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Lost tourism

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ABSTRACT

Tourism is in a constant state of change, yet little attention has been paid to those aspects of tourism which have disappeared, become lost or absent. This article addresses this research gap. Inspired by an exhibition by the artist Ellen Harvey, it adopts a conceptual research method informed by empirical and philosophical analysis. Its original contribution is threefold. First it offers a novel research method based on data from Harvey’s exhibition and including hyperlinks to access the art. Second it offers a detailed conceptualisation of lost tourism which includes its meaning, typology and the causes and consequences of this phenomenon. Finally practical implications are considered including the need to identify, evaluate and where appropriate prevent or remediate tourism’s losses.

1. Introduction

Much of the ancient Syrian city of Palmeria, a UNESCO World Heritage Site, was destroyed by the Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant (ISIL) in 2015 during the Syrian Civil War. One third of the UK national rail network and 55 % of its stations were closed in the 1960s following a government review by Dr. Richard Beeching. These are two very different examples that illustrate Lost Tourism, the concept developed through this article, which can involve the disappearance, destruction, erasure, deterioration or suppression of an aspect of tourism. Interest in this subject was stimulated by an exhibition at the Turner Contemporary Art Gallery in Margate, England titled The Disappointed Tourist by the artist Ellen Harvey. This exhibition can be viewed online through the following hyperlink www.disappointedtourist.org/, and hyperlinks are used throughout this article to enable the reader to access art data as it is discussed.

The research gap that this article seeks to redress, as well as its significance, is underlined by the artist who states “We live in a world that often feels as though it is vanishing before our eyes. Places we love disappear. Places we have hoped to visit cease to exist” (Harvey, 2020).

This article has four research objectives. The first is a detailed conceptualisation of lost tourism. The second is an enquiry into its causes. The third the consequences of lost tourism are examined. Fourth the practical implications of lost tourism are discussed, and a research agenda is proposed. The research method is conceptual, informed by empirical and philosophical analysis. It uses an analysis of empirical data (data from the exhibition found in the public domain) together with broader philosophical reflections to unpack the concept of lost tourism. It was guided by the steps (highlighted in italics) outlined in Xin, Tribe, and Chambers’s (2013, pp. 78–80) article on conceptual research. Further, whilst Harvey confines her analysis to concepts such as nostalgia, memory and place attachment, we employ a broader social science toolkit to examine and understand the issues.

2. Literature review

2.1. Gaps and maps

Xin et al.’s (2013) first suggested step is to find conceptual gaps where they stress the importance of opening the mind for creative thinking. As researchers we actively strive to do this and are motivated to seek out the unusual over the mundane, to take risks in research and explore new territories and methods. In this case it was our encounter with Harvey’s art exhibition that led us to this conceptual gap. We found that whilst there is a substantial literature on heritage tourism, a body of work around memory and nostalgia in tourism and a recent interest in last chance tourism, there is no evidence of prior studies on this broad concept of lost tourism. Harvey’s exhibition was titled “Disappointed Tourists” so we then proceeded to Xin et al.’s next step - Translating Concepts to New Contexts - to stretch and adapt the concept to our new context of application resulting in “Lost Tourism”.

We then progressed to Mapping the Scope of the Concept which entails identifying “what is associated with the concept, what is included … what is excluded and consideration of any fixed or fuzzy boundaries”

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Loss and longing are also central to debates about authenticity, cemeteries actively searching out ancestral names on tombstones also represents Lost Tourism although commemoration of the events of tourism and dark tourism. For example the loss of the World Trade Sites are valuable for contemporary society, since they are indicators of and/or disappearing natural and/or social heritage. Last Chance Tourism therefore offers insights into what might become lost tourism although it rarely includes unpredictable losses. Dark tourism (Foley & Lennon, 1996) involves travel to places associated with tragedy and death. There are some overlaps between lost tourism and dark tourism. For example the loss of the World Trade Center twin towers New York, USA, following the September 11, 2001 attack by Al-Qaeda affiliated terrorists is also seen as a dark tourism ‘attraction’. The dark tourism site of the Battle of Culloden (Scotland) also represents Lost Tourism although commemoration of the events of Culloden have been brought back to life by way of a visitor centre.

Disaster Tourism generally marks a physical loss but Tucker, Shelton, & Bae (2017, p.312) point out some unexpected consequences with a transition “from a loss of tourism to a tourism of loss” in the aftermath of the destructive earthquakes in Christchurch, New Zealand in 2010 and 2011. Hidden tourism (Lacey, Weiler, & Peal, 2014) is generally not lost but out of sight and difficult to locate. The literature on Heritage Tourism also sometimes overlaps with lost tourism. For example, Shipley and Reyburn’s (2003) study of lost heritage in Ontario, Canada.

Nostalgia Tourism is concerned with loss and longing. Nostalgia is defined by The Merriam-Webster Dictionary as “a wistful or excessively sentimental yearning for return to or of some past period or irrecoverable condition.” (“Nostalgia,” 2023). Russell (2006) brings to light a specific segment of nostalgia tourism in his study of cultural tourists who display a “yearning to connect with their ancestry” (p.103). In his study, tourists from Australia, Canada, New Zealand and the United States were keen to experience their ancestral roots in the UK. One couple who had conducted genealogical research “would often stroll through local cemeteries actively searching out ancestral names on tombstones” (p.110). Loss and longing are also central to debates about authenticity, where MacCannell (2013) early writings depict tourism as an escape from commercialised society and modernity, in search of what has been lost - the authentic - in more primitive societies, even though that authenticity is increasingly staged (MacCannell, 1973).

