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The Development of the Tourism Industry in Paris, France

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Explanations for the Development of the Tourism Industry in Paris, France

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Gov 491: Independent Study

Professor Tian

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Introduction

Travel and tourism activity dates back thousands of years. Travel for recreational and educational purposes was a phenomenon highlighted in the writings of ancient Egyptian culture; the Greeks traveled to Delphi in consideration of the Oracle and to attend the Olympic Games; classical Rome sparked travel in light of certain holidays – as well-off Romans went to seaside resorts in the South or lavished on the beaches of Egypt and Greece.¹ Both occurrences of travel and tourism have maintained themselves throughout the course of history; however, as it concerns a more contemporary dialogue, it is important to distinguish the qualities that particularly define tourism from travel. Thomas Cook, England’s renowned entrepreneur of the 19th century, is considered the champion of mass tourism. Having pioneered commercialized tourism through the invention of group holiday packages, Cook successfully created an international system of low-cost, foreign appeal for travelers.² This introduction to both domestic and cross-border tourism acted as a catalyst for the mass consumption of tourism in the 19th and 20th centuries.

Today, the World Tourism Organization (WTO) outlines tourism as “the activities of a person traveling to and staying in places outside their usual environment for not more than one consecutive year for leisure, business, and other purposes.”³ Tourism is very much an all-encompassing term, comprising the activities of a range of people – all of whom have varying intentions. It has profound effects on certain regions. Vast economic development and the

¹ Ueli Gyr. “The History of Tourism: Structures on the Path to Modernity, in: European History Online” (EGO), published by the Institute of European History (IEG), Mainz 2010-12-03: 5. URL: <http://www.ieg-ego.eu/gyru-2010-en> URN: urn:nbn:de:0159-20100921246.

² Ibid 18.

³ World Trade Organization Definition*

exploitation of host populations are often times the consequences associated with tourism, whereby the interests of multinational corporations are of utmost concern. As a result, larger considerations of sustainable development initiatives take the back seat in theoretical discussions, as well as in regard to policy planning programs. Tourism can also be a highly volatile industry in that “threats to health or security” can cause “potential visitors to abandon formerly popular destinations.”⁴

Nonetheless, the economic relevance of tourism has outweighed most other academic considerations due to the extensive growth rates of tourism industries and associated sub-industries, as well as the colonial-representative structures within regionalized tourism practices. However, the connections between matters of political economy and tourism are not as clear as a strict economic, anthropological, or sociological analyses. For the purpose of this paper, I will address tourism development on an international level within the context of political economy theory. Additionally, through the city-specific case study of Paris, France, I transition into a more domestic focus, where I offer policy planning explanations for the successful development of Paris’ tourism industry over the past 50 years.

The Political Economy of Tourism: *Modernization Theory*

Regarded as a clearly effective means of achieving development, the accelerated growth of global tourism shows no signs of slowing down in the years to come. The post-war period gave light to widespread modernization trends, especially in Europe. As a result of the Marshall Plan, European states were able to rebuild and elaborate upon their respective infrastructures,

⁴ Lea, J. (1988). *Tourism development in the Third World*. London: Routledge, 2.

many of which would prove to hold extensive tourism capacities, especially France, Italy, and Spain. The reconstruction of Europe inherently established tourism programs, as economic imperatives compelled the Economic Cooperation Administration (ECA, the administrative body of the Marshall Plan) to establish a greater presence of tourists in Europe.⁵ The forces of globalization during this time highlight the initial and foundational political economy approach to tourism development. Modernization theory is an important lens to view tourism, in that it was the mode through which the most successful tourism industries emerged.

Under the general approach of modernization theory, the post-war era stressed a functionalist Modernization that incorporated Keynesian economics, advocating for a high level of state involvement.⁶ This level of state involvement was highly present in the 1945-1970 period dominated by Regulation theory. At a time when Europe's economy rebounded, states became concerned with how they could maintain their economies in the years to come. Thus, the increased presence of tourism industries in European countries became increasingly apparent as a means through which states sought to modernize and increase their GDPs. State level interventions and growth explanations were grounded in the regime of regulation, which proves to be highly applicable in my subsequent analysis of the tourism industry in Paris, France. In the 1950s and 1960s in France (a region highly representative of the broader trends in Europe during this time):

“The state encouraged the development of mass tourism and widened social access (domestic and foreign) through a mixed economy of market and state initiatives. The

⁵ Brian A. McKenzie. "Creating a Tourist's Paradise: The Marshall Plan and France, 1948 to 1952." *French Politics, Culture & Society* 21, no. 1 (2003): 36. www.jstor.org/stable/42843263.

⁶ David J. Telfer. "The Evolution of Tourism and Development Theory." in *Tourism Development: Concepts and Issues, Aspects of Tourism* 5, ed. Richard Sharpley and David Telfer (Tonawanda, NY: Cambrian Printers Ltd., 2002), 40.

associated investments in the country's tourism industry acted "as a way to revitalize 'underdeveloped' regions such as the Languedoc-Roussillon, Aquitaine, and Corsica."⁷

The industrial focus given to these "underdeveloped" regions during this time points to the Fordist tendencies that guided this process as the government "facilitated transportation with railroad reductions and charter flights on government-controlled railroads and airlines."⁸ The French government, as well as other governments in Europe, attempted to transform regional hotspots into "tourist products."⁹ This commodification process of travel and tourism is important for two reasons. The first is that tourism at this time emerged as a means of mass consumption and production in the form of hotels and airlines – both of which were often state-run and state-owned in the post-war period, highlighting the sub-political economy approach of Keynesian economics. Secondly, state initiatives emphasized the increased role of governments in their economies. "Through national macroeconomic policies" states started "shaping production and consumption"¹⁰ trends as it related to their newly emerging tourism industries. This renewed involvement laid the groundwork for the eventual neo-Fordist and neo-liberal globalization processes that allowed governments to focus more on the regime of accumulation, i.e. how to best assess and increase economic growth.

