

Reconstructing the globalisation of tourism: A geo-historical perspective

Andreea Antonescu*, Mathis Stock¹

Institut Universitaire Kurt Bösch (IUKB), Switzerland

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ABSTRACT

This article deals with methodological problems that emerge when trying to construct the necessary information for the reconstruction of the spatial pattern of tourist places on a global scale. A methodology in order to construct a data set on the globalisation of tourism is put forward. It reflects upon the possibility to date the emergence and reproduction of destinations at different moments since 1800. As a solution, we propose to use tourist guidebooks published since 1800 as a source, from which different elements can be extracted.

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Introduction

From a geographical perspective, tourism is a phenomenon that expresses tensions and contradictions between established places such as central cities, and marginal places such as mountains, seaside resorts or the countryside. Since the beginning of the 19th century, tourism's spatial patterns have dramatically changed: from a system comprising a small number of places to a global system of tourist places. A geo-historical process of an expanding system of tourist places has been going on, where ever-new places enter the system while others exit the tourism system. It raises the question of globalisation as a double process of a “touristification” of the world through the application of the tourist gaze to virtually every object and place, and of the emergence of a global pattern of tourist places. The integration of places and the emergence of spatial arrangements of social realities at a global scale define the process of globalisation: a “the processes by which the world is being made into a single place with systemic properties” (Robertson & Lechner, 1985). Globalisation of tourism is therefore seen as one of the aspects of the general process of globalisation.

* Corresponding author. Tel.: +41 27 205 73 00/28.

E-mail addresses: Andreea.antonescu@iukb.ch (A. Antonescu), Mathis.stock@iukb.ch (M. Stock).

¹ Tel.: +41 27 205 73 00/18.

This globalisation as a spatial dimension goes hand in hand with different periods as a temporal dimension, in which tourism takes different forms. Together, they are descriptors of specific forms of tourism, forming a coherent spatial assemblage over a certain time. For instance, historians describe the emergence of modern tourism around 1830 (Spode, 2003), “industrial tourism” from 1870’s on (Tissot, 2000), mass tourism from 1950’s on (Spode, 2003). Yet, those periodisations are thoroughly embedded in national tourism narratives and differ from country to country: the end of *Belle Époque* tourism in 1914 in Europe and/or in the Alps (Bätzing, 2003), the “gilded age” in the USA until 1898 (Cocks, 2001), diffusion of holidays in France in 1936 (Boyer, 2001) etc. are valid descriptions on a national level, but prove difficult to work with on a global scale. With the quite recently established current of “global history” (Osterhammel & Petersson, 2005), there is an interesting link to be drawn between historical research on tourism and geographical research on spatial dimensions of tourism that goes beyond the national scale.

This endeavour encounters a data problem. No estimation exists of the number of tourist places existent in each period of tourism. To understand the process of tourism globalisation through densification, concentration and increased dispersion has proven a difficult task. Unlike research on the global process of urbanization, which is now relatively well documented by historians and geographers (Bairoch, 1985; Moriconi-Ebrard, 1993), research on the world’s touristification is not yet accompanied by quantifications about the number and types of tourist places. We have no idea about the number of tourist places that emerged in the different periods on a global scale. Only partial analyses allow for an understanding of the quantity of tourist places created, such as Walton’s (1983) analysis of the seaside resorts in Great Britain or Spode and Kersten’s (2000) contribution to the *National Atlas* of Germany.

Up to now, only one attempt has been undertaken to provide a geo-history of tourism on a global scale: Equipe MIT (2011) collected approximately 2,000 places in order to understand how, at different periods, tourism places emerge at different moments. Their attempt aims, among others, at overcoming a Eurocentric perspective by emphasizing the non-European world. Yet, it is impossible to draw on quantitative information from their work, owing to the focus only on the *production* (see Fig. 1) and not on the *failure* of destinations. It could therefore be the aim of research to establish a more precise representation of the spread of tourism over the world. Our contribution aims at doing one step into this direction by proposing a methodology that could enable us to produce robust quantitative data on the diffusion of tourism over the last two centuries.

This article deals with some methodological problems that emerge when trying to construct a relatively robust database that contains the necessary information for the reconstruction of the spatial pattern on a global level. How does one implement the reconstruction of tourism globalisation and

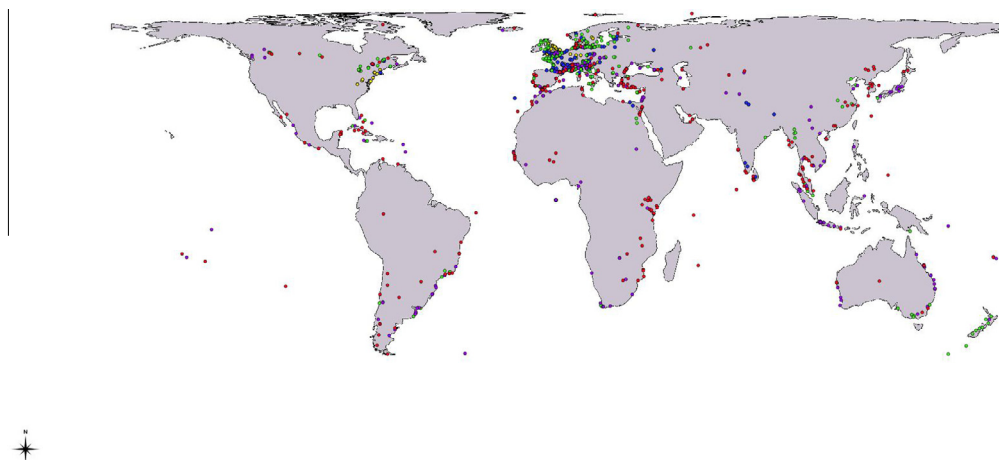


Fig. 1. Production of tourist places between 1800 and 2000.

how can the current globality of tourism be understood? Which data collection methods could be used? Which sources to choose? We propose a method of extracting information of travel *guidebooks* published since 1800, which are exploited from the perspective of the there mentioned tourist places. It is a geo-historical approach insofar as the chosen entry concerns tourist *places* for which a *date* is necessary in order to understand the globalisation of tourism. The article has therefore a limited aim: it is meant as an example of a method in order to map the process of tourism globalisation.

Towards a methodology for the reconstruction of tourism globalisation

In order to construct the relevant information for understand the processes of tourism globalisation from a geo-historical perspective, three methodological problems can be raised: identifying the moment of emergence of tourism within geographical places, the changing modalities of tourist places over time as well as the changing place quality over time.

The problem of dating the emergence of tourism

There is a need to identify and quantify the production of tourist places between 1800 and 2000. The emergence of specific places as tourist places seems particularly interesting in order to say something meaningful about the *production* of tourist places, which has been constantly renewed since 1750. It is therefore a question of dating and locating the emergence of tourism, i.e. to define the spatio-temporal coordinates of tourism. Dating the emergence of tourism in a given individual place is a technique historians employed for a long time (Spode, 2010). Yet, as archive work, this is possible for case studies, but not for a study on the global level trying to develop a coherent data set on tourist places. The narrative of case studies allows for the exposition of conflicting and overlapping dates, whereas the requirements of a database requires one and single date, and not several that could be evaluated by the historian regarding their veracity.

Several methodological questions arise. How to date the invention of place as tourist destination? Should we refer to the first tourist to be identified? Should we refer to the first tourist infrastructures (hotel, promenade, etc.)? Which temporal precision is considered as satisfying: decade, year, month, day? These issues raise problems of both definition and methodology, because different answers to these questions will provide different empirical data. For instance, a tourist place defined by infrastructure, presence of tourists, or tourism's dominance as economic activity lead to *three* different dates of emergence. The information about the "first tourist", "first tourist infrastructure" or economic activity is embedded in various mythical and statistical narratives, which define the moments of emergence in different ways. Furthermore, there is a need for a coherent, global source on tourist places for the last 200 years.

The necessity of being documented is crucial. In order to handle this difficulty, we redefine our aim, which is not to determine the exact date of the touristification of a place, but the moment where the quality of tourist destination is confirmed by a document. More precisely, we define the moment of touristification of a place as event published in a guidebook. This methodological translation has been adopted here. We obtain therefore a date that corresponds to a first mention in a guidebook. This date has as quality to be subsequent to the effective touristification in terms of tourists or infrastructures. We interpret this mention as recognition of a place as tourist destination by a social configuration constituted by tourists, editors and redactors.

The problem of establishing the changing touristicity of places

We need to produce data not only on the emergence of a place as destination, but also on the way they evolve. This would allow a more precise knowledge on the quantitative dimension of tourist places on a global scale, by taking into account not only the production of tourist places, but also the reproduction and failure of places as tourist destinations. To answer this question, we need to identify three different modalities of tourist places. First, the moment of failure of the tourist function and to quantify the number that ceased to be "touristic". Second, is also necessary to identify and

quantify the places that managed to maintain their tourism function during the considered time-frame. Third, because of the possibility of losing temporarily its quality as tourist destination, there is a need to identify and quantify places where tourism has been intermittent, i.e. places that recovered a temporarily lost tourist function. Since tourism changes over time, there is a distinction to be drawn between the *reproduction* of tourism in places already qualified as tourist places and tourism's temporary or permanent *failure* in tourist places.

We distinguish therefore three different situations from the point of view of the database interested in knowing at all time the status of a place regarding its touristicity (see Fig. 2): 1) the tourist function ends definitely the status of a place as tourist destination; 2) the tourist function is interrupted temporarily, and reactivated later; 3) the tourist function is maintained over time and the place keeps until now its status as tourist destination. This operation appears to be a crucial one if the aim is to identify the quantity of places within a global tourism field. If we only dated the emergence of places as tourist destinations, we would lose the necessary precision concerning the presence of tourist places over time.

This implies “following” all the tourist places from their emergence as destination to the present. In order to solve this problem, the guidebook is used as following: different editions are constituted in order to see if the toponyms are repeated throughout the different editions.

The problem of identifying tourist places by their quality

The question of the quality of tourist places seems also crucial: which quality tourist places form out over time and in which kind of places tourism takes place in different historical periods? Scholars identified sights, resorts, cities, as basic types of tourist places and it would be significant to understand to which extent resorts, sights and cities emerge. This requires identifying places where specific tourist practice(s) took place, such as seaside or winter resorts, but also to determine the types of tourist places, such as sites, resorts or cities. A further problem must be considered, which is a challenge for research. Those places change over time: seaside resorts become cities over the last 150 years (Williams & Shaw, 1994), alpine resorts become multi-functional urban places (Equipe MIT, 2011). Observing the patterns of change of the place quality on a global scale is a complicated endeavor.

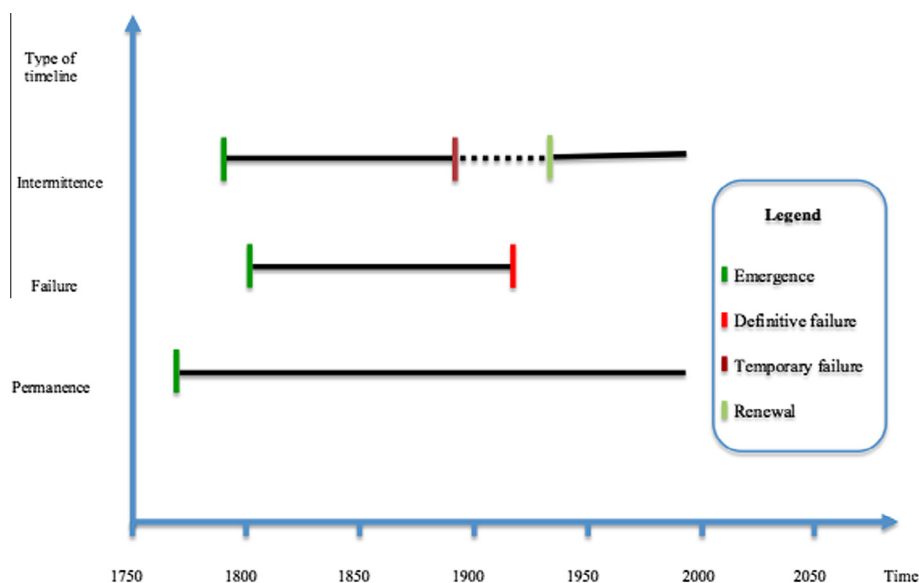


Fig. 2. Examples of timelines of tourist places.

The use of tourist guidebooks for this purpose raises methodological difficulties, because distinction between the different places mentioned in guidebooks is not an easy task due to its inherent structure. For example, some places are classified as resorts (seaside, spa, winter sports, etc.) from the first lines of description, while others may mention in passing the practice of a sport (the mountaineering, surfing, etc.). There are two ways to proceed with the identification of quality of places: one by reading the descriptive text accompanying each place mentioned by a guidebook and the other by using thematic travel guides. Our proposal is to use thematic guidebooks, because the extraction of information is more adequately framed (see section “Information extraction”).

Conclusion

We make the methodological choice to rely on guidebooks and therefore define the emergence, maintenance and failure of tourism as the moments when the guidebook constructs them as tourist destinations. This implies that guidebooks are the means by which a tourist place is defined, with all the strengths and limitations such a status entails. It has as consequence to consider all the places mentioned in a guidebook as tourist places. Especially, it involves the notion of tourist places as knowledge constructions; in this case, the guidebook contains a socially and culturally constructed tourist gaze, resulting in a specific geographical imaginary. As a result, the reconstruction of the globalisation of tourism is a specific selection of tourist places as they appear in guidebooks, thus *recognised* as such by specific actors with specific interests.

We exploit therefore the specific perspective of travel guidebooks on globalisation of tourism. The results obtained from this source will then reflect a specific and limited perspective; a reconstruction of a social construction of tourist places. This also implies that we are highlighting one of globalisations of tourism, which is that through travel guidebooks. The guidebook is used here as a tool for social confirmation of the emergence of a tourist place. Therefore, the image offered by the guidebooks on the global tourist places is partial and incomplete. This relational and relative dimension should be taken into consideration under penalty of interpretative errors.

Travel guidebooks as a source

Analyses of the literary genre “travel guide” as well as a series of methodological tests show that guidebooks can be a very rich source for historically oriented tourism research (Aelbrecht, 2012; Bergman, 2012; Chabaud, Cohen, Coquery, & Penez, 2000; Morlier, 2007). This source is capable of delivering usable information to determine the moment of tourism emergence, the permanent or temporary failure, the maintenance of tourism, and the nature of tourism practices in places.

The guidebook genre

The tourist guidebook—printed or digital—is an information means for tourism promotion used by the tourist. It is a text tool that serves as an introduction to the discovery of an unknown or insufficiently known space to the promotion of sites and to the imagination of tourists. “Guidebooks (...), whether they are descriptive information tools (...) or invitations to travel, to dream and to emotion, are both spatial representations, but also mirrors of understanding the world in a certain way” (Aelbrecht, 2012). Hence, it offers a reading of the tourist space among others, and its specificity is the preference given to certain places worthy of interest on other not mentioned. So it makes a selection and a distinction on a criterion, the “tourist gaze” of time mediated by the interests of the publisher. The words used to justify this selection are “scenic”, “paradise”, “unique”, “special” are elements that are defining the tourist.

The literature of travel guides is vast. Since their appearance (first guides, edited by Reichard, circa 1780) as a literary genre and to this day, the collections of guides have proliferated and diversified through the world. Over the years, the literature has produced several types of travel guides. There is no fixed classification, but often one can classify the guides according to the spatial scale at which they refer (see Bergman, 2012; Chabaud et al., 2000). In fact, there are *general guides* that describe

significant spatial entities (e.g. a continent, a country, or a combination of countries or territories) and *local guides* covering a smaller area (like a city and its suburbs or a resort). Besides these two types, we must mention the route guides that describe a trip depending on a road or a railway line and the *departmental or regional guides*, which are interested in a department, in the case of France, or region, such as Tuscany, Provence etc.

Another criterion in classifying guides could be the tourist practice. Specific guides for an audience interested in a certain practice such as skiing, hiking, surfing, golf, cultural discovery, history and architecture, sunbathing etc. are published. These are the *thematic guides*. They can describe only one tourist resort or several, but with no relation to a route or a railway. In the attempt to distinguish them from the route guides, they were also called “stay” guidebooks (Bergman, 2012), in order to express the limitation of the tourist practice to the resort’s space and its environs.

These descriptions of the places often contain useful information (about hotels, restaurants, transportation, schedules, distances), administrative information (like the number of inhabitants and the type of administrative unit: city, provincial capital, etc.) or geographical information (location, description of landscape, infrastructure, metrics, economics, etc.). Information on tourist practices is rare and randomly present. For example, some places are classified as resorts (seaside, spa, winter sports, etc.) from the first lines of description, while others may mention in passing the practice of a sport (the mountaineering, surfing, etc.). Not having access to such information on tourist practices of places repeatedly (so for all places found in guidebooks), compels us to restrict the number of places and identify the quality only of the ones that have sufficient information.

Guidebooks’ quality changes over time. There were the guidebooks on mineral waters from the late 18th and early 19th centuries that were usually written by doctors such as “*Manuel des eaux minerales de la France*” (Patissier, 1833), “*Guide pratique aux principales eaux minerales de France, de Belgique, d’Allemagne, de Suisse, de Savoie et d’Italie*” (James, 1851). Especially from the end of the 19th century, guidebooks were written on mountaineering and ski practice such as “*Ski-ing*” (Lunn, 1913). Other guidebooks were interested in medical tourism (seaside and altitude resorts, spas) and used in their titles keywords like “spa”, “watering places”, “mineral resorts”, “baths”, “sea-bathing places”, “health resorts” (see source section at the end of the article). For example, “*The principal baths of Switzerland and Savoy, with notice of some Swiss mountain resorts*” (Lee, 1865) or “*Watering places of England*” (Lee, 1854). Today, with the diversification of practice, there are guides dedicated to gourmet, accommodation, campsites (Guide du Routard, 2004, 2006, 2011), guides dedicated to sports such as “cycling”, “hiking”, “diving”, “walking and exploring” (Lonely Planet Guides, 2007, 2009, 2010), dedicated to parks or places listed as World Heritage etc.. This diversity of the travel guidebook genre is an indicator for the variety of forms of tourism.

Strength of this source

Guidebooks can be constructed as a source for scientific investigation on the following basis. First, one of the prime entries of the guides concerns places that tourists are supposed to practice. Therefore, the guidebooks focus on one of the crucial elements required for our study, the destinations. Second, the standardised book form has as consequence the dated editions and a similar organization of the content among different publishers. We may date the different editions of guidebooks from around the early 1800’s until today, allowing for a geo-historical approach of tourism. It is a source that offers information on tourist places and practices both in terms of temporality (the first guides, from 1780 up to now) and spatiality (progressively, the whole world is covered). Therefore guidebooks are a coherent and consistent source, allowing for the use of different collections for our purpose.

In addition, at regular intervals, the guides of the same publishing house are reprinted and thus allow comparisons between several editions, from where one can deduce the date of the emergence of new destinations, and even follow one destination over time. Not all series and collections of guidebooks focus on the same elements. They may reflect different perspectives of their publishers, they may address to different audiences, they may conduct different discourses on places and activities, but they all focus their attention on tourist places. By combining a variety of guides and editions, it is likely that information with the necessary scope and precision on tourist places could be extracted.

Furthermore, access and high availability in libraries and on various online platforms allow for a choice of the corpus and the guarantee that certain amount of information is available and reachable. Finally, thanks to the genre's longevity, we can follow a place in time by browsing through several editions. The multitude of editions, collections and places described make guidebooks a solid and consistent source. Guidebooks therefore become a means to provide usable information to establish the date of tourism emergence, the permanent or temporary failure or the continuity of the tourism function of a place, as well as on the quality of tourism practices of resorts.

Limitations of the source

We can point out several limitations of this corpus. First, it is a textual corpus that is subject to a set of editorial guidelines that must be taken into consideration. Guidebooks develop *one* point of view on the tourist space. For the scientist, it means that it allows for the interpretation of the globalization of *one aspect* of tourism that provides access to the gradual development of *one of the dimensions of tourist space* and not of one single tourist space. This relational and relative dimension must be taken into account under penalty of interpretative errors. Furthermore, our corpus is a Western vision of the diffusion of tourism. It is certainly a dominant vision, but a limited one because the sample constructed until now contains German, French, British and American guidebooks. This Western view excludes from the tourism field numerous places other guides would take into account. This might be less relevant in the 19th century, but is significant throughout the 20th century, when the tourist gaze got shared by non-Western tourists and editors. This would require, at a later research, to expand the corpus to Japanese, Chinese, Canadian, Brazilian, Argentinian, etc. collections of guidebooks.

Second, this approximation of dates by the guidebooks does not answer the question of absolute dating of historical events, in this case the emergence of tourist places. The chosen date is therefore a construction whose limits should be assessed. It does not correspond to the first occasion of the event, but to its occurrence in a text corpus. This has consequences for the singular cases that do not correspond to the date obtained by the corpus guides. The unique dating could be reconstructed by a scientific work on each case. The problem is also that there is no information before the appearance of first guides, around 1780. There is certainly a literature encompassing travelogues and itineraries (Boyer, 2000), but the link with tourism is less obvious. The chosen corpus does not permit to say anything about tourist places appearing before this date.

Finally, the spatial division of guidebooks raises issues. There are inequalities in the treatment of the different spatial referents by editors, and the number of guidebooks and editions are not always comparable. Some areas have little or no tourist guidebooks at a certain time. If it is a recent tourist area, then the number of guidebooks is small and, vice versa, if it is old, then the number of guides is important. Furthermore, in the 18th and even 19th centuries, the guidebooks were not necessarily referring to a national unity as it is usual today. In addition, many countries do not exist in the form they have today. For example, a guide was dedicated to territories such as Palestine, Abyssinia or Transcaucasia. Since, we consider the place defined at a local scale and not the state entity to which it belongs, this does not affect the robustness of the database.

In conclusion, despite these limitations, tourist guidebooks represent a rich source of tourist information, a genre quite easy to access and well documented in major libraries, a very large corpus that can cover the World and a longevity and recurrence of collections unmatched by other documentary resources. General guides—by the variety of covered areas, the continuity and abundance of editions over time—provide a rich source of information from which can be deduced the emergence, failure, intermittence and permanence of a tourist place. In turn, thematic guides contain information on the quality of the place. We therefore propose the general guides and the thematic guides, as sources for the construction of the empirical material.

The constitution of the empirical material as multi-decision process

Constructing the empirical data implies to make decisions on several issues. Which publishers to choose? How to select the guidebooks? How to find them? How to sample? One of the characteristics

of a guidebook is that it is published by a publisher, it is reissued at certain time intervals, it is devoted to a specific geographical area, and variants of it are translated into other languages (for instance Baedeker's handbooks are published in German, English and French and the Lonely Planet guidebooks series are translated nowadays in 8 languages: English, French, Italian, German, Spanish, Korean, Japanese, Chinese). Three steps are considered: first, the selection of the text corpus, then the extraction of the data leading to a database by single guidebook, finally the building of a database, integrating the various databases into one, consisting of all place names extracted from all guides.

Guidebook selection

The first goal is to make a selection according to the editor or publisher in order to constitute the sample. One possibility is to select only the largest collections of guides: Baedeker, Murray, Guides Joanne, Guides Bleus, Guide du Routard, Fodor's, Lonely Planet (see Fig. 3), verifying that all continents are considered. However, for the time prior to the appearance of large collections, we selected among the best known and most published authors, such as Reichard and his successor, Richard. Fig. 3 features a possible selection of travel guidebook publishers starting from the genre's appearance. Other kinds of samples, including less known and non-Western guidebooks are also possible. It allows for a comparison between the different perspectives on the touristified world, embodying different forms of the tourist gaze. Therefore, the different corpora need to be comparable in terms of the time frame of publication.

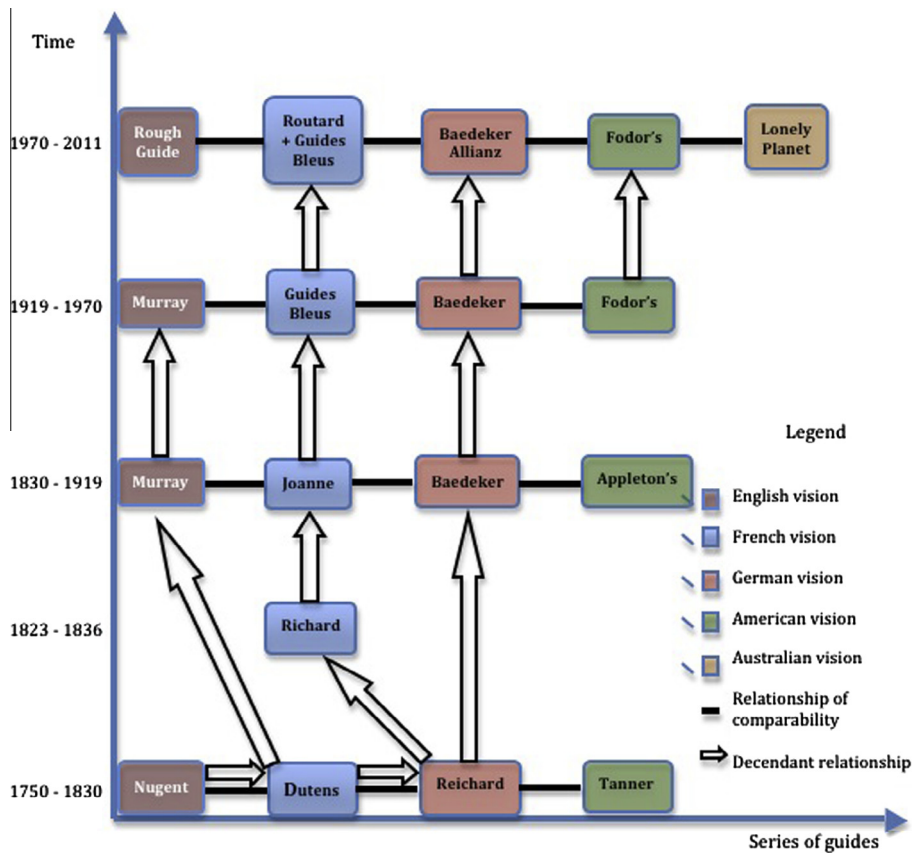


Fig. 3. Selection of travel guides.

A significant element is given by the geographic reference described in a guidebook, presented through its title. It should be noted publishers mention the geographical reference in the title of the guide. To collect a maximum of places from a travel guide, we propose to select guides that offer a large number of places. We have eliminated all local (which describe, in general, one place) and regional (including guides on departments or other small size units) guidebooks. Therefore, we chose references to national areas and associations of regional or national areas. The choice of travel guides based on the geographical reference is an extremely important operation on the basis of which we will obtain maps and final analyses.