Finally, the term Disappointed Tourist, as used by Harvey (2020), refers to one of the emotional responses to tourism losses. There is also a significant literature on tourism disappointment related to tourist satisfaction which is unrelated to lost tourism (see for example, Michalkó, Irimiás, & Timothy, 2015).

The discussion of gaps, maps and context enables a move to Xin et al.’s step of Defining Concepts and the drafting of the definition of lost tourism as:

“An aspect of tourism which has disappeared and is no longer present”

2.3. Arts-based research

Some time ago scholars such as Rimmon-Kenan (1996:8) expressed doubts about the ability of language to represent the world, an issue revisited by Greenwood (2016); Eisner (1997) pointed to arts-based research as a valuable source of enrichment, noting that “Artists, writers, and dancers, as well as scientists, have important things to tell about the world” (p.1). The publication of The Handbook of the Arts in Qualitative Research was an important milestone signalling that “research involving the arts is an emerging, expanding research genre” (Knowles & Cole, 2008, p. xii). McNiff (2008, p. 29) defined arts-based research as “a systematic use of the artistic process, the actual making of artistic expressions in all of the different forms of the arts, as a primary way of understanding and examining experience by both researchers and the people that they involve in their studies”. Leavy (2018) emphasises its transdisciplinary nature and for many years it was seen as a subset of the qualitative research paradigm. However, it was increasingly perceived as having unique features (Finley, 2005), especially its epistemology of aesthetic knowing, that would warrant its own paradigm. Its epistemology of aesthetics signals an important difference from other forms of research since it “draws on sensory, emotional, perceptual, kinesthetic, embodied, and imaginal ways of knowing” (Leavy, 2018, p 5).

Leavy (2018, p. 4) notes the use of arts in research problem generation, whilst Greenwood (2023) explains how researchers can use arts in different stages of research. “It may be to collect or create data, to interpret or analyze it, to present their findings, or some combination of these.” Leavy also sets out the types of arts-based research which “may draw on any art form and representational forms that include but are not limited to literary forms (essays, short stories, novels, experiments, writing, scripts, screenplays, poetry, parables); performative forms (music, songs, dance, creative movement, theatre); visual art (photography, drawing, painting, collage, installation art, three-dimensional (3-D) art, sculpture, comics, quilts, needlework); audiovisual forms (film, video); multimedia forms (graphic novels), and multimethod forms (combining two or more art forms)” (p.4).

Arts-based research offers ways of seeing and expressing the world in new and different ways from those found in more mainstream qualitative research. Greenwood (2023) argues that “art, product, and process allow and even invite art-makers to explore and play with knowing and meaning in ways that are more visceral and interactive than the intellectual and verbal ways that have tended to predominate in Western discourses of knowledge.” Greenwood also underlines its stimulation of emotions, senses and ideas. Leavy (2018) states that arts-based research “can offer new insights and learning on a range of subject matters. [It] offers ways to tap into what would otherwise be inaccessible, makes connections and interconnections that are otherwise out of reach, asks and answers new research questions, explores old research questions in new ways, and represents research differently and to broad audiences. The research carries the potential to jar people into seeing and/or thinking differently, feeling more deeply, learning something new, or building understandings across similarities or differences” (p.9). Leavy further characterises arts-based research as provocative, evocative, participatory and points to its critical potential.

Of course arts-based research is not without its challenges. Sceptics...
point to its subjective nature and emphasis on personal viewpoints which they claim can invalidate its research outcomes. This can also mean that it is difficult to replicate. Further the creation of artistic outputs can be time consuming and not always readily accessible to audiences. Sometimes there is a feeling that “anything goes” in arts-based research, so it is important for its adherents to be transparent and rigorous in their approaches to ensure its credibility.

There are varied examples of arts-based research projects (Lesley University Library, 2023). Art-journaling has been used by researchers into clinical depression to stimulate conversations with participants and provide novel insights into mental illness. Photography was used as a prompt in an identity project where mixed race participants looked back on their lived experiences, engaged in discussions, and exchanged narratives. A play was created and performed using the personal experiences of participants in a research project on post-traumatic stress disorders. Focus groups were formed to discuss audience reaction and these generated extra data for further analysis.

Turning to the specifics of arts-based research in tourism, Slak Valek and Mura (2023) undertook a systematic review of the literature on art and tourism based on 635 papers published between 1980 and 2021. What their research shows is that most of this literature is not relevant to this study as it is concerned with the broader topic of art tourism (Franklin, 2018), for example art heritage, the production of artefacts, and performances for tourism. Relevant to this research their findings highlighted “the rather limited number of studies involving artists as participants in the research process” (p. 286). Their analysis also shows that “art-based research appears less than 1% of times in art tourism research” (p.286) and only 23% of papers included visual representations of art.

Arts-based research in tourism, as in general, falls into two basic approaches. On the one hand arts-based enquiry uses art as a research input. Tribe (2008) used this approach where paintings were used as a data source to curate a virtual art museum “to provide a novel reading of the phenomenon of tourism with fresh insights into its representation” (p. 924). He commended his use of art for “extend[ing] our insights beyond the literal ... [and] reveal[ing] some aspects of tourism that are beyond the reach of words” (2008: 941). Tribe drew inspiration from De Botton (2002) who explains in his book The Art of Travel how artists can open our eyes to things we have overlooked and enrich our visual awareness. A further example is Mura, Tan, and Choy (2020) edited text which discusses Asian art’s contribution to place-making, identities, experiences and objects in tourism. On the other hand research through arts-making uses arts as a research output. This is exemplified by Rydzik, Pritchard, Morgan, and Sedgley (2013), who encouraged a group of migrant women to create artworks to represent their tourism experiences. Similarly the research findings of Thompson, Hannam, and Petrie’s (2012) visual autoethnography were presented through ceramic artworks.