At the time when mass tourism trends emerged, the number of international tourists was significantly lower than what international tourism receipts produce today. Tourism's inherent nature reflects that of a growth industry; statistical references over the course of the 20th century reflect the unprecedented grandeur of this growth. In 1950, there were just over 25 million

⁷ Ellen Furlough. "Making Mass Vacations: Tourism and Consumer Culture in France, 1930s to 1970s." *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 40, no. 2 (1998): 260. www.jstor.org/stable/179414.

⁸ Ibid 261.

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ Allan M. Williams. "Toward a Political Economy of Tourism." in *A Companion to Tourism*, ed. Alan A. Lew, C. Michael Hall, Allan M. Williams (Oxford, UK: Blackwell Publishing, 2004), 69.

recorded tourists; however, from 1950 to 1998, international tourist arrivals increased by a factor of 25.¹¹ While these immense growth rates do highlight the ceaseless nature of tourism industries across continents, there is a centralized tendency surrounding this developmental success.

Sharpley highlights that:

“The flows of international tourism remain highly polarized and regionalized [as] international tourism is still largely dominated by the industrialized world, with the major tourist flows being primarily between the more developed nations and, to a lesser extent, from developed to less developed countries.”¹²

This industrialized domination connects modernization theory to larger questions of political and economic power structures and relations. Essentially, tourism is an effective means of development for both already and ‘to be’ developed countries, but it creates a hierarchical structure in that periphery states become reliant on the socio-economic practices of more developed countries. This top-down structure between the hegemony of the West and less developed countries is an intrinsic characteristic of international development schemes associated with tourism.

This relationship can be attributed to both state and non-state actors, especially transnational corporations. These exploitative practices (while a result of development or modernization theories) can best be explained through dependency theory. As it relates to the international implications of my topic, I place more of an emphasis on the Western-focused lens of modernization theory and its transition into the later neoliberal globalization forces of tourism development. Nonetheless, it is important to incorporate a dependency theory approach. Because of skewed power relations and unequal distributions of power resulting from extremely open

¹¹ Richard Sharpley. “Tourism: A Vehicle for Development?” in *Tourism Development: Concepts and Issues, Aspects of Tourism 5*, ed. Richard Sharpley and David Telfer (Tonawanda, NY: Cambrian Printers Ltd., 2002), 15.

¹² Ibid 17.

levels of competition in different tourism markets, international tourism development cannot be considered without a reference to dependency theory.

The Political Economy of Tourism: *Dependency Theory*

It is important to note the emphasis on the development of this industry under the umbrella of modernized societies and those that are separate from the ‘modern world’, labeled as “developing.” While modernization theory was never unanimously adopted as the explicit theoretical perspective on tourism development, it became the ‘default-setting for policy-makers throughout the world’ during the 1950s and 1960s.¹³ Modernization theory provides a context in which one can understand tourism development as an emerging phenomena of the second half of the 20th century; however, it is more applicable as a transitional force in relation to the ‘Third World’. At this time international institutions in the form of “international development agencies, banks and foreign ‘experts’” strongly advocated for tourism as an effective development strategy, whereby success was measured in terms of “foreign exchange, national income and employment.”¹⁴ Sharpley draws light to the circumstances that many developing countries found themselves in. Tourism is such an appealing economic force for so many countries in the ‘Third World’ because “there is simply no other option.”¹⁵ While these countries experience drastic regionalized development where large portions of areas within countries themselves are inherently disregarded (developmentally-speaking), their governments and markets remain

¹³ Raoul Bianchi. “The political economy of tourism development: A critical review.” *Annals of Tourism Research* 70 (2018): 90. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.annals.2017.08.005>.

¹⁴ Ibid 90.

¹⁵ Sharpley. “Tourism: A Vehicle for Development?” 15.

receptive to development, for they attain “needed foreign exchange, [create] employment and [attract] overseas investment.”¹⁶

After the development plans of the ‘developing’ countries of the 1950s and 1960s started to produce polarizing economic consequences for ‘host’ countries, “The political economy of tourism increasingly became synonymous with a number of influential works in which the organisation and structure of tourism in ‘third world’ countries replicated ‘historical patterns of colonialism and economic dependency’.”¹⁷ These trends are best captured by a neo-Marxist perspective in that there was “an international division of labour marked by systemic inequalities between core capitalist states and peripheral ‘Third World’ economies.”¹⁸ This distinction is worth noting, as there is a tendency within development programs to focus on statistics relevant to the regime of accumulation, which are specific to the expenditures and revenues of foreign states. Bianchi references certain structural misconceptions that accumulated in countries formerly under colonial influence, thus drawing attention to how the institutional frameworks of ‘Third World’ countries are often economically taken advantage of by outsider actors, be it state or non-state actors. While the more data-driven applications of modernization theory highlight the successful sides of tourism development schemes, dependency theory points to the notion “that the expansion of international tourism had reinforced a dependent, ‘neo-colonial’ model of economic development.”¹⁹ Quite ironically, this approach recognizes tourism (whose industrial intention is modernization and consistent growth) as a force that actually creates severe inequalities amongst countries, who theoretically should benefit from their respective industries.

¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷ Lea, J. (1988