such as trekking or discovering the environment and landscapes – such as volcanoes in Indonesia, for example. A tsunami is also an effect of seismic activity. Let us not forget the one that devastated the coasts of Southeast Asia in December 2004, caused by a change in the seabed. This spatial organization is therefore not linked to the wealth of countries. However, the effects of earthquakes are felt all the more strongly when the means of prevention, including earthquake-resistant construction, and the ability to manage a crisis are closely linked to the level of development. Disruptions can also be indirect: for example, the threat of an eruption of the Agung volcano in Bali since 2017 generates population evacuations and induces episodic disruptions in the airport's operations. Similarly, in 2010, the cloud emitted by the Eyjafjallajökull volcano in Iceland hampered air traffic in northern Europe, as the westerly flow at these latitudes caused the smoke to be pushed westward. But here too, human factors may have aggravated the consequences for tourists: in particular, the Russian authorities have not relaxed the rules on the operation of visas. Their validity, extended by three days beyond the period initially set, has not been relaxed to allow trapped individuals to extend the duration of their stay without having to report to the authorities and pay costs for extending the duration of their stay.

Climate risks complete the collection. Nor are they *a priori* linked to economic conditions. Some phenomena are seasonal and the information disseminated by the tourist media makes it possible to avoid them by avoiding certain periods that are too threatening, such as the months of August to October for the hurricanes that hit the eastern sides of the continents in the northern hemisphere. However, the effects can also disrupt economic activity. For example, tourism has not recovered in the islands of Saint-Barthélemy and Saint Martin, which were severely damaged by Cyclone Irma in 2017. Here again, “it is necessary to avoid proposing simplistic correlations between the maximum intensity of observed hurricanes, vulnerability and their catastrophic impact... it is necessary to better understand the degree of preparedness and unpreparedness of populations to cope with the risk” [NIC 18, p. 15]

through two variables: on the one hand, the effectiveness of a climate crisis management policy – the authors cite Cuba as an example – and, on the other hand, the inherent fragility of populations, particularly the high degree of social cohesion that helps to mitigate the effects.

1.4.5. Risks of everyday life: accident situations

In highly industrialized countries, daily life is strongly regulated by the interventions of legitimate actors who organize relations between individuals and protect them from the excesses of power that can result from asymmetric situations. For example, in the field of mobility, overbooking, a technique used by air carriers to optimize the filling of aircraft seats, has been subject to increasingly strict regulations. When tourists travel in countries with identical levels of economic and legal development, they find identical levels of regulation and protection with variations drawn from cultural particularities. But when they venture outside these familiar worlds, they face societies governed by fewer rules or powerful counter-powers that produce negative effects, sometimes with varying degrees of severity. For example, the average road death rate is more than twice as high in middle-income countries as in high-income countries (20.1 compared to 8.7).

In low-income countries, lighter traffic reduces this rate to 18.3 according to the report published by the World Health Organization [WHO 15]. The same source highlights the disparities by major regions of the World (Figure 1.1), as well as the risks associated with the different situations that cause deaths of pedestrians, motorcyclists or cyclists, who are relatively more at risk than the passenger in a vehicle, although cycling is a pleasant tourist experience.

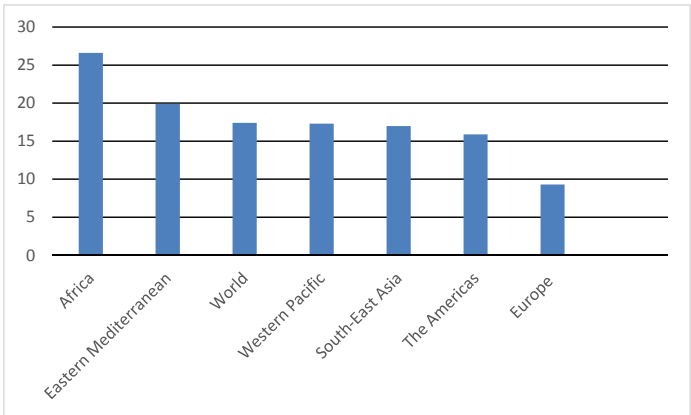


Figure 1.1. *Mortality rate per 100,000 population in the different regions of the World (source: [WHO 15])*

Similarly, the following article (Box 1.3) published in the newspaper *Le Monde* clearly reveals the risks incurred by tourists in situations where the negligence of the authorities and the greed of professionals are intertwined.