Our research, like Tribe’s, is art rather than arts-based, capturing many of the benefits outlined above and addressing the research gap identified by Slak Valek & Mura. It uses art as both research input and output. We used visual art as an input to frame the research problem and Harvey’s art was instrumental in inspiring an imaginative leap into novel research. It also provided a comprehensive data set to analyse. As an output the art also enriched the text with evocative paintings in the presentation the findings. Conscious of possible criticisms we provide a rigorous and transparent account of our method. Our approach found much in common with visual methodologies, described by Glaw, Inder, Kable, and Hazelton (2017) as “a collection of methods used to understand and interpret images” (p.1). Rakić and Chambers (2011) have discussed these in the field of tourism where the analysis of postcards, brochures, and websites have some similarities with our work. Additionally, in their discussion of visual methods in tourism, Burns & Lester (2003) point to three relevant studies where visuals are used as data inputs. Dann (1988) used holiday brochures as research data in a cultural analysis of Cyprus. Pritchard (2001) analysed a series of UK tour operators’ brochures to investigate representations of gender, and Markwick (2001) examined modern postcards from Malta in a study of exoticism and authenticity of destinations.

2.4. Beyond the visual

Our use of visual art prompts us to consider Urry’s (1999, 1995) writings on the tourist gaze which emphasised the visual nature of tourists’ consumption of place. It observed that the importance of the visual in tourism also mirrors the importance of the visual in the wider world. Further the visual is not just central to the experience of places while travelling, but also to the anticipation of a holiday and post-trip reflections. Urry also argues that the gaze is selective, with some places assigned higher attractiveness, and is socially organised and affected by factors such as family, education, class and gender (see later comments on sample bias). The idea of visual consumption is relevant to this project since in her call for examples of lost tourism Harvey solicits places that have disappeared, i.e., gone from view. She also refers to her paintings as “symbolic restitution” as they make losses reappear providing a substitute for the gaze that has been severed by the loss of the actual.

Of course, critics of Urry, and to some extent Urry himself, have subsequently recognised an over emphasis of tourism as a visual practice and revised and refined the understanding of the consumption of place. Authors such as Edensor (2000) have contributed to the performance turn in tourism studies foregrounding the importance of embodiment and the active, corporeal and multi-sensory nature of consumption of place. Further the idea of existential authenticity (Rickly-Boyd, 2013) has emphasised the importance of “emotions, sensations, relationships, and a sense of self” (p.680) in the consumption of place. To some extent these embodied experiences are lost where figurative paintings are the data, as is the case for this research. However, they do surface in some of the comments that accompany the nominations for lost tourism made by Harvey’s public, where people talk of emotions, evocative smells, noises, tastes, and thrills. Additionally, the authors do think outside Harvey’s box when constructing an extended typology of loss and make the concept less place-dominant and occularcentric.

3. Method

Much research in tourism has been limited to quite standard, sometimes unadventurous qualitative or quantitative empirical research (Ruhanen, Moyle, & Moyle, 2019). Our innovative approach is art-based, and the artworks form the empirical strand of our conceptual method as illustrated by Fig. 1, reproduced from Xin et al. (2003, p.72). They explain that ‘conceptual research may be informed by empirical research (flow a) or philosophical analysis (flow b) or a combination of
much publicity was focussed on the exhibition data is inevitably skewed in certain directions. For example, because Harvey, tends to underrepresent some social groups. One particular, the population that engages with art, and specifically that of mediated by the artist. Even though anyone can submit an entry, the suggestions accepted resulted in three distinct sets of data. First Harvey offered what she terms “symbolic restitution” by creating a series of paintings to represent the lost places. The paintings “are 24 x 18 (61 x 46 cm) and are painted in acrylic and oil” (Harvey, 2020). To date Harvey has painted over 200 sites and each of these paintings is available to see on the exhibition website (www.disappointedtourist.org/view-paintings). Second Harvey has entered a brief description of each place. The third data set consists of the comments which were solicited from the artist Ellen Harvey. She extended the following open invitation on her project website (www.disappointedtourist.org/submit-a-site) to solicit entries:

“Is there a place that you want to visit or revisit that no longer exists? The site need not be famous – just some place that is special to you and that no longer exists. It can be a site that disappeared before you were born or some place that you loved to visit or had always wanted to visit. It needn’t be a building – it can be a natural site or even a tree. It can even be a place that never existed.” (Harvey, 2020).

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concentration on the visual, an inevitable consequence of sole reliance on paintings to underpin our concept. We therefore conducted a further search of the literature and Google which revealed other types of loss that extend the examples offered by Harvey. We noted the case of Machu Picchu, the lost Inca city which was found in 1911 (Hamilton, 2007), as tourism that has been lost but rediscovered. The same is true for archaeological remains which are revealed by accident during redevelopment or heritage artefacts which have been discovered through focussed digging. A good example of the latter is in Sutton Hoo, England where a ship burial containing Anglo-Saxon artefacts was uncovered.

