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## **Book Review**

### **The Tourist Gaze 3.0**

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This book is a classic guide to critical tourism studies useful to scholars and students across the social sciences and humanities. It takes the readers on a detailed tour of the major concepts and approaches to one of the world's largest culture industries. With fresh insights and new materials written revision will immediately become required reading for those who pay attention to the world of travel, mobility, and visual culture. This book is one of the most influential books in tourist research and meets the challenges of a changing world of tourism encouraging the lively contemporary debates in the field. The impressive updating in response to theoretical debates is matched only by the response to the profound shifts in tourism itself, its markets, technologies and organisation. This third edition of *The Tourist Gaze* radically restructures, reworks and expands the two first editions to make this book relevant for tourism researchers, students, planners and designers in the twenty-first century. The original chapters have been thoroughly updated. Outdated data and studies have been deleted, new studies and theoretical concepts have been incorporated.

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The book constitutes of nine chapters with chapter one titled as 'Theories'. The second chapter is on 'Mass Tourism' and the third is based on 'Economies'. The fourth chapter is about the service providers and is titled 'Working under the Gaze'. The next and the fifth chapter explains the 'Changing Tourist Cultures'. The sixth chapter takes into the account of roles of 'Places, Buildings and Design' on tourism and leads to the next chapter titled 'Vision and Photography'. The eight chapter is based on 'Performances'. The last and the ninth chapter takes an account of 'Risks and Futures'. Chapters are supported by numerous case studies.

### CHAPTER 1. Theories

The first chapter is basically a review of works been done by eminent contributors in building foundations on tourism and is aptly titled 'Theory' This discusses about pleasure, about holidays, tourism and travel, about how and why for short periods people leave their normal place of work and residence. Gazing according to the authors refers to the 'discursive determinations', of socially constructed seeing or 'scopic regimes'. The chapter is about how in different societies and especially within different social groups in diverse historical periods the tourist gaze changes and develops. They elaborate on processes by which the gaze is constructed and enforced, and consider who or what authorise it, what its consequences are for the 'places' which are its object and how it interrelates with other social practices. They observe how the gaze in any historical period is constructed in relationship to its opposite, to non tourist forms of social experience and consciousness. By considering the typical objects of the tourist gaze one can use these to make sense of elements of the wider society with which they are contrasted. According to them Tourism is a leisure activity which presupposes its opposite, namely regulated and organised work. In this chapter they consider the development of, and historical transformations within, the tourist gaze. Making theoretical sense of 'fun, pleasure and entertainment' the authors say has proved a difficult task for social scientists. In this chapter they have summarised some of the seminal contributions to the sociology of tourism. According to them, tourists show particular fascination in the 'real lives' of others that somehow possess a reality that is hard to discover in their own experiences. Modern society is therefore rapidly institutionalising the rights of outsiders to look into its workings. Hence, the gaze of the tourist will involve an obvious intrusion into people's lives, which would be generally unacceptable. So the people being observed and local tourist entrepreneurs gradually come to construct backstages in a contrived and artificial manner. They argue in this book for the fundamentally visual nature of many tourism experiences. Gazes organise the encounters of visitors with the 'other', providing some sense of competence, pleasure and structure to those experiences. The gaze demarcates an array of pleasurable qualities to be generated within particular times and spaces. Tourism results from a basic binary division between the ordinary/everyday and the extraordinary. Tourist experiences involve some aspect or element that induces pleasurable experiences which, by comparison with the everyday, are out of the ordinary. Gazes range from seeing a unique object, the seeing of particular signs, seeing unfamiliar aspects of what had previously been thought of as familiar, the seeing of ordinary aspects of social life being undertaken by people in unusual contexts and finally, there is the seeing of particular signs that indicate that a certain other object is indeed extraordinary, even though it does not seem to be so. Authors quote that "Gazing is a set of practices. Individual performances of gazing at a particular sight are framed by cultural styles, circulating images and texts of this and other places, as well as personal experiences and memories." They emphasise the systematic and regularised nature of various gazes, each of which depends upon social discourses and practices, as well as aspects of building, design and restoration that foster the necessary 'look' of a place or an environment. Such gazes implicate both the gazer and the gazed in an ongoing and systematic set of social and physical relations. Thus they categorise gazes as

spectatorial, reverential, anthropological, environmental, mediatised and the family gaze. The analysis of globalisation has thus ushered in some momentous reconfigurations of the tourist gaze. There has thus been a major shift from a limited range of tourist gazes in the nineteenth century to the proliferation of discourses, forms and embodiments of tourist gazes now. In a simple sense, the authors say "we can talk of the globalising of the tourist gaze, as multiple gazes have become core to global culture sweeping up almost everywhere in their awesome wake."