Shipwrecks in Halong Bay cause concern for French authorities

“Out of 135 boats inspected, some thirty have adequate safety standards.

Is Halong Bay, one of the jewels of Vietnamese tourism, which aligns its sugar loaves of unreal splendor in the South China Sea, becoming a risk area for travelers? In less than two years, three boats in poor condition, whose owners offer cheap ‘cruises’, sank off this bay, which is on UNESCO’s World Heritage List.

In Hanoi, the foreign community and diplomats are concerned about the frequency of these shipwrecks, during which a total of seventeen foreign travelers died. ‘We are deeply concerned’, says the French Embassy in Vietnam.

On September 24, 2009, a first boat equipped with berths sank with thirty-one people on board. Five tourists drowned, including one French national, two British and two Vietnamese. According to the provincial authorities: ‘a tornado’ would have been the cause of the sinking. But according to some survivors, it was ‘a simple shower’. This gives you an idea of the state of the junk...

On February 17, 2011, shortly before 5 a.m., another boat belonging to the same owner – he had taken the precaution of changing the name of his company since the previous tragedy – sank again in Halong Bay. The accident killed twelve of the sleeping tourists, including a young Frenchwoman, Laëtitia, a 27-year-old speech therapist, daughter of the journalist Michel Noblecourt, a British man, two Russians, two Americans, one Japanese, two Swedes, one Swiss, one Australian and one Vietnamese. The investigation conducted by the Vietnamese authorities concluded that there was a series of errors valves not closed, no night patrols... Legal proceedings, including a complaint against X for ‘manslaughter’, are ongoing. The captain and a mechanic were arrested.

Local authorities have ordered the inspection of 135 ‘cruise ships’ sailing in the bay. Audits showed that only about 30 boats had sufficient safety standards to spend the night at sea. The Halong ‘People’s Committee’ has set June as the deadline for owners to bring their boats into compliance with the appropriate safety rules.

But on May 8, a new shipwreck occurred, however without causing any casualties: the twenty-eight retired Frenchmen were evacuated before the ship sank because, fortunately, the accident took place during the day.

Vietnamese Foreign Ministry spokeswoman Nguyen Phuong Nga said that ‘very strong measures have been taken to investigate and reconstruct’ what happened in order to ‘avoid a recurrence of the same kind of events in future.’

As for the latest incident, the versions differ between the Vietnamese and tourists: according to Dang Huy Hau, the vice-president of Quang Ninh province, of which Halong is the main town, the boat sank after a collision with another skiff. But a French tourist on the boat, Josette Farret, quoted by *Agence France-Presse*, says that there was ‘absolutely no collision’.

‘Throwing away doubt’

One of the explanations for the repetition of these tragedies, a French observer in Hanoi analyzes, is the gap between the explosion of tourism in Vietnam and the lack of appropriate regulations and insufficient training of staff.

The latest incident reiterates the concerns of the French Embassy: ‘This new shipwreck is likely to cast doubt on the quality of the controls undertaken in recent months by the Vietnamese authorities.’

An additional difficulty: the enforcement of safety regulations is the responsibility of provincial and not national authorities. ‘If these authorities do not take measures to reorganize the tourism sector and if breaches are not punished, they risk killing the goose that lays the golden egg.’ This was reported to the French Embassy in Hanoi.

For its part, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs has strengthened the warning on its website, under the heading ‘Advice to Travelers’, for tourists wishing to sail in Halong Bay.

Box 1.3. Deaths in Halong Bay, a risk
(source: Bruno Philip, *Le Monde*, June 7, 2017)

Threats to individuals that are likely to affect tourism flows are not necessarily perceived by tourists. Thus, tensions related to drug trafficking and rivalries between the gangs that control it are publicized and therefore known. However, the violent deaths that mark the news in the United States, although also reported in the media, do not affect tourism activity¹¹. For Europeans, this destination remains by far the first to be located outside the continent, even though in 2001, the year of the most deadly attacks, more violent deaths were committed by the country’s citizens in this macabre account than those who died by acts of terrorism.

