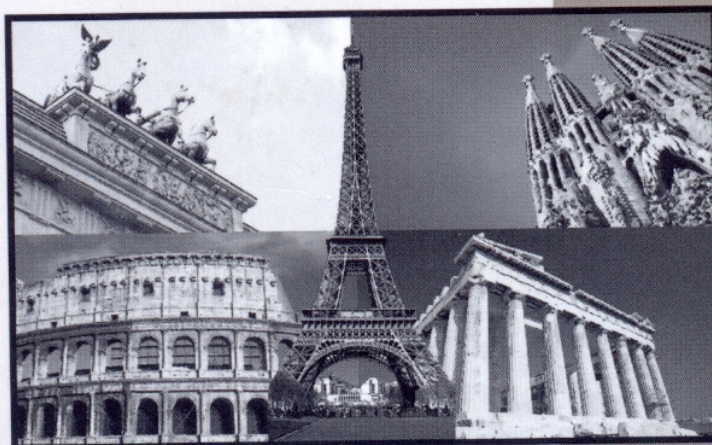




# The Sociology of Tourism

## European Origins and Developments

Graham M.S. Dann and  
Giuli Liebman Parrinello



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## Chapter 1

# Setting the Scene

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## INTRODUCTION

This is a book about tourism social theory. It includes contributions from a number of European regions tracing the origins of the sociology of tourism to Europe in the 1930s and the wide range of its early conceptualization. There is also a specific focus on the Continental roots of its four current mainstream theories and the continuing richness of its evolution in diverse cultures and many languages up to the present day.

A comparative study of tourism social theories and their initial appearance in various European countries prior to their subsequent Anglo-Saxon articulation is a new and challenging exercise. For an ambitious undertaking such as this it is necessary to go further than the simple accumulation of different perspectives, even if they display a fascinating patrimony expressed in a way beyond the habitual horizons of conventional wisdom. Instead, the sociology of tourism and its sociological object must somehow capture the multi-polarity of tourism as a “total social phenomenon” (Lanfant 1995; in this volume). To deal with tourism social theories means not only abstractly linking them with general sociology and its main paradigms, but also taking into consideration the socio-political,

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## 2 *The Sociology of Tourism*

economic, geographic, cultural, and ideological contexts in which they arose, including the working conditions under which the sociologists of tourism lived, together with their institutions of affiliation. Our project thus requires the study of multiple, different strains and levels of analysis.

The inspiration for this volume derives from a concern about monolingualism in tourism theory, an unjustified dominance of English as the *lingua franca* of communication that stands in sharp contrast to the polyglot tradition in sociology, as pointed out on several occasions by a former, highly respected President of the International Sociological Association (ISA), Immanuel Wallerstein (1995, 1998) (see Touraine 1998). In fact, the research committee on international tourism (RC 50) within the umbrella and as a microcosm of the ISA, with its significant Anglo-Saxon, European, and cosmopolitan composition has acted as a kind of intellectual catalyst for our interest in this matter, particularly with the realization that several of the contributors to this book are members of that group (Liebman Parrinello 2008; RC 50 2008).

Moreover, there is the essential relationship between the sociology of tourism and other social scientific disciplines of tourism, whose multi-, possibly inter-, disciplinary treatment is well known. Although it can be argued (Dann 2000) that the sociological treatment of tourism has probably contributed more to the current stock of knowledge of tourism as a social phenomenon than any other discipline (Dann 2005b), among the most important disciplines a few, like anthropology, are closely allied to, and sometimes barely distinguishable from, sociology (Nash 2007; Sharpley 1994:28–29) in providing an understanding of tourism. For that reason the sociology of tourism, coupled occasionally with the anthropology of tourism, is heuristically the principal focus of the pages that follow.

To this end, socio-historical overviews have been invited from well-known scholars from a number of Continental countries. With the exception of some from far Eastern Europe, they range from France, Germany (Austria and Switzerland), Italy, Spain, Greece, the Low-Countries, and the region of Scandinavia to the former Yugoslavia and Poland.<sup>1</sup> By examining these individual contributions on a comparative basis, it is possible to explore them in their various social and ideological contexts, and thereby obtain a cumulative picture of their evolution.