### CHAPTER 2. Mass Tourism

The second chapter on mass tourism is devoted to examining the historic development of tourism revolving around industrialization in England, taking the readers through the world wars and into the modern world and how the tourist gaze has been affected. It analyses why the industrial working class came to think that going away for short periods to other places was an appropriate form of social activity. It examines the reasons that led to the development of the tourist gaze among this industrial working and the revolution in experience, thinking and perception that led to tourism as a momentous modes of social practice which according to the authors represents a kind of 'democratisation' of travel. They observe that travel had been enormously socially selective, available for relatively limited elite and marker of social status. They point out that in the second half of the nineteenth century there was an extensive development in Europe of mass travel by train and later how in the twentieth century the car and the aeroplane further democratised geographical movement. They suggest that "as travel became democratised so extensive distinctions of taste came to be established between the different places to which people travelled, which became markers of social 'distinction'." Major differences of 'social tone' were established between otherwise similar places and some such places like the new working-class resorts, quickly developed as symbols of 'mass tourism', as places of inferiority. They examine their development because this was the first mass tourism to occur. During the eighteenth century in Europe there was a considerable increase in sea bathing as the merchant and professional classes began to believe in its medicinal properties. At that stage it was just for adults with little association between sea sides and children. The beach was a place of 'medicine' rather than 'pleasure'. The development of these new resorts by the seaside was spectacular. The authors historically prove that by 1911, 55 per cent of people in England and Wales took at least one trip to the seaside. In addition, there was rapid urbanisation, with many small towns growing incredibly. This produced extremely high levels of poverty and overcrowding. As work became rationalised the hours of working gradually reduced with of longer breaks of week-long holidays. A further precondition for the growth of mass tourism was greatly improved transportation As the market developed, so wealthier holidaymakers went elsewhere looking for superior accommodation, social tone and tourist gaze. The pattern was soon established of holidaymakers repeating visits to the same resort. In the inter-war period many developments affected the development of the tourist gaze within Britain. The growth of car ownership, considerable development of air transport and a strong growth of the holidays-with-pay movement supported tourism. Thus by the Second World War there was widespread acceptance of the view that going on holiday contributed to personal replenishment. Everyone according to the authors become entitled to the pleasures of the 'tourist gaze' by the seaside. An entire section details how this gaze came to be organised and how different resorts came to specialise in providing the tourist gaze and related services to distinct groups in the social hierarchy. In this chapter the nineteenth-century origins of English seaside resorts have been examined and authors have tried to bring out just how crucial this development was. In the twentieth century places by the sea emerged all over the world, modelling themselves on these early mass resorts with many new features to gaze upon.

### CHAPTER 3. Economies

The relations between the tourist gaze and those industries that develop to meet that gaze are complex and in this third chapter on 'Economies' the authors have attempted to connect the two. They state that most tourist services are delivered at the time and place at which they are produced thus the quality of the social interaction between the provider of the service and the consumers is part of the 'product' purchased by tourists. In recent years there has been enormously heightened competition to attract tourists. So while the producers are to a significant extent spatially fixed, in that they have to provide particular services in particular places, consumers are mobile, able to consume tourist services to some degree on a global basis. The authors note that the industry is inevitably competitive since almost every place in the world could well act as an object of the tourist gaze. They emphasise on the quality of the social interaction between producer and consumers of tourist services means that tourist developments are not simply explicable in terms of 'economic' determinants. A thorough examination has been done on a range of social and cultural changes which transform people's expectations about what they wish to gaze upon, what significance should be attached to that gaze, and what effect this has upon the providers of relevant tourist services. This industry has normally necessitated considerable levels of public involvement and investment, and in recent years this has increased as all sorts of places attempt to construct or reinforce their position as favoured objects of the tourist gaze. In this chapter attention is directed to some developments in the changing political and cultural economy of the tourism. This chapter includes how 'globalisation' produces further shifts in the production and consumption of tourism sites - especially through the emergence of global brands and internet. The distinctive feature of the experience economy is that services need to be more than just mere 'services', and need to be somehow pleasurable and memorable. The concept of Disneyization as a strategy is introduced. This allows businesses seek to increase the value of goods and services by transforming them into differentiated experiences, 'magically' making the ordinary extraordinary. They observe that increased leisure time people, especially young people, are increasingly moving away from the standardised package holiday and seeking different leisure activity which has been further developed by the popularity of low-budget airlines. A further indicator of the networked nature of tourism economies is the proliferation of international internet-based reservation websites which are very visible on the internet when browsing for cheap air tickets or hotels. These sites are time-effective, create transparency, comparability and informed choice in a virtual world of many choices and disparate sites, they allow flexible and individualised travel patterns. Systems affected through the internet permit customers to 'self-serve' themselves with airline tickets and other standardised products. The authors also consider the organisation of the tourist industry more generally through examining some aspects of the social relations between hosts and guests. They examine ways in which tourism services and experiences are divided by class, gender and ethnicity and how gazing is also inflected by divisions of gender and ethnicity. These interconnections they say 'are important in forming the preferences that different social groupings develop about where to visit and in structuring the effects of such visits upon host populations and the fashionability of different sites.' These are important because most tourist practices involve movement into and through public space where people both gaze at and are gazed upon by others. The effects of tourism are complex and contradictory. There has been much discussion about the desirability of tourism as a strategy for economic development in developing societies. They finally discuss issues about developing countries that conceive tourism as a development strategy and suggest that there are serious economic costs, as well as social costs that need to be addressed.