1.5. Tourist traffic

Despite these obstacles, tourists travel around the World. The tourist ecumene is larger than the sedentary ecumene. How can we explain this?

¹¹ A graph published in *L’Obs* from December 10, 2015 thus highlights that, even in the year of the terrible attack of September 11, the number of deaths due to “mass killings” was five times higher in this country than those due to terrorism.

1.5.1. By means of globalization

The different stages of globalization, a discontinuous process defined as the densification of links between places in the World, have gradually boosted the dissemination of tourists throughout the World, just as tourism is a social practice that contributes to the construction of the World: tourism is globalizing as much as it is globalized.

1) Linking the different societies of the planet (–10,000 to 1,400), generalized connection especially through “Eurafricasia” made possible by techniques that enable coastal navigation, is based on the search for information and transactions concerning conquests.

2) Forced incorporation into worldwide empires (1492–1885):

- Europe, a specific and unilateral player;
- predatory integration logic;
- projection of European society.

3) Establishment of a world trade area (1849–1914):

- beginning of colonies whose influence was becoming significant in the economy of metropolises;
- the difference with current globalization being based on natural and essentially commercial valuations.

4) State victorious resistance (1914–1989):

- paroxysm of the States;
- the fall of the Soviet Empire marked its failure.

5) Acceleration of irreversible globalization (1945–...): resumption of the globalization of trade.

6) The world society as a challenge: the emergence of politics, world public opinion.

Box 1.4. Six moments of the invention of the world
according to Jacques Lévy (source: [LEV 08])

First, the progressive densification of relations between different societies has contributed to facilitating exchanges both for social reasons, or out of curiosity or in search of cultural enrichment, as well as for expected economic effects, even though globalization is a discontinuous process, as Jacques Lévy [LEV 08] has

pointed out. A favorable context for mobility has been created, which tourists benefit from. Thus, the spread of English, Spanish and French as the lingua franca of international trade, initially linked to colonization, has accompanied the development of free trade. It is thus easy for a French-speaking tourist to travel in Morocco and Tunisia, even though Arabic is the official language and the language of education. These links have also created forms of dependence, the hegemony of a society among tourists from certain destinations. Similarly, in Vietnam and neighboring countries from former Indochina, English has taken over. This does not prevent the French from occupying a dominant position among non-Asian visitors to these destinations, given their relative influence among non-residents.

Second, a standardization process is under way that reduces the constraints linked in particular to the movement of individuals. Thus, airports everywhere are structured in the same way according to a linear plan that shows the stages leading to boarding: check-in, drop-off of hold baggage, customs and security, shopping, waiting in the boarding lounge. Some see it as a standardization, a category of non-places, whereas it is the invention of objects whose form is dictated by function. Beyond that, heterogeneity can arise. In China, for example, stations built to accommodate high-speed trains are similar to airports. Indeed, queues are formed in front of the doors distributed on either side of a large waiting hall that give access to the various platforms. This is an effect of the differences in access to economic development. In the middle of the 19th Century in Europe, stations were inspired by jetties; in China in the 20th Century, the model was adopted at airports because the size of the country had led to the development of airplanes before fast trains. As a result, the European passenger is surprised by the configuration of the premises. However, the impossibility of booking a ticket via the Internet and the need to master Mandarin to buy it are much more difficult obstacles to overcome.

1.5.2. By means of mediation

In this increasingly travel-friendly environment, space technologies are proposed and seized by tourists to implement their projects.

DEFINITION.— Space *technologies* are “mediation elements... that aim to solve space problems... distance... access.... otherness” [STO 08].

First, artifacts facilitate circulation. They were not set up mainly or originally for tourists, but they were seized by tourists. Means of transport, accommodation, all kinds of restaurants, from traditional establishments to food trucks, are as many devices that individuals can mobilize, both to rest and to escape the heat, thanks to air conditioning, and to mark a beneficial break in a context of otherness. For example, hotels adapted to international standards offer meals in Western or Japanese style, which allow individuals who have difficulty with certain cuisines to

eat. Sichuan Style food, in particular, is known for its excessive or even abusive use of spicy condiments in comparison to western tastebuds! Conversely, it is fashionable to take offense that Chinese tourists in France use Chinese restaurants “too much”. This being said, the so-called Chinese restaurants, are adapted to the Western clientele. In particular the order of European dishes (starter, main course, dessert) is respected, some dishes do not appear on the menu, and the gastronomic range is very limited, while China claims eight regional cuisines.