Throughout this representative anthology (with typical brief excerpts from our carefully selected indigenous experts for different areas translated by them from their native languages into English for a mainly Anglophone readership), it is possible to discover the Continental origins of the sociology of tourism. In other words, we can grasp the application of a discipline



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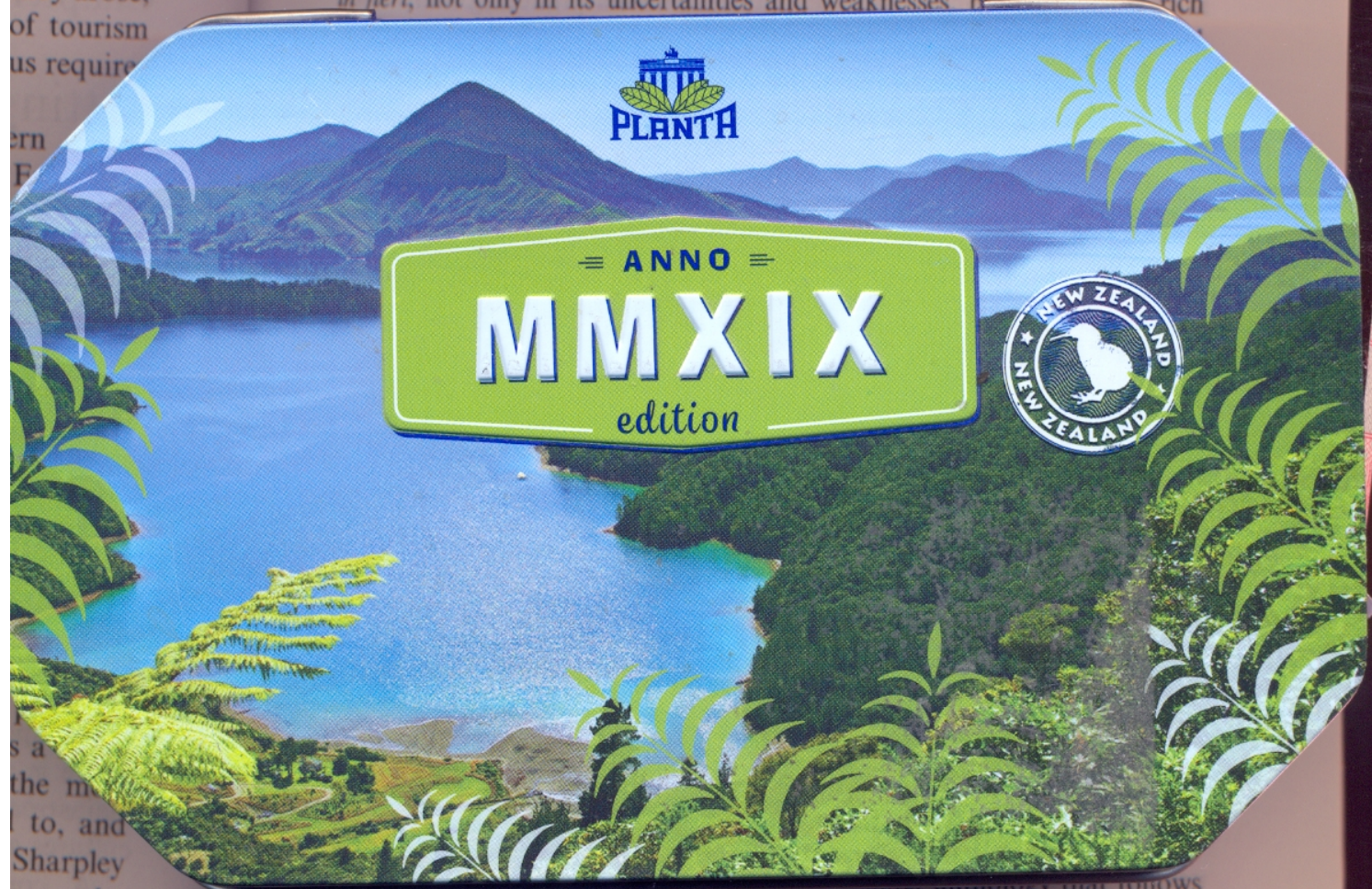
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constitutes the main body of this volume. There will then be a conclusion with tables summarizing the principal findings of this investigation in their original and evolutionary contexts.

#### → *The Anglophone Dominance of Tourism Studies Today*

According to Norwood (2006), "only 30 percent of UK citizens have a level of 'conversational competence' in a second language...enough to order a beer, but not enough to buy a home" (in contrast to 99% of Luxemburgers, 91% of Dutch, and 88% of Danes). A similar state of affairs occurs in the United States (National Virtual Translation Center 2008) where only 9% of Americans can speak their native language plus another language fluently, as opposed to 53% of Europeans.

Catering to, and perhaps encouraging such linguistic limitation in an area where we would assume that a premium would be placed on the ability to communicate in another language, in 2003, it was estimated that there were



## Chapter 2

# Tourism Research and Theory in German-Speaking Countries

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### INTRODUCTION

Tourism “theory,” or scholarly thinking about tourism,<sup>1</sup> originally emerged within the discipline of economics, and then mainly in Italy and the German-speaking Alpine countries. Comprising some 100 million persons, German speakers constitute an important element of the world’s population that initially contributed and currently continues to make important contributions to tourism theory, but that fact in itself does not explain why tourism research began here. Rather, it was grounded in the fear of failing to capitalize on an emerging market. The rapid development of tourism in the Alpine areas around 1900 (the “rush to the Alps”) took place in a very uneven way. The Western Alps (Switzerland) became the world’s leading destination, whereas in the Eastern Alps, belonging to Austria and Bavaria, tourist traffic grew only moderately. During most of the 19th century, the Alps were regarded as virtually synonymous with the Swiss Federal Republic. Inbound tourism, principally from the United Kingdom and Germany, transformed this secluded, poor country into a prosperous one, a center of *high life* for the European upper classes. Although the German-Austrian Alpine Club successfully promoted climbing and hiking

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in the Eastern Alps, politicians and economists from these two countries looked with envy at the flourishing upscale tourism in their Western neighbor state.

In this connection, in 1894, a "congress for the enhancement of tourism" was held in the Austrian city of Graz. In all Alpine countries, a number of articles on tourism in relation to the national economy and statistics appeared, indicating a growing awareness of the role of tourism (Spode 1998a). "Our mountains," which used to be a barrier for trade and travel, are now "part of our national wealth," concluded the economist and journalist Josef Stradner from Graz (1890:257f). Generally, there was a widespread feeling of living in an age of travel, particularly in the German Empire which transformed itself from an agrarian country into a leading industrial nation. Indeed, among the middle and upper classes (some 10% of the population), the annual vacation had become quite commonplace. "Everybody travels," exclaimed the novelist Theodor Fontane (1894), who called the "regeneration" by vacation trips a necessity in the face of an ever faster pace of life in cities and offices. According to his rudimentary theory, tourism allowed for a time-out, a retreat from the alienated "modern" way of life.

In such a manner, "real life" shifted from everyday to the holiday: "Eleven months you have to live, the twelfth month you will live" (Fontane 1894:3f). Later, Georg Simmel, a founding father of sociology, made this growing mobility an object of theoretical reflection. In 1895, he published an essay on the "industrialized" consumption of nature in Switzerland in which he criticized the Alpinists for inflating their "egoistic" pursuits with moral claims (Simmel 1992). In 1908—on the occasion of his "habilitation" (state doctorate)—he introduced his innovative analysis of the *Fremde* (stranger) (Simmel 1923). In the network of the "spatial orders of the society" the stranger was both included and excluded, a situation that had its merits and disadvantages. Simmel did not speak of tourists in this connection but of tradesmen and minorities; for him, the *Fremde* represented one of the basic types of human relations. Of course one might conclude that this type also characterized the tourist, as later did von Wiese (1930) and Gleichmann (1969) (cf. Cohen 2003).