#### CHAPTER 4. Working under the Gaze

In the chapter on 'Working under the Gaze' the authors have analysed various aspects of the tourist gaze and noted that the gaze can take different forms, relating to the kinds of organisation possible of the tourist-related industries that develop to meet such different gazes. They consider in detail the complex relationship between two elements involved in the provision of tourist services. The practices of tourism they say are highly structured by distinctions of taste. Such practices lead people to want to be in certain places, gazing at particular objects, in the company of specific other types of people. To fulfil this the authors have observed that many services are provided and performed under conditions of profit maximisation. Various contradictions may develop between the practices and the industries that have emerged. Such industries of transport, hotels, property development, catering and entertainment are all concerned with the provision of consumer services and are sometimes known as the 'hospitality' industry. The authors quote that *'Furthermore, the tourist gaze is structured by culturally specific notions of what is extraordinary and therefore worth viewing. This means that services provided, which may of course be incidental to the gaze itself, must take a form which does not contradict or undermine the quality of the gaze, and ideally should enhance it. This in turn poses, as we shall see, immense problems of managing such industries, to ensure the service provided by the often relatively poorly paid service workers is appropriate to the almost sacred quality of the visitors' gaze on some longed-for and remarkable tourist site'*. The authors have examined the significance of 'performative labour' for delivering services and say that since labour is itself part of the service product, this poses particular issues for management. This leads to a situation where employees' speech, appearance and personality are treated as legitimate areas of intervention and control by management. The authors argue that there is a theatre-like character to frontstage service encounters and that 'good' service requires managerial scripting and skills of 'acting', both by following a script and through improvisation. Much service work they say is difficult and demanding, under-recognised and relatively under-rewarded. The quote that *'One can think of this workplace as a stage, involving a mix of mental, manual and emotional labour. Staff are chosen because they possess the right sort of cultural and aesthetic capital, they have to be informal, young, friendly, with the right sort of body and skills to produce appropriate emotional performances during the course of each evening'*. The authors have in this chapter examined many aspects of the so-called 'hospitality industry'.

#### CHAPTER 5. Changing Tourist Cultures

This chapter opens doors to changes in the nature of especially western societies over the past few decades. The authors argue that there has been a reversal of the long-term process of structural differentiation by which relatively distinct social institutions came to specialise in particular tasks or functions. There has been a dissolving of the boundaries, not only between high and low cultures, but also between different cultural forms, such as tourism, art, education, photography, television, music, sport, shopping and architecture. They emphasise that mass communications have transformed the tourist gaze which is increasingly bound up with, and is partly indistinguishable from, all sorts of other social and cultural practices. The authors briefly have outlined the historic developments of these shifting patterns beginning from the 1980s till date. Because of the importance of the visual, of the gaze, tourism has always been concerned with spectacle and with cultural practices which partly implode into each other. Most tourist activity they say has been thoroughly anti-auratic and based on mechanical and electronic reproduction. They also consider how one key characteristic of postmodernism, Part of postmodernism's hostility to authority is the opposition felt by many to mass treatment. The service-class preference for the 'real' or the 'natural' can also be seen in the increasing attraction of both visiting the countryside and protecting it. They examine the work of Feifer who has proposed the notion of 'post-tourism'.