Uluru / Ayers Rock in Australia exemplifies the effect of a changing discourse related to colonisation. Everingham et al. (2021, p. 88) note how “British mapping and labelling … at once ignored the Aboriginal culture and history of an area and ascribed ‘new’ settler-colonial knowledge to it.” Uluru was largely lost to the colonial project as it was renamed as Ayers Rock and overrun by the values and practices of mass tourism and National Park management practices. (Interestingly, Uluru is gradually being reclaimed by its ancestral owners and the closing of the Uluru climb in 2019 marks an important step where the colonial name of Ayers Rock is now becoming lost instead.) In a similar vein, a critical discourse analysis of web-based tourism promotions by Grimwood, Muldoon, and Stevens (2019) uncovers the erosion of indigenous cultures in Ontario, Canada. Additionally, Baleva (2019) offers a helpful analysis of lost indigenous land rights.

Transport is a rich area of loss. Supersonic passenger travel was lost by the grounding of Concorde in 2003. The Magic Bus (Maclean, 2007) plied the hippy route from London to Kathmandu in the 60s and 70s. This ten-week journey costing £89, passed through fifteen countries but was eventually ended by security issues. The UK government report into the reshaping of British railways (Beeching, 1963) recommended rail losses of more than 5000 miles of track and more than 2000 stations. Transportation tragedies have also led to the loss of passengers as in the case of Malaysia Airlines flight MH17 which was shot down over the Ukraine en-route from Amsterdam to Kuala Lumpur with the loss of 298 passengers and crew. If tourists have been lost to crashes, they have also been lost to other disasters such as COVID-19 which put a sudden brake on tourism arrivals and activities.

Some symbolic losses have been deeply felt by tourists. Prominent here was the loss of the UK blue passport, replaced by the burgundy British Union one (lamented by “Brexiteers”), a loss that was reversed by BREXIT (and lamented by “Remainers”). Some losses have been for the better. Exclusive use of beaches and other sites by white South Africans was lost in 1989 after President, F. W. de Klerk ordered the repeal of the Reservation of Separate Amenities Act of 1953. The loss of border restrictions in the Schengen area has made travel in the European Union easier. Travellers Cheques have largely disappeared, replaced by cards and phone apps offering instant international access to local currencies.

Bell (2006) describes how the idyll is often a reminder of “a golden past that was lost in the rush to modernity” (p. 152). Tourists often lament the loss of a “rural idyll that celebrated picturesque, ‘clean-green’ and productive landscape, … cohesive farming families and rural communities … historic townscape and ‘old, rustic’ farm buildings … and the relaxed, ‘slow paced’ lifestyle … .” (Howland, 2008, p. 80). Miller (2006, p. 35) characterises the situation in which commodification has been a cause of the degradation of both natural and cultural resources in Jamaica as “Paradise Sold, Paradise Lost”. Similar types of losses include comparisons to the “golden era” of air travel where glamour has been lost to endless queues and cattle class experiences caused by enhanced security and the massification of low-cost carriers. Table 2 shows how the typology is extended by the discussions of this section.

We next move on to Xin et al.’s next stage, Exploring the Purposes of Concepts, where we are able to more fully unpack the concept and further justify its significance. We live in a fast-changing world where tourism is in a continuing state of flux. Hence the first purpose of this concept is to appraise, name the issue and identify and record aspects of tourism that have disappeared. This then gives rise to the three further purposes of this investigation which are to analyse the causes, consequences and implications of lost tourism. Each of these is given more detailed consideration later in this section. The final relevant guideline for conceptual research is Applying Concepts to Practice. We consider the implications of lost tourism for practice in the conclusion. Fig. 2 illustrates the purposes of our approach.

4.3. Causes

Harvey’s comments not only include a description of each piece but also an explanation of the causes of the loss. Having carefully analysed these and other examples we ordered the data around the main causal themes that emerged. These are illustrated in Fig. 3 with broken lines to indicate permeable boundaries. In this section we discuss these causes and illustrate each cause with examples.

4.3.1. War, insurrection, and ideological conflicts

Timothy (2013) discusses “the wanton intentional destruction of natural and cultural heritage resources, or their collateral damage during time of conflict” (p.14). In this section we discuss war, insurrection, and ideological conflicts. There are many examples of war leading to tourism losses. World War 2 offers the mirror like destructions carried out by allied and Nazi forces. In the UK St Michael’s church in Coventry was bombed by the German Luftwaffe in 1940. Later in 1945, the Dresden Church of Our Lady in Germany was destroyed by RAF bombing. At the end of the war, in 1945, the United States dropped atomic bombs on Japan destroying Hiroshima Castle. In earlier times The Old Summer Palace in China was destroyed during the Second Opium War in 1860 by Anglo-French forces, whilst Persopolis in Iran was attacked in 330 BC by the army of Alexander the Great in 330 BC, and destroyed by fire.

Insurrection, the violent uprising against a government, has also led to tourism losses. For example according to Lisebrink and Reichardt (1997) The Bastille in Paris symbolised the repression and tyranny of the Ancien Régime and its storming and subsequent fall in 1789 was a key moment in the French Revolution. Cluny Abbey, a Benedictine monastery, was a further victim of the Revolution. Nelson’s Pillar in Dublin,
was a symbol of colonial rule over Ireland. There were two attempts to blow it up – the first during the Easter rising in 1916 and the second successful attempt by the IRA in 1966. The destruction of The Pearl Monument in Bahrain was an indirect result of insurrection. In this case it had become a symbol and rallying point for anti-government protesters and was demolished by the government in 2011.

I ideological destruction encompasses both religious and political causes. Shahab and Isakhan (2018) analysed the targeted destruction of targets by the Islamic State. They argue that such acts can serve as a performance to appeal to or shock different audiences as in the case of the September 11, 2001 Al-Qaeda-inspired attacks on the Twin Towers in New York, which also exhibited strong elements of retaliation. They further argue that heritage destruction may be motivated by a desire to erase symbolic opposition towards their ideology and serve as ritualization acts to transform adherents into violent jihadists. This is exemplified by the destruction in 2015 of the Temple of Bel in Syria by ISIS and the Buddhas of the Bamyan Valley in central Afghanistan that were destroyed in 2001 by the Taliban. Similar causes can be attributed to destruction related to political ideologies. For example the dynamiting of The Cathedral of Christ the Saviour was ordered by Stalin in 1931 for it to be replaced by the proposed Palace of the Soviets. The Dresden Synagogue was burned down in 1938 during the anti-Jewish Nazi Kristallnacht programs and The Great Synagogue of Warsaw was destroyed by the Nazis in 1943. In some cases ideological intervention was less extreme. For example, the Castro regime commandeered the Banco Pedroso in 1960 since when the building has become derelict.

4.3.2. Economic shifts

Economic shifts can also cause losses. These range from long term economic decline to shorter term factors (Tribe, 2020). For example, increases in rent led to the closing of Florent in New York, “a restaurant known for its mix of transgender prostitutes, tourists, artists, locals, and celebrities” (Harvey, 2020). Rising insurance premiums forced the closure of Rockaways’ Playland amusement park in Queens, NY in 1987. The Corcoran Gallery of Art in Washington DC closed because of financial problems (Wallach, 1997). Falling demand was also responsible for the closure of the Toorak Drive-In Cinema in Melbourne, Australia in 1884, as well as the Berlin Tempelhof Airport which closed in 2008 after competition from the new Berlin-Schönefeld International Airport.

4.3.3. Environmental changes

Environmental changes (Fang, Yin, & Wu, 2018) have also triggered tourism losses. For example Wolff et al. (2018, p. 1978), noting the effects of pollution and climate change, predict that “a scenario of unmitigated emissions … and business-as-usual management of local stressors, mean coral cover on the Great Barrier Reef is predicted to recover over the next decade and then rapidly decline to only 3% by year 2050”. Even more dramatic is the fate of the Chacaltaya Glacier as described by Kaenzig, Rebetez, and Serquet (2016); “the Chacaltaya glacier … had been a tourist destination known as the highest ski slope in the world since 1939. As a result of climate change, skiing has not been possible after 1987 and the glacier definitely disappeared in 2009” (p.111). Scott, Simpson, and Sim (2012) draw attention to possible losses of Caribbean coastal tourism to sea level rise resulting from climate change.

4.3.4. Natural disasters and accidents

Rosselö, Becken, and Santana-Gallego (2020) compiled a typology of natural disasters that affect tourism. These include drought, earthquake, tsunami, epidemic, flood, industrial accident, fire, storm and volcanic activity. Two examples illustrate tourism losses from earthquakes. The Dharahara Tower, a popular visitor attraction in Kathmandu, Nepal, was destroyed by an earthquake in 2015, and the Palais National in Haiti suffered severe damage in an earthquake in 2010 leading to its demolition in 2012. The Tunnel Tree was a giant sequoia in California. Apart from its size, the main tourist attraction was a tunnel cut through its trunk that cars could drive through, but in 2017 it was felled in a storm. Also, in 2017, Caneel Bay Resort in the Virgin Islands was wrecked by hurricane Irma and hurricane Maria. The Kiluakea Volcano eruption in Hawaii during June 2018 covered the Kapoho Bay Tide Pools in lava flow, destroying a popular site for snorkelling.

Fire has caused the destruction of a range of tourist attractions. Gardner (2018) records the fate of The Crystal Place, a vast exhibition structure made from cast iron and plate glass, designed by Joseph Paxton and initially erected in Hyde Park (London) in 1851. In 1854 the building was relocated to Sydenham Hill, in South London but was destroyed by fire in November 1936. Dreamland was a Coney Island (USA) amusement park. In 1911, during a renovation project, a fire broke leading to the destruction of the park. Lucia Araujo (2019) recalls how in 2018 “a fire destroyed the 200-year-old National Museum of Brazil in Rio de Janeiro, along with the vast majority of the nearly 20 million items it housed” (p. 569). This included “Luzia”, a 11,500-year-old skeleton of a woman some of which survived the fire. Fire has also caused the destruction of natural tourist attractions such as Kangaroo Island (Australia). Over half of the island was burnt by bushfires in 2019. Loss through accident is illustrated by the Intihuatana Stone in Machu Picchu, Peru. This was damaged in 2000 when a crane being used for filming fell over, breaking off part of the stone.

4.3.5. Development

Much of the physical redevelopment discussed in this section has happened to accommodate a wider plan, generally initiated by the public sector. The case of the lost villages of Derwent and Ashopton in 1944 necessitated the flooding of river valleys meaning that the villages were completely submerged. On a much smaller scale Graham’s Rib Station opened in 1932 as a barbecue diner with accommodation in Springfield, Missouri, USA. It was unusual in welcoming customers of all races in an era and area of segregation. It was demolished as part of an infrastructure development project to build the Chestnut Expressway. A new infrastructure plan was also responsible for the loss of a church, the Santuario di Santa Lucia in Venice, Italy. This was demolished to allow for the development of a new railway station in the 1860s.
Two examples highlight redevelopment to exploit the capital value of a site. The Imperial Hotel in Tokyo, Japan, designed by the architect Frank Lloyd Wright was built in 1923. It represented an example of the Mayan Revival architectural style but was demolished in 1976 and replaced by a new multi-story hotel. The Sands Hotel and Casino in Las Vegas, USA which opened in 1952, was demolished in 1996 so that a new resort, The Venetian, could be built on the site.