To meet tourists' needs and to keep up with the changes in time, the information in travel guides is frequently renewed. These updates may include corrections of errors made in previous editions, additional information on an aspect of the journey (political life, details of distances, practical new features, new tourist places, etc.). For instance, the Baedeker guidebook for the Swiss area published 15 editions between 1838 and 1999. One of the issues is therefore to select adequate editions of a guidebook. These updates are methodologically exploited here: they can measure, for each update, the difference between the places mentioned in the guides. Thus the *increase* or *decrease* in the number of tourist places can be measured.

This selection process has led to the collection of 1248 guides in total. Fig. 4 shows the total number of guidebooks selected according to the mentioned criteria. To be more specific, it shows all chosen editions at a global scale distributed every 10 years for the period between 1790 and 2000. This chart shows the evolution of the literary genre of travel guides. In the early 19th century very few guides existed and were intended for wide spaces (such as "Europe" guide by Reichard, in 1793). After the 1840s, one can observe a notable increase of published guides due to the emergence of large collection (such as Joanne Guides or Baedeker). In the 1970s, the advent of individualized mass tourism witnesses again an increase in the number of guides but also in their diversification based on spaces, practices, budgets, tourists' preferences etc.

Information extraction

We consider the guidebooks as lists of tourist places. The method is to extract the tourist places that appear in a travel guide, and the guide's date of publication. We begin with the first guide issued and follow with the various published editions. Given the chosen source and therefore its timeline existence, we consider in this paper that the first places mentioned in the first guides are considered

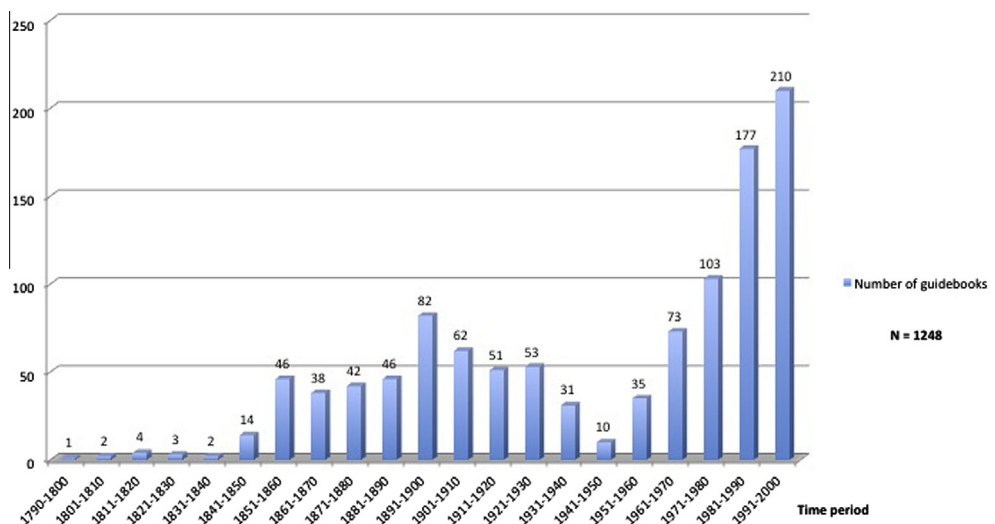


Fig. 4. Distribution of guidebooks consulted (1790–2000).

as the first tourist places, and their moment of tourism emergence as the date of the first edition, which includes them. As we progress with other editions of the same guide, we discover new tourist places that appear or tourist places that are no longer considered as tourist places by guidebook publishers. Our proposal is to record the places found in the alphabetical index guides. The alphabetical index is a directory of all the places mentioned in a guide. While one can argue this choice, it permits to have a consistent source of what a guidebook considers being a tourist place at one moment in time.

The operation consists in comparing two lists of tourist places, each representing one year's edition. The first step is to establish the moment of a tourist place's emergence. Through conditional formulas, we extract the locations mentioned in one edition but not in the previous edition. For example, Table 1 includes two years of *Joanne* guides on winter resorts of the Mediterranean, 1883 and 1898. In order to know which new places appeared in 1898 and were not mentioned in the previous edition, of 1883, we obtain the places listed in the column 1898 and are not found in the 1883 column. The year of publication represents for these new places the moment of their emergence. Next, in order to establish the place names that have ceased to be tourist places between the two analysed dates, we obtain the places listed in the column 1883 and not found in the 1898 column ("tourist failure"). The method is the same as for the moment of emergence, except that the column order in the formula is reversed. This seeks to establish which places were tourist places until 1883, but no longer appear in the next edition, of 1898. A third process is to establish the places that have continued to be promoted in guidebooks, which corresponds to places that appear in both columns ("permanent places").