She highlights that the post-tourist does not have to leave his or her house in order to see many of the typical objects of the tourist gaze, with TV, video and the internet, all sorts of places can be gazed upon, compared, contextualised and gazed upon again. The distinctiveness of the 'tourist gaze' is lost as such gazes are part of a postmodern popular culture and most important, the post-tourist knows they are a tourist and tourism is a series of games with multiple texts and no single, authentic tourist experience. The pleasures of tourism stem from complex processes of both production and consumption. The authors then emphasise the socially constructed character of the tourist gaze, that both production and consumption are socially organised, and that the gaze must be directed to certain objects or features which are extraordinary, which distinguish that site/sight of the gaze from others. The development of post-tourism transforms these processes by which the tourist gaze is produced and consumed. Thus, holidays have become less to do with the reinforcing of collective memories and experiences, especially around family and neighborhood, and more to do with immediate pleasure. As a result, people keep demanding new out-of-the-ordinary experiences. So in this chapter has explored some major shifts in contemporary culture which has been expressed in terms of the move from the modern to the postmodern.

### CHAPTER 6. Places, Buildings and Design

The sixth chapter on 'Places, Buildings and Design' an examination of the impacts of cultural shifts upon places, buildings and design has been made. It is also concerned with the places that are made and remade through the different forms of the gaze of such tourists. A particular physical environment does not in itself produce a tourist place. It has to be designed into buildings, sociabilities, family life, friendship and memories. They quote that *'Places emerge as 'tourist places' when they are inscribed in circles of anticipation, performance and remembrance. In this chapter we thus de-centre tourist studies away from 'tourists' and on to the networks and discourses that enable or perform various places. Places are thus (re)produced through tourist performances that are made possible through networked relationships with other organisations, machines, and especially buildings'*. The authors in this chapter consider various connections between buildings, their design and the places that tourists may gaze upon, consider questions of heritage and especially the look of heritage buildings and finally, they examine the changing character of museums and especially the designing and using of postmodern museums. Readers have been also introduced to two specific aspects of contemporary architecture: theming and malls. The authors show that much theming revolves around the tourist gaze. Many shopping malls have now become major tourist attractions. Developments of this sort also represent the changing nature of public space in contemporary societies. The authors introduce world fairs as another themed environment which are enormous international tourist attractions. Rather than tourists having to travel worldwide to experience and gaze upon different signs, they are conveniently brought together in one location. The authors also consider the increasing popularity of museums and assess the significance of the heritage industry and subsequently of museums to contemporary tourism.. the authors argue that how people gaze within museums has significantly changed. The sense of aura has been undermined through the 'postmodern museum', involving different modes of vision and use and how many alternative or vernacular histories have developed. People today are attracted by representations of the 'ordinary', of modest houses and mundane forms of work. Buildings, designed themes and diverse heritages are thus central to the tourist gaze and the authors have stressed that many tourist sites and resorts are designed as themed, with enclavic spaces stimulating primarily the visual sense of the place.

### CHAPTER 7. Vision and Photography

Here the authors have argued that vision is central to tourism experience. They begin by examining the history of visuality and what is meant by the idea of seeing and in turn being seen, and how vision became the dominating sense in modern societies. Particular attention has been paid to the profusion of new visual technologies and urban spaces. They also link vision and the tourist gaze with the medium of photography, the most important technology for developing and extending the tourist gaze. They show how the tourist gaze has been inseparably tied up with the development and popularisation of cameras and photographs. The gaze is constructed discursively and materially through images and performances of photography, and vice versa. The authors also analyse significant moments within tourism photography and show how photographs enhance, frame and substitute for physical travel in complex and contingent ways, especially as photography is bodily central to the tourist encountering of the other. They quote that 'Photographs are 'blocks of space-time' that have effects beyond the people or place or events to which they refer. We examine the performativity, or doings, of photographs, how they organise gazes, constructing and mobilising the places that tourists consume and remember. Both tourism organisations and tourists invest much energy in photographs'. They say that tourists take photographs so as to produce tangible memories to be cherished and consumed well after the journey. Through photographs, tourists strive to make fleeting gazes last longer. Photography they say has become coupled to consumer capitalism and the globe was now offered 'in limitless quantities, figures, landscapes, events which had not previously been Places and humans are transformed into objects passed from person to person. Photographs are now very widely produced, consumed and circulated upon computers, mobile phones and via the internet, especially through social-networking sites. Photography has thus been crucial in developing the tourist gaze and tourism more generally; they are not separate processes but each derives from and enhances the other, as an 'ensemble'. Cameras and images have speeded up and mechanised the tourist's vision. Complex places are consumed as lightweight pre-arranged photo-scenes and experiencing is akin to seeing, seeing reduced to glancing and picture-making to clicking.