Second, organizations are totally dedicated to tourists, from tour operators located in the countries of departure to incoming agencies based in the destinations. For business travel, companies use specialized agencies, operators specialized in the sale of air tickets (“air-only” in the technical language) or directly with service providers. In addition to mobilizing the previously mentioned objects, these organizations have developed techniques to facilitate the movement of tourists. The organized trip, known as a “package holiday” because it offers a global price agreed in advance, is the archetype that is now available in more varied forms that promote the autonomy of tourists. The formula invented by Thomas Cook [TIS 00] finds its meaning in the control of information by the TO and by the latter’s ability to negotiate prices for the various services, making the formula more economically accessible. In this way, the capitalist system has tried to control the practices. But, spearheading the social diffusion of tourism in the World, because the self-organized formula has always been and remains predominant when familiarity is strong, the standardized journey has transformed when otherness is controllable toward more participatory modalities. We have thus shown that the use of a TO is a function of otherness [MON 09]. We propose to extend this function of the TO to social relations. Indeed, close individuals can exercise this role by accompanying tourists. Thus, the spread in France of Chinese tourists outside the capital is partly due to the presence of students who take care of their parents who visit them.

Finally, actors based in destinations can choose to facilitate or not facilitate the movement of tourists by implementing sockets, or affordances, which allow them, according to their choice, to acquire autonomy [VIO 16a]. Thus, during research conducted in 2010, we pointed out in Moscow the systematic imposition of Russian as a language in sign form. On the occasion of the 2018 Football World Cup, Russian–English bilingualism was introduced. This mobilization of a foreign language, which is also the most widely spoken in the World, is an achievement, in the sense that the actors provide tourists with the means for them to acquire greater autonomy.

1.5.3. By means of the mobilization of skills

In the book *Tourismes 1: Lieux communs* [MIT 02] (meaning roughly “Tourisms 1: Common ground”), we have contributed to the idea that tourism can be learned,

without particularly developing a demonstration. This proposal was taken up by Gilles Brougères, a specialist in educational sciences, who is particularly interested in informal learning [BRO 14b]. For the authors, tourists acquire skills in three ways. On the one hand, learning requires a great diversity of “guides” by “parents, adults... and other more diffuse guiding devices: the tourist office, hotel, vacation rental owner or guest room owner, other holidaymakers (regulars)” [BRO 14b, p. 95]. Indeed, “the tourism situation implies... asking the opinion of others on what to do (since this is open, not constrained) and tourists tend to talk about what they have experienced or discovered and put themselves in a more or less implicit guiding situation” [BRO 14b, p. 25]. On the other hand, individuals learn about tourism, but also beyond tourism, about the World, by participating in a specific mode, being not very involved, and in which observation plays a major role. Finally, situations of “curious exploration related to the availability (of individuals), especially in the context of entertainment or in response to boredom, related to a state of excitement” [BRO 14b, p. 96] allow discovery by confrontation with reality. And beyond that, in a tourist situation, we learn through the body [BRO 14b], because to be a tourist is to be elsewhere with our body.

Thus, being a tourist is learned and requires mastering skills, of which those who are excluded from the practice are precisely deprived, so access is not only an economic issue, even if the majority of non-travelers, between 15 and 60 years old, express a financial difficulty, it is also a challenge of knowing how to leave. This begins by mastering the means of transport and continues with knowing how to be, how to stand, in the systems designed for practice, especially in accommodation and more generally around attractions. The abilities of individuals thus has a specific tourist dimension compared to spatial abilities, because it acts in a heterotopic situation. Admittedly, within the practices, rather than a radical duality, it is necessary to mobilize the idea of a continuum between situations of otherness linked to a combination between an objective situation, appreciable across horizons (language, social codes, relationship with the body, food tastes and dislikes, etc.), and individuals’ practices, the radical confrontation related to new situations, the first times, and others marked by greater familiarity, when the use of the place is repeated. Indeed, repetition makes it possible to build know-how with the attraction that modifies the conditions of experience and participation.