## TOURISM RESEARCH AND THEORY

The initial spark that ignited tourism research occurred in 1902. The occasion was a lecture delivered in Munich by Adolf Brougier on the



"impact of tourism for Bavaria." In this address, he defined tourism as leisure travel and identified many of its direct and indirect positive effects on the local economy, including an increase in beer consumption (Brougier 1902; Spode 2007a). Soon after, the Tourist Association for Munich and Upper Bavaria started to gather regular statistics and to promote this destination in order to benefit from the "gold stream" of international tourism which flowed from the "Rhine to the Swiss mountains."<sup>2</sup>

### *The Birth of the Fremdenverkehrswissenschaft*

A milestone in the emergence of tourism research was the 1905 overview *Der Fremdenverkehr. Eine volkswirtschaftliche Studie* (Tourism: An Economic Study) by the previously mentioned Josef Stradner (here 1917). This first academic monograph on tourism stressed the fact that tourists were consumers; they spent money in a destination which had been earned somewhere else. In certain regions and countries, tourism had thus become a significant factor in the "balance of payments." Moreover, tourism helped to monetize—and so preserve—"nature" (such as forests). Like Brougier, Stradner consequently regarded tourism as essentially different from other forms of travel, and defined it in particular according to its voluntary and "luxury" character (a term signifying élitist access to tourist experiences).

From the time of Stradner onwards, the term *Fremdenverkehr* (literally, stranger's or nonresident's traffic)<sup>3</sup> had become firmly established in public culture, politics, and science. As in every new branch of research, the demarcation of the object was a crucial task. Roughly speaking, two opposing approaches were (and still are) applied. One tended toward a wide definition, leaving out motives and comprising nearly all varieties of travel. This could be traced back to the economist Hermann von Schullern zu Schrattenhofen (1911) who had defined *Fremdenverkehr* as the sum of all economic activities in connection with travel. The second approach took, however vaguely, specific motives of tourists into account and/or stressed their role as consumers and thus regarded tourism as a (novel) subset of all travel. This approach could be traced back to Brougier and Stradner and is particularly appropriate to social and cultural studies. The wide definitions, by contrast (Mundt 2001)—while suitable for economic and statistical questions about horizontal mobility in general—are, as Nettekoven rightly maintains, "completely useless for sociological orientated studies" since they cannot grasp the *differentia specifica* of tourism (1972:7).

With respect to tourism motives, again two basic explanations could be distinguished: sociological and biological. Like Fontane, the majority tended



to perceive modern times as an era that ruined the "nerves" (of the brainworkers only) and thus created new needs for relaxation in order to regenerate the workforce.<sup>4</sup> The latter stated that there was a certain "drive" in humans that made them travel and that modern transport technologies and growing wealth provided the means to act out that nomadic instinct on a large scale. As in the case of the definitions of "tourism," by and large both positions are still evident today.<sup>5</sup> In the early debate on tourism, however, the question of basic motivations was of minor importance (so that Stradner could combine the two explanations), and the wide definitions prevailed.

### *The Berlin Institute*

After World War I, Europeanization and globalization were replaced by a walling-off of nation states, and under the slogan "autarky" the balance of payments became a political dogma. First, cross-border traffic decreased dramatically and then, due to a series of economic crises and upheavals, domestic tourism in Central Europe also declined. In spite of this downturn, travel agencies, communities, and governments enhanced their efforts to stimulate tourism demand.

In this connection, several books, booklets, and dissertations appeared, dealing with the economic, statistical, geographical, political, and marketing aspects of tourism.<sup>6</sup> In 1927, for example, the *Handbook of Political Sciences* included an entry on the topic and thus ennobled it as worthwhile to scientists (Morgenroth 1927). At the same time, the widespread notion that tourism was a vital part of the economy and culture ushered in the first university courses. While in Italy the young economist and director of the national tourist board, Angelo Mariotti, from 1925 began to lecture on the economics of tourism at Rome University, in 1928–1929 the business economist Robert Glücksmann founded the *Forschungsinstitut für den Fremdenverkehr* (Research Institute for Tourism) in Berlin.<sup>7</sup> This institute, housed at the Commercial University, held seminars and, above all, started to carry out and organize systematic research (Glücksmann et al 1930; Grünthal 1962; Spode 1998a). To this end, a library and an historical archive were installed. Although mainly centered on economic issues, teaching and research were interdisciplinary. Stimulated by the progress made in Berlin and Rome, Arthur Bormann published a textbook on tourism defining *Fremdenverkehr* as the epitome of travel, provided the stay was not permanent (1931:10). Later, Glücksmann and his associates also authored a textbook or overview (1935) that included a similarly wide definition,<sup>8</sup> even though the research followed more Stradner's notion of tourism as leisure or



Likewise the regime produced an international leisure movement as an anti-structure to the League of Nations that was to disguise its long-term objective, namely war. Its propaganda sold the democratization of "bourgeois" joys, be they theater, sports, or travel, as an essential contribution to "inner and outer peace." In 1936, and running parallel to the Olympics, a bombastic "World Congress" on leisure and recreation was staged in Hamburg. Its honorary president, the doyen of the American sport officials praised the ideal of the "people's community" and delegates from 61 countries held political and scientific lectures (*Internationales Zentral-Büro* 1937). A similar congress in Rome followed suit; successfully the Fascist regimes globalized leisure politics and leisure research and made it their trademark.<sup>12</sup> By comparison, specialized research in tourism continued on a much smaller scale after the closedown of the Berlin Institute. Of this limited output, the most remarkable work was by the geographer Hans Poser (1939), whose landmark study on the Silesian mountains showed how tourism shaped this region according to its needs and aesthetic ideals.<sup>13</sup> In 1939/1941 two new research institutions were established. However, due to the war no major work—apart from a hefty tome on the cultural history of the public house—was carried out. Nonetheless, thanks to Glücksmann's activities, a small but significant scientific community had been formed around 1930, one that began to stimulate research in other countries such as Austria, Greece, Hungary, Switzerland, the United Kingdom, and even South Africa. A decade later the Berlin Institute and its journal were rightly praised as the "first and, at the same time, qualitative and quantitative unique step" toward a "scientific understanding of tourism" (Hunziker and Krapf 1942:27).

### *The Swiss Twins*

By far the greatest scientific impact took place in Switzerland. Here a second (and institutionally successful) attempt was made to establish tourism research. Once more, the background was a crisis in tourism. During World War II inbound tourism virtually ceased, but Switzerland wanted to prepare this industry for the expected boom after the war. In 1941, two institutes were founded: the Seminar for Tourism in Sankt Gallen was to focus on teaching, while the other in Bern, whose name was identical with the former Berlin Institute, was to engage more in research (both institutes still exist). Their respective directors, Walter Hunziker and (since 1943) Kurt Krapf, worked closely together. In 1941 they authored a first outline on tourism research and tourism history. A year later, they published a sort of textbook,



*Grundriss der Allgemeinen Fremdenverkehrslehre* (Outline of the General Teaching of Tourism), a genre that had been invented by Bormann (1931). It was oriented toward practical needs, and for decades it served as the "bible" in training and research. While Stradner had implicitly concentrated on special tourism motives, Hunziker and Krapf only took *ex negativo* motives into account (Hunziker and Krapf 1942:21f). That is to say, they preferred the following wide nominal definition:<sup>14</sup>

Fremdenverkehr ist somit der Inbegriff der Beziehungen und Erscheinungen, die sich aus dem Aufenthalt Ortsfremder ergeben, sofern durch den Aufenthalt keine Niederlassung zur Ausübung einer dauernden oder zeitweilig hauptsächlichen



On the Neo-Kantian notion of *Kulturersehung* and Weber's *Kulturbedeutung* (cultural meaning and/or relevance). In so doing, he intended "to create a completely new discipline" (Hunziker 1943:10ff; cf. Hömberg 1977; Spode 1998b).



toward "free-floating" postmodern thinking than there is among their English-speaking colleagues. Both groups, however, make use of a shared vocabulary of general concepts like "construction," "gaze," "distinction," "liminality," etc., and as a further common denominator they usually<sup>61</sup> regard the tourism world as structurally distinct from the ordinary one.