Development can also lead to loss of intangible culture. Ginaya, Sudarmini, and Damayanti (2019) discuss the loss of the Tri Hita Karana and Sad Kerth values of well-being and natural sustainability from the commodification of tourism in Bali. Kim, Whitford, and Arcodia (2019) also discuss how, as intangible cultural heritage is readily commodified into a product to satisfy tourists, its authenticity is threatened. The closure of the First Out Café Bar meant the loss of a pioneering café in London where LGBT culture was encouraged to flourish in a safe public space. Huang, Wall, and Mitchell (2007) describe the process where the development and commodification of heritage destroys its original value as creative destruction. Colonial development often led to the overwriting of indigenous cultural narratives as in the case of Uluru discussed earlier. Similarly, Nelson’s Column in Dublin was an icon of colonisation and its destruction was the precursor to many latter battles over statue narratives, especially relating to the overwriting of Black history and slavery in the UK.

4.3.6. Complex, contested and uncertain causes

Many causes of loss are complex, contested and uncertain. For example there were both environmental and economic factors behind the decline of Great Zimbabwe which was created primarily to manage the opportunities and hazards of the difficult southern plateau environments, but it was also part of a global trading network. Its decline was strongly associated with the challenges arising from these responsibilities (Pikirayi, 2006, p. 44). Theories behind the abandonment of the Mohenjo-daro range from flooding to the overutilisation of land, causing the sudden decline of the Indus Valley (Posehl, 1967). The Elgin Marbles are lost to their original location in The Parthenon, Athens, Greece, from where they were removed by the Earl of Elgin. In one sense they are not lost as they are currently on display in the British Museum, London, UK, but their ownership is disputed by the Greek government.

4.3.7. Other causes

Some attractions were planned to be lost as they were only temporary in the first place. For example The Festival of Britain, a national fair and exhibition set up in London, UK, both opened and closed in 1951. Time, wear and tear have also caused loss. The first Waterloo Bridge over the Thames in London, UK, opened in 1817 and lasted over 100 years until it was found that its foundations were damaged leading to its demolition in 1943 and replacement with the current bridge. The Old Man of the Mountain was a geological feature in Cannon Mountain in New Hampshire, USA, which looked like the profile of a rugged human face. Over the years cycles of freezing and thawing caused cracks in the rock formation, and whilst there were attempts to repair it, The Old Man suffered a significant collapse in 2003 destroying the illusion. Health and safety is a big concern for amusement parks with Woodcock (2019) reporting 51 events involving a fatality in her one-year worldwide study (2017–2018). It was such an issue that led to the closure of Lincoln Park Massachusetts, USA, an attraction which included a dance hall and roller coaster. A fatal accident occurred on a roller coaster in 1986 followed soon after by a failure of its braking system led to its closure on safety grounds and demolition in 2012.

4.4. Consequences

The consequences of lost tourism are varied and complex. In this section they are organised around two main themes. First there is the emotional response to the loss. These can include feelings of grief, disappointment, nostalgia, shame, relief, celebration, happiness, unease and indiffERENCE. These emotions may be expressed at a personal level or shared by groups and communities at the local, national and international level. Sometimes a loss may cause the imagination to be fired. The second theme analyses the many examples of practical responses to lost tourism including memorialisation. Examples here include museums, art and literature, histories, virtual versions, reconstruction, re-enactment, replacement, statues and plaques and renamings. Some losses result in a reappraisal of the situation with something new, different or transformative replacing the loss. Indeed, not all loss is remediated or memorialised, resulting in physical, narrative, and symbolic gaps.

4.4.1. Emotional Responses

Fig. 4 illustrates different emotional responses to tourism’s losses. Dashed lines are used in Figs. 4 and 5 to signify that the boundaries between the segments are permeable and can be amalgamated. Nostalgia is a common feeling associated with a wish to recapture something lost. Relevant to this study Christou (2020) notes that triggers of nostalgia can include loss of nature, structures (sometimes associated with a special ambience, music, stories, and food) and objects. One respondent captures the loss of the ambience associated with the brief Festival of Britain, “The site and the spirit embody the post-WWII UK and all that happened in the next 50 years. Optimistic, outward-looking, welcoming and creative. It is everything we are losing. I wish I had been there.” Another states “I’m missing the smell of the smoked hams” of The Bavarian Wurst Haus, Milwaukee, USA, which closed in the early 1990s. A further respondent yearns for “One more cha cha cha on that lovely wooden, sprung floor” of the long gone Lambeth School of Dancing in London. The demolished Enchanted Shoe (USA) reminded a respondent “of a time when my dreams were simpler” and the Chesterfield Mall Carousel (USA), closed in 2018, was recalled with “good memories and echoes of laughter”.

These comparisons with the present are highlighted by Caton and Santos (2007, p. 372) who offer an understanding of nostalgia as “a longing for a past (constructed of only positive memories) evoked by discontent or anxiety over present conditions”. Several respondents associated lost tourism with pleasurable experiences in their youth. They mentioned going to (now closed) concert venues and places they had visited with family and friends. Caton and Santos (2007, p. 372) also
note that the “remembered past that may have occurred before one’s birth and, hence, not have been experienced personally.” This distant nostalgia is illustrated by the case of Idora Park, an amusement park in California, USA, where a respondent noted “My grandparents always talked about this theme park and going there as children.”