1.6. A question of method

In the Introduction, we justified our choice to publish this book by criticizing the absence of an explicit methodology for writing a hegemonic book on the subject of tourism in the World. After having pointed out the limits of the statistics produced within the framework of the UNWTO, we must, before approaching the worlds, propose our approach. We recall that the refusal to rely on data produced within the

institutional framework is due to the use of an overly broad definition. Based on States' tolerance of temporary mobility intended on bringing immediate and visible economic benefits, while migration, which is not within accepted frameworks and whose effects are contested¹², confuses all intentions. Our choice is to focus our analysis on the displacements included in a stress relief program. A relative freedom of choice that is part of leisure activities and provides individuals with the benefit of relaxation seems to us to be the essential marker. Similarly, geographers can only be sensitive to the shift in emphasis that distinguishes leisure from tourism. The former is set in the context of everyday space, the extent of which varies according to the socialized individuals, and which is part of the sedentary dwelling, while the latter assumes to escape the topos of the polytopic dwelling, and is part of the mobile dwelling. The fundamental question is that of the change of location, which can be broken down into as many choices of a destination to implement a tourism project there.

1.6.1. Method based on the analysis of tour operators' catalogs

Thus, to establish a map of the World's top tourist places, we propose a method based on the analysis of tour operators' catalogs [VIO 11]. This method consists, on the one hand, of an analysis of the frequency with which place names appear in the catalogs of different TOs and, on the other hand, in explaining the practices implemented in these places.

First of all, these actors have the advantage of limiting the practices of tourists in the sense of individuals traveling for a recreation project and effectively excluding both those who travel for professional reasons and those who visit their relatives and friends. Of course, all these individuals can (and at times they master) engage in tourist practices, but they are contingent on a trip for which the main reason is different.

It then makes it possible to address the issue at the level of elementary places, or even infra-places, and not to limit it to the level of States or administrative subdivisions. Because in most cases, tourists, except when crossing borders, are counted in accommodation, so sites or places where tourists do not stay are not included. An exemplary case is the Great Wall of China, which is frequented during excursions from Beijing and which, as a result, does not appear in the statistics.

Finally, we had to select societies from around the World because the task of studying them all is impossible. We selected tourism companies formerly from the British Isles, Germany and then the United States. Then, it seemed appropriate to us

12 While many studies show that migration ultimately provides an advantage for host countries.

to add Spain as a later entry into the era of mass tourism¹³. We then mobilized catalogs of TOs from Russia, because this society experienced a non-capitalist tourism system during the time of the Soviet Union based on centralized planning and TOs with a State monopoly. It is customary to integrate Russia, as the acronym BRICS betrays it, into emerging countries, but this position is questionable from a historical point of view, because the country has known a much earlier industrial development and a form of tourism which, although original, has nevertheless existed. Finally, we have selected Chinese society as the case study of a truly emerging country.

1.6.2. *A method not free of bias*

No method is perfect, but the biases it induces must be assessed in order to control them. First of all, not all tourists use a tour operator. This intermediation is even in the minority when non-resident tourists travel to nearby countries, which is the most frequent case. But we can make four arguments. One is logical: if tourism really was a matter of a multitude of unstructured decisions, how can we explain that individual choices lead to clearly marked spatial concentrations?

Another is experimentation: the results of the tests we carried out, which are based on a comparison between the tours offered by the TO and the results of interviews with so-called self-organized tourists in southern China, Ireland and Argentina, highlight that tourists who organize their own mobility do not behave in a very different way from TO clients, in terms of the choice of tourist places and objects, as well as the practices implemented. It is the material conditions of comfort and discourse that vary. In addition, TOs are relatively capable of interpreting tourist requests, within the framework of a limited rationality that does not exclude errors. Finally, tour operators are in competition and the catalogs are visible and therefore reproducible.

Second, the use of a tour operator is a function of otherness. The method is therefore more relevant for mobility towards destinations that require a cross-analysis of what Olivier Lazzarotti [LAZ 06] calls “horizons of otherness”. In addition, tourism practices may vary according to the diversity of societies. The approach takes into account the heterogeneity of the world by using catalogs issued by TOs for different markets.