The locations found in the alphabetical index are then entered into a database. This implies the moment of tourism emergence adopted corresponds to the first mention of a particular place in a travel guide. The guidebook expresses the record of the tourist moment, not the date a mythical "first" tourist arrived in the place. It is therefore a specific perspective on the periodization of tourism, where not infrastructures or tourists are the indicators of the emergence of, and interest devoted to tourist places, but the mention within a guidebook. The temporal dimensions of a tourist place are therefore specifically constructed, which has consequences on the interpretation.

In short, this is to ensure that we note all the places mentioned in a guidebook while checking for updates of places in the following and earlier editions—as appropriate. That implies a long-term follow-up of a guidebook collection. These processes are repeated for every edition until the last edition mentioned in the database for one specific guidebook. In this way, we obtain relatively reliable dates for each place. This information is then used to quantify the number of newly produced tourist places, the number of places that have lost their tourist function, and the number of tourist places to maintain their tourist function.

Conclusion

This operation is to be repeated for every edition and publisher. We then obtain several individual databases, which represent the initial databases for one singular area at different moments. The last

Table 1
Example of the guidebook on *Winter Mediterranean resorts* between two editions (partial extraction of the original table).

1883	1898	New places	Tourist failure	Tourist maintenance
Ajaccio	Agay	Agay		Ajaccio
Alassio	Ajaccio		Alassio	
Albenga	Antibes		Albenga	
Antibes	Bandol	Bandol		Antibes
Arenzano	Beaulieu		Arenzano	
Beaulieu	Bordighera			Beaulieu
Berthemont	Bormes		Berthemont	
Bollène	Cagnes	Cagnes	Bollène	
Bordighera	Cannes			Bordighera
Bormes	Cannet Le	Cannet Le		Bormes
Cannes	Cap d'Antibes	Cap d'Antibes		Cannes
Cogolin	Carqueiranne	Carqueiranne		Cogolin
Dolce Aqua	Cavalaire	Cavalaire		Dolce Aqua

step to be considered is then the integration of the individual databases based on the extraction of individual tourist guides into one encompassing database. It will then allow us to compare the changes between appearances of tourist places in the different editions of guidebooks on a global scale.

Conclusion

The methodological elements developed in this article are meant to be one step in our quest to develop a more precise understanding of tourism globalisation over the past 200 years. There is still a lack of quantitative and qualitative information, partially because “methodological nationalism” constrains historians and geographers to their “home” country without addressing the wider context. The movement of “global history” seeks to go beyond this classical limitation, but has not yet discovered tourism as a central problem of inquiry. Our geo-historical approach could foster communication between two scientific disciplines, history and geography, on the problem of tourism. Their combined analytical techniques are certainly helpful in constructing tourism globalisation as a major research problem, especially the problem of the emerging pattern of tourist places on a global scale.

To achieve this aim, we propose a methodology that uses guidebooks constructed as a source for information on tourist places’ dates of emergence and failures as well as on the quality of tourist places. This methodological protocol is a proposal with limitations, but can be reproduced or supplemented by other researchers in future research, especially by expanding the scope of guidebooks to non-Western editions. Once collected, the data will allow for the identification of key periods in the emergence of the global tourism field. It could identify innovators, latecomers and accelerations, especially by showing when and where the production of tourist places is concentrated in a given period. Knowledge about the quantitative distribution of tourist places at different periods and for different areas would be possible. We expect therefore a more precise knowledge in comparison with the existing knowledge on diffusion on a global scale.

Which issues lie now ahead? From an empirical point of view, in order to more fully understand the globalisation of tourism other kinds of data have to be produced going beyond the possibilities of guidebooks, e.g. information on the number of tourists and population of tourist places since 1800. This would allow to calculate the relative importance of tourism for different places at different moments, and to establish hierarchies between places at a given period. Another point would be that the corpus concentrates on Western guidebooks. There is room for further exploitation of non-Western guidebooks in order to increase the scope of the sample. This scientific challenge requires collaboration.

From a conceptual point of view, there are efforts to be developed in order to interpret the evolution of the spatial patterns of places. There is a clarification about the driving forces of tourism globalisation to develop, beyond the traditional references to economic, political and sociological factors. Within the global tourism “field”, circulation of knowledge on innovation seems to be especially relevant. Global tourism expansion can be interpreted as owing to the circulation of a small number of place models whose *emblematic* dimension plays the role as reference for other places (Equipe MIT, 2011). The series of inventions of emblematic tourism practices and places since 1800 could be one key to explain the emergence of a global tourism field.

To sum up, this study represents a methodological step towards a more thorough understanding of tourism globalisation. The exploitation of the collected data will be a second step to contribute to this knowledge.

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