In some cases, respondents reported stronger emotional responses of devastation and grief. One describes the burning down of The Glasgow School of Art, Scotland, UK in 2018 as “heartbreaking”. Another posted: “The Cluny monastery was one of my favourite buildings when I was studying mediaeval architecture… I was devastated when I learned that the original Roman and Gothic building… had been destroyed during the French Wars of Religion and the remains were used as a quarry in the aftermath of the French Revolution.” Weaver and Lawton (2007, p. 111) describe the grief following the collapse of The Old Man Rock Formation: the “Immediate reaction to the collapse, as reflected in local media coverage, was dominated by a strong sense of disbelief and shock, followed by mourning”. Place attachment theory may help to understand these emotions. It describes “a positive connection or bond between a person and a particular place” (Williams & Vaske, 2004, p. 231). Wunsch and Fowler (2004, p. 1) explain that “citizens had an almost sublime, personal relationship with their state symbol [the Old Man]”. Hence the intense emotions when this bond is lost.

The case of the Dresden Church of Our Lady (Dresdner Frauenkirche), in Dresden, Germany which was destroyed by allied bombing raids in 1945, evoked feelings of shame. It is described by a respondent as an “unforgettable atrocity [that] left a moral stain on British ‘virtue’ or ‘innocence’. This is mirrored in the destruction of St Michael’s, Coventry, UK by the Luftwaffe which is described as “German mega aggression and moral transgression.” Whilst the majority of emotions expressed about lost tourism were sorrowful, the destruction of Nelson’s Pillar, Dublin, Ireland evoked a response which was more celebratory. The respondent viewed the monument as “an interesting icon of colonialisation in a country that has had such a turbulent relationship with its coloniser.” Further comments indicate satisfaction at its demise.

Andrews (2017) notes that “the importance of the role of tourists’ imaginations in contributing to how tourism places and peoples are understood is deep-rooted and well-rehearsed in tourism studies” (p.32).

Storytelling is a useful device for remembering (Zare, 2019). Storytelling helps to organise information about how people interpret events, the values, beliefs and experiences that guide those interpretations, and their hopes, intentions and plans for the future (Kent, 2016). Stories are reconstructions of a person’s experiences, remembered and told from a particular perspective. They do not necessarily represent “life as lived” in a factual sense but allow for the sharing and interpretation of past events. In the context of lost tourism, storytelling is an important form of cultural and heritage discovery. Rabotić (2008) describes tourist guides as cultural and heritage interpreters who tell stories about places, objects and events with the aim to reveal meanings and relationships that facilitate emotional and intellectual connections.

Tucker and Shelton (2018, p. 70) explain how the losses caused by the Christchurch, New Zealand earthquakes of 2010/2011 have been
memorialised through tourist guided tours and storytelling “these tours enacted a predominantly dystopic post-apocalyptic narrative of the city by emphasising the damage and loss that was on display.” Mahn, Scares, Edwards, and Tribe (2021) investigated how the devastation and losses caused by Hurricane Katrina in New Orleans have been memorialised. They emphasise the importance of personal reflections and personal narratives and state that “the personalised memorialisation of lived experience and shared stories has become a common form of expression within the tourism experience” (p. 174). They also point out that these personal narratives present a diversity of voices that have served to contest some of the dominant narratives of New Orleans.

Digital storytelling has also emerged as a powerful and innovative approach to place storytelling, remembering and communication (Basano et al., 2019). Digital storytelling allows for the capture of memories and stories in a more accessible and creative form. Memories and stories about places are often fragmented or lost so the use of digital communication tools and mobile technology provides opportunities for inclusive and broader engagement in place storytelling and remembering (Floh & Jiang, 2015).

Regarding markers and monuments, Bright et al. (2021, p. 2), discussing memorial sites in general, note that they “are often indicated by historical markers that bear texts or images meant to commemorate people, events, and places associated with these sites.” For example it is just a small metal plaque that recalls the lost Halbmondlager (Half Moon Camp) Wundsdorf, Germany that was demolished in 1926. A respondent states that “anyone looking at the little text will get the sense of why seeing this site in the middle of some field in Germany would have been extraordinary...”. It marks a camp and wooden mosque which held Allied Muslim prisoners of the first world war. Monuments represent more substantial markers of loss. Examples include a memorial to the Old Man of the Mountain that was completed in 2020 and a memorial that commemorates the destruction of the Semper Synagogue, Dresden, Germany by Nazis in 1938. Monuments and markers also perform a hailing role (Bauman, 2000), drawing attention to themselves and the loss they commemorate.

Whilst traditionally, memorialisation was often in the form of a plaque, headstone or statue, the internet has become an important medium. Online memorials allow for the sharing of content such as photos, sounds and videos, which facilitates a level of interactivity not possible with traditional memorials (Earle, Komaromy, & Bartholomew, 2008). Jakobsen, Larsen, Norlem, and Kraus (2017) discuss the use of augmented reality, and investigate crowdsourcing as ways to recreate lost heritage sites (Stathopoulou, Georgopoulos, Panagiotopoulos, & Kalliampakos, 2015).

Re-enactments represent an activity through which participants recreate aspects of an event or a historical period (Guha, 2009). The process of historical remembering through anniversaries is often achieved with the staging of specific events to commemorate the event or through the establishment of cultural practices. The centenary of the sinking of the Titanic during her maiden voyage from Southampton to New York City on 15 April 1912 saw the staging of various commemorative events. One of the most macabre re-enactments was “The Queen of the Ocean” experience (offered in 2021/2022 in the UK) based around the last meal served to the first class passengers of the Titanic along with the official plaque was subsequently unveiled in 2015 by the Mayor of New York City. The replica now also houses a museum of Hiroshima’s history before World War II. Michelsberg Synagogue was burned down in 1939 as part of the Nazi attack on Jewish communities throughout Germany. A reconstruction in the form of a memorial was erected on the site in 2011 that shows the outline of the structure. Whilst the economic merits of reconstruction are apparent, for Mirisaeae and Ahmad (2018) the reconstruction of buildings and urban areas should seek to actively engage the local community in shaping a tourism-oriented approach to reconstruction. Elsewhere, the reconstructed New Ecchota court building in the U.S. offers an opportunity to revive narratives of lost Cherokee culture.