### CHAPTER 8. Performances

This chapter explores some contemporary practices of gazing by considering the tourist gaze as a performance. There are many similarities between the paradigms of the gaze and performance and they should 'dance together' rather than stare at each other at distance. The authors develop this further by examining the embodied and multi-sensuous nature of gazing as well as the complex social relations and fluid power geometries comprising performances of gazing. The authors have through this chapter responded to various authors who criticised the 'tourist gaze' thesis by outlining the 'performance turn' and how Goffman's sociology has influenced and shares commonalities with the gaze. They also clarify some elements of what the idea of the 'gaze' is meant to achieve. They outline the main components of the performance into eight parts. First, the performance turn highlights how tourists experience places in multi-sensuous ways that involve bodily sensations and affect. Second, the performance turn conceptualises the themed and staged nature of tourist places. Third, following on from Goffman's observation that teams are the basic unit, the performance turn discusses the many agents that make up particular tourism stages. Fourth, while performances are taught, learned and regulated, they are never completely predetermined. Fifth, tourist places are often presumed to be relatively fixed, given, passive and separate from those touring them. The performance turn destabilises such static and fixed conceptions of places and sites. Places and performances are conceived as non-stable and contingent enactments. Sixth, the performance turn emphasises how objects and technologies, such as cameras, tour buses and cars, are crucial for making tourism

performances happen. Seventh, the performance turn does not see tourism as an isolated island but explores connections between tourism, the everyday and significant others, such as family members and friends. Lastly, the performance turn challenges representational and textual readings of tourism by making ethnographies of what humans and institutions enact and stage to make tourism and performances happen. They clarify the relationship between the senses and the gaze and then develop an embodied and multi-sensuous approach to gazing. They have brought out the crucially visual nature of tourist experiences and put forward a relational approach that acknowledges the complex intersections of the senses in people's encounters with places. They also discuss the multifaceted social relations of gazing, how they are tied up with relations between gazers, on the one hand, and hosts and guests, on the other. They quote that 'Gazing almost always involves significant others. Gazing is an interactive, communal game where individual gazes are mediated and affected by the presence and gazes of others.'

### CHAPTER 9. Risks and Futures

The final chapter is on 'Risks and Futures'. In this chapter the authors examine some contemporary and future developments within tourism. Especially significant are the interconnections between tourism and risk. They examine in particular whether and in what ways tourism itself is self-destructive, that it is using up or destroying the very preconditions of its own activity through generating powerful local or global risks or bads. They examine in this book many different kinds of place that contemporary tourists seek to see for themselves and how they can collect and compare them with other places and obtain cultural capital from having been there and displaying this information increasingly via Web. They say that as the tourist gaze has gone global it generates some powerful new configurations of risk in the contemporary world. Before examining these risks the authors consider some strange intersections of risk and danger that stem from the proliferation of the tourist gaze and the many 'compulsions to consume' that it generates. They emphasise that high rates of international mobility have generated new risks, such as syphilis, Aids or SARS, which are diseases of mobilities of travellers and tourists. In addition tourist places have often been and imagined as places of danger, where crime and fears around personal safety are central. Finally they explore the fact that in this new century the (imagined) risks and corporeal fears of terrorism and the widespread surveillance gaze. They consider first the generation of congestion, overcrowding and local environmental degradation, topics of debate. As per the authors 'The spread of mass tourism does not democratise travel. Tourism is an illusion which destroys the very places being visited. Allowing the market to develop without regulation destroys the very places which are the objects of the tourist gaze'. They have discussed how the contemporary tourist gaze is increasingly signposted, identifying the things and places worthy of one's gaze. They close the chapter by considering what the world and tourism may be like in 2050, given the interdependence between declining availability of oil (and gas), changing climates and continued huge growth in population. They quote that '*The first possibility for 2050 is a future of hypermobility and hypertourist consumption. New kinds of fuel and vehicles overcome limits of space and time. Personalised air travel would be common through the use of third-generation biofuels or hydrogen. People would be unperturbed by a lack of long-distance travel and connection. Long-distance travel and forms of mass tourism based on 'choice' and 'convenience', cars and planes, would be uncommon and a source of low status. As a result, many international tourism systems, of places and transport, would fade away.*' They finally open up the crucial debate on will there still be a relatively widespread and common 'tourist gaze' operating away in 2050.