Catalogs are proposals and it is no more certain that TO proposals will meet a market than we have information on the status of sales. This strategic data is not communicated. The hierarchy between places comes from the frequency analysis of citations in one or, better still, several catalogs.

13 This is understood here as the access of the greatest number of people to tourism.

However, these real biases do not call into question the method. We were thus able to distinguish tourist places according to the concept we developed, by refuting government statistics that cite Wuhan or Shenzhen as tourist places, for example, while mobility to these cities is essentially linked to business (Wuhan only appears in catalogs as the outlet, without nights, cruises on the Yangtze) [VIO 11]. Then we compared the maps of the practice of tourism discovery by Westerners and the Chinese in China [VIO 11, AU 15].

1.6.3. A method with many limitations

We will retain two limitations.

It is of course impossible to process all TOs for all destinations in the World. To make the choice, we mobilized several sources. For a French company, we used data from the classification by destination made by the magazine *L'Écho touristique*, which disseminates the information provided by Seto (*Syndicat des entreprises du tour-operating*) – Union of tour-operating companies. The latter union brings together members on a voluntary basis. The data is therefore not exhaustive. Unfortunately, we did not find the equivalent for the other companies. For the United States, we referred to Claude Peloquin's article [PEL 08]. For Russia and China, we systematically searched for the main TOs. We have chosen, writing for a French audience, to focus on the TOs working in this society. For each region of the World, more or less 20 TOs were convened. For the other companies, our ambitions had to be limited because of the magnitude of the task. We were keen to deal with companies at different stages of their development in tourism: former tourism companies, others recently concerned, particularly China. With regard to Russia, the issue is complex. On the one hand, tourism, particularly to Western Europe, operated before the 1917 revolution. On the other hand, an original system, based on the rules of centralized planning, worked in the Soviet Union and was then imposed on the aligned countries after the Second World War. For these reasons, Russia, which emerged after 1992, can be described as a new tourist society, in the sense that, beyond the economic level and history that have nothing to do with the societies of emerging countries, access to capitalist tourism is a novelty for individuals.

Another significant limitation is that we have not been able to systematically address the different social scales. We have favored the comparison between societies and have had to neglect the other dimensions of social groups, families and individuals. One of the conclusions we come to is that there are many different degrees of globality and that at the top of the hierarchy of places there are universal topos where all the societies of the world coexist, at least by extension from the cases treated. But if we suspect that differences in practices between individuals

may, within large groups such as Western societies, be more important than between societies, we have not been able to work on this issue on a global scale. In addition, while the distribution of TO offers on the Internet has made our task easier, by making the catalog of players around the world easily accessible, the flexibility of the tool's use leads to seasonal variability that is difficult to control.

1.7. Conclusion

This first part allowed us to establish the framework within which tourist practices are deployed. The latter inhabit the World in a disparate way. According to their representations but also their abilities and skills, they select places in which they project themselves. But there are many constraints, and they then use space technologies and mobilize their skills to implement their projects. In order to analyze how this dialectic constructs the tourist experience, we propose a method that certainly has its limits but which constitutes a relevant approach, both because it does not bother with other forms of mobility and because it allows a detailed analysis at the scale of places. To present our results, we have chosen a breakdown by major regions of the world that differs from both traditional continental constructions and the breakdown used by the UNWTO.

For each region of the world, we will start with an analysis of tourism, or tourist intensity, and its internal disparities. Then, we will approach at the scale of the places, the spatial devices and arrangements that constitute their particularity, to arrive at a typology of tourist places [MIT 02, DUH 18]. Finally, we will address the question of the practices implemented in the places by the different societies of the World that we studied. This will lead us to establish the World connectiveness of these places according to four degrees:

- the universal places of the World, i.e. those where the different societies of the World meet and implement tourist practices and experiences. It is tempting to bring this category closer to the hyperplaces of Michel Lussault [LUS 17];
- the places of the largest number of worlds, frequented by a large number of societies but not by all;
- the places of a world characterized by a more exclusive frequentation;
- finally, places (and spaces) outside the World, which are not or are only slightly integrated into the tourist ecumene.

DEFINITION.– World connectiveness means “the position of a place in the World is similar... [for the actors in the place] to a way of placing oneself in the World. It refers both to the action of positioning oneself through the choices made, to the relative place occupied” [RET 94, COE 07].