Jolliffe and Smith (2001) observe that museums have a custodial role in maintaining collections and a curatorial role in arranging them into experiences. Their role in lost tourism is to display sometimes fragments, and sometimes more complete pieces to enable the losses to be recreated and enjoyed. An example of a rescued fragment is the neon sign from Graham’s Rib Station, Missouri, USA, which has been restored and is now exhibited in the Route 66 gallery at the History Museum on the Square, Springfield, Missouri, USA. A more complete piece is illustrated by the Frank Lloyd Wright designed Imperial Hotel, Tokyo, Japan which was completed in 1923 but demolished in 1976. However the whole entrance lobby was conserved and reconstructed at the open-air Meiji Mura Architecture Museum in Nagoya. It sits amongst other reconstructed historical buildings of note.

Remediation and memorialisation can render lost tourism visible again but that inevitably raises questions of power and interest in determining what tourism remains lost and what and how some is brought back into view. Kirshenblatt-Gimblett (1998) noted how those involved in heritage tourism can selectively package the past to suit an accepted, mainstream heritage construction of the present, narrating events towards that end and erasing parts that do not fit. This is evident in the assigning and messaging of markers and monuments and the curation of museum collections. Lloyd (2021) adds that ‘memorials ‘as the final word’ are impossible…” (p.1). Art can provide a powerful critique of this tendency as illustrated by the project REPOHistory (Shollete, 2019). This group wished to revive lost histories of the working classes, minorities and children, and one activity was to disrupt the regularised display of heritage markers in New York by inserting their own alternative metal street signs. One example, commemorating lost queer spaces, was a pink triangular marker for Bonnie and Clyde’s, a landmark bar frequented by lesbian activists, which closed in the 1980s. Another example was a sign erected on Wall St to mark the overlooked site of the New York Slave Market which closed in 1762. Interestingly an official plaque was subsequently unveiled in 2015 by the Mayor of New York.

5. Conclusion

This article contributes to knowledge in several ways. First the definition of Lost Tourism is redrafted and slightly extended as:

An aspect of tourism, whether physical or intangible, which has disappeared and no longer present.

The concept is underpinned by the discovery of a conceptual gap, mapping of its scope, comparison with neighbour concepts, and the creation of a typology. A special richness of description is provided using hyperlinks to artworks. Next an analysis of causes identified and discussed conflicts, economic shifts, environmental changes, disasters and accidents, development, complex and other factors. The analysis of consequences identified emotional and practical responses to loss. The former discussed nostalgia, devastation and grief, shame, celebration and imagination. The latter discussed transformation, the arts, storytelling and guides, markers and monuments, re-enactment and
reconstruction and museums and visitor centres. Additionally, young and immature subjects such as tourism have an incomplete repertoire of concepts and theories, so part of their development involves finding and filling these gaps. The proposition of the novel concept of Lost Tourism offers an enriching addition to the development project of tourism studies. With tourism losses comes an opportunity to understand the disconnected gazes, disrupted experiences, knowledge deficits and diminished opportunities for authenticity. A further contribution is its innovative mixing of deductive and inductive methods in a qualitative arts-based enquiry using data in the public domain. For whilst empiricism alone only helps us to see the world as is, adding a philosophical element enhances the empirical to make visible hidden things, original patterns and how the world could be.

As well as the limitations of this research noted in the literature review and research method sections it should be noted that the use of art has led to an overemphasis on visual and physical loss. There are several important and promising avenues for future research arising from this. First the concept of lost tourism should be investigated from cultural perspectives other than the Anglo-Saxon one. Second there is a preponderance of examples of natural and (high) cultural tourism losses and it would also be illuminating to collect and analyse more evidence from beyond these domains (see Section 4.2, Extended Typology of Lost Tourism). Third, in-depth analyses of the economic and psychological consequences of lost tourism are called for. Fourth it would be useful to evaluate cases where the remediation of lost tourism has been undertaken.

The importance and practical implications of the concept relate to the consequences of a runaway (tourism) world (Giddens, 2002). The implication of this is that not only are we creating a (tourism) world at speed and without due thought, record keeping and control, but also losing parts of tourism at speed and without due thought. Whilst the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) is watchful over sites of natural or cultural significance, it operates at a highly selective level of uniqueness that overlooks many actual and potential tourism losses. So, it is important to specifically identify and attend to these tourism losses. In practical terms, this means two things. First to encourage the adoption and circulation of the term lost tourism in the academic world and into the world of practice. Second, those bodies responsible for tourism stewardship – governments, planners, intergovernmental organisations, NGOs, DMOs, industry and landowners – need to approach those tourism losses occurring outside of UNESCO’s brief with due thought, record keeping and control. This means identification of, and action planning for potential losses and appropriate practical responses to past losses.

The example in the opening lines of this piece offers an appropriate coda to this article. It cited the drastic loss of the UK rail network resulting from government policy. This loss initiated a trajectory which has embedded itself deeply into the structure of UK tourism mobility. It has meant that tourism by train has largely been replaced with tourism by car and plane. It is a loss that is particularly relevant in the context of action urgently needed for sustainability and climate change.

**References**