In addition to general "classical" grand theories, those of Bourdieu, Elias, or Simmel, for instance, some non-translated works on tourism had and continue to have considerable impact on the Central European discourse,<sup>62</sup> especially Urry's ideas on the "tourist gaze." His application of *le regard* (derived from Foucault) became a sort of *de rigueur* fixed expression for scholars describing tourist behavior, and at times his work functioned as an advocacy for the notion of post-tourism. This popularity, however, may be seen as a setback compared to the general body of acquired knowledge.<sup>63</sup> Admittedly, it is extremely difficult to say what constitutes progress in such understanding (Spode 1999). One reason lies in the "inconceivable complexity" of the social world, to use the expression of Luhmann. Probably all ways imaginable of reducing that complexity have been principally explored by philosophers since the 18th century, or since the interwar period at the latest, when sociological and anthropological theorists sought to "fill the explanatory gaps of Marxism" (K.-S. Rehberg in Spode 1999:34). Another reason lies in the limited memory capacities of the sciences in tandem with the constant demand for "innovation" in the "business" of academia. However, while the natural sciences can abandon theories and other knowledge as "falsified," the social sciences lack the mechanisms for discarding theories once and for all; instead knowledge goes out of fashion and evaporates—and sometimes returns in a new guise. Yet, if the progress of knowledge is to be more than a cliché, we need to maintain a cumulative memory that in a disciplined manner builds on the past and present and points to the future. This essay should be seen as a small contribution to that goal.

## NOTES

1. Although this essay is mainly about grand theories or "narratives" of the tourism social sciences, it also traces the development of applied tourism science; for the different meanings and usages of "theory" see Spode (1998c) and Vester (1998a). Here, due to limits of space, only a selection of the pertinent literature can be provided. For the same reason general "classical" grand theories, ranging from Durkheim to Giddens (on the corpus of sociological "classics" see Barlösius

2004), are not included in this review; neither are tourism studies from outside Central Europe, ranging from MacCannell to Urrain (see the respective essays in this book), except for selected overviews and for some articles published in German only. For other criteria concerning exclusion or inclusion see endnotes 6 and 37. I am deeply indebted to Graham Dann for reading the various drafts of this chapter.

2. See Spode (2007a:25). An offprint of Brougier's speech is held in the Historical Archive on Tourism (HAT) and in the Bavarian State Library, where there is also a small offprint by the Swiss Guyer-Freuler (1903) who likewise regarded tourist travel as a typical modern phenomenon.
3. The English word *tourist* entered the German language shortly after 1800; it solely referred to mobile tourists (hikers, excursionists, short-time visitors). The technical term *Fremdenverkehr* first appeared around 1850; in translated versions it also became common in Eastern and Northern Europe. In the late 20th century it was more or less replaced by *Tourismus*; cf. Liebman Parrinello (2007), Opaschowski (1989), Pagenstecher (2003a), and Spode (2007b). For the scientific definitions see also Arndt (1978), Bernecker (1952), Cohen (1974), Gleichmann (1969), Hönberg (1977), Mundt (2001), and Spode (1998a).
4. See Bausinger (1995), Schumacher (2002), and Spode (2009).
5. Today the hypothesis that tourism is "the realization of the wanderlust of the human being" (e.g., Gutler in Tietzsch 1978:81), although time and again rejected (e.g., Hennig 1997; Knebel 1960; Scheuch 1969; Spode 1995), has found new advocates in the wake of the rise of genetics as a shibboleth to explain human behavior.
6. Interwar publications on tourism science by German-speaking authors (Adler, Benscheldt, Dietel, Häußler, Jäger, Klarkowski, Krauß, Müller, Neff, Schmidt, Simon, Spitz, Warnecke, etc.) according to the HAT catalog and the *Archiv für den Fremdenverkehr* (Archive of Tourism); cf. also the sources given in Hunziker and Krapf (1942), Knebel (1960), Norval (1936), and Spode (1998a, 1998b). Here only the most important books are included in the references.
7. By 1914 he had already founded a college for "tourist and hotel business" that closed in 1921.
8. For an early discussion of definitions see *Archiv für den Fremdenverkehr* 1–5 (1930–1935), passim.
9. Today copies are held in Berlin (HAT), Leipzig (DNB), Frankfurt (IHK), Cologne (UB), Kiel (ZBW), Basle (SWA), and Innsbruck (UB).
10. On Glücksmann's biography, see Moß (2000).
11. For references see Spode (2009) and note 40.
12. Due to war the next congress, planned for 1940 in Osaka, was cancelled. As a symptomatic case of academic amnesia, 24 years later in Japan a "First World Recreation Congress" was held.
13. Additionally, there were some dissertations, but mostly on juridical aspects (cf. Spode 1982).
14. It followed that of Gölden's excellent study (1939:8), and was adopted by the International Association of Scientific Experts in Tourism (AIEST) in 1954; it is slightly modified—still the state-of-the-art. Also the statistics of the World Tourism Organization (UNWTO) jump together virtually all varieties of cross-border traffic under the term "tourism" (cf. note 3).



## Chapter 11

# Origins and Developments: The Overall Picture

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### INTRODUCTION

English-speaking academics with an interest (but no formal training) in tourism did not share many of their ideas with their Anglophone colleagues until the 1970s. In that decade, Cohen published his first relevant tourism articles (1972, 1974), though not in specialized sociological reviews devoted to the field. In 1973, the first issue of *Annals of Tourism Research* was published, and in 1976 *The Tourist* by Dean MacCannell, which was to mark an epoch, saw the light of day. One year later, the first edition of Smith's (1977a) *Hosts and Guests* made its appearance. From the point of view of tourism studies, in those early years, the so called "critical platform" prevailed, to be followed shortly after by the "adaptancy" and "scientific" platforms (Jafari 1987). The most informed European tourism scholars were aware of these new contributions, which were duly recognized and absorbed little by little in Germany, Scandinavia, some other European countries and, last but not least, in France. But interestingly, and for the main part,



Continental European research continued in its own idiosyncratic way. By way of summary, it is worth recalling what happened country by country.

#### *German-Speaking Countries*

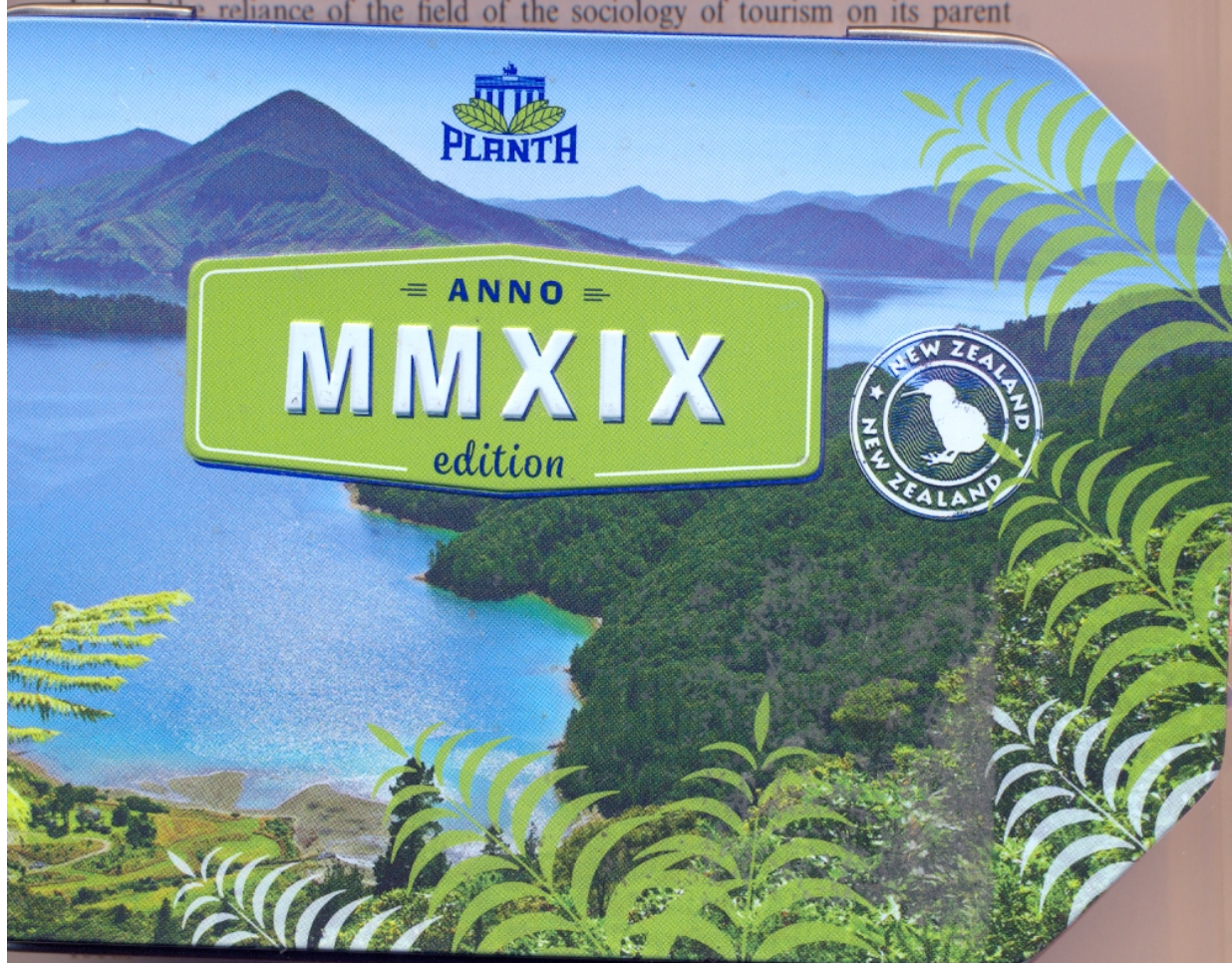
Symptomatic of a "globalized" trend in Europe was the volume *Tourismus-psychologie und Tourismussoziologie* (Tourism Psychology and Tourism Sociology) (Hahn and Kagelmann 1993). As already mentioned in the introductory section on "some unsettled questions" (Chapter 1), this comprehensive handbook lined up and blended the most recent insights of Anglo-Saxon and German research. Disciplines consonant with sociology (in tandem with psychology) were considered, such as economics, geography, (cultural) anthropology, and pedagogy, with contributors like Spode, Steinecke, and Vester. Theoretical concepts of the new Anglo-Saxon literature, "authenticity" and "play," for example, were placed alongside those derived from the German tradition, "mobility" and "psycho-geography," for instance. Particularly noteworthy was the contribution of Kagelmann (1993) who introduced in the form of an anthology, with authors such as Gottlieb and Cohen, recent Anglo-Saxon and German research in the three principal social science disciplines of tourism (sociology, psychology, and anthropology), under the title of *Tourismuswissenschaft* (Tourism Science). Throughout this exercise, marketing was not neglected; nor were different methodological issues of the social sciences (Spode this volume). At the same time, it is not surprising that leisure continued to play an important role in Germany, as for instance at the British American Tobacco (BAT) Leisure Institute in Hamburg. Here Opaschowski, mainly interested in the pedagogical aspects of leisure, extended the field to tourism with a "systematic introduction" (2002). All in all, German research proceeded on its own course, less fascinated by the issue of post-modernity, and more interested in both the scientific fundamentals of tourism and in mainstream theoretical research. Names like Hennig, Spode, Vester, and Wöhler featured in this intellectual journey (Spode this volume).

Yet, in spite of this progress, the presence of German scholars in RC 50 of the International Sociological Association, and other tourism congresses and conferences continues to be very limited. This strange state of affairs should give cause for thought. Since most German academics can read, write, and speak English, it cannot be simply be a linguistic problem that deters their participation. It is precisely on account of this shortcoming that Spode's contribution to this volume is so relevant.



## France

As already seen, France was even more captivated by the question of leisure, so much so that under the inspiration of Joffré Dumazedier and Marie-Françoise Lanfant the very origins of the sociology of tourism could be located in that domain. Once sociology began to direct its attention toward international tourism, it too looked to mainstream sociology for its theoretical foundations. Thus, even though a sociological giant of the caliber of Durkheim never studied tourism, since its mass variant was well before his time, one of his important unit ideas, the concept of a "social fact," was put to good use by his compatriots in understanding this new global reality. The reliance of the field of the sociology of tourism on its parent



characteristics (Savelli this volume). Not to be forgotten is the pioneering work of Alberto Sessa, not only in bridging the disciplinary gap between the psychology and sociology of tourism, but also for his founding the *Scuola Internazionale di Scienze Turistiche* (SIST) (International School of Tourist Sciences), active from 1974 to 2004. This school, a then WTO training center, was an example of internationalization at both the theoretical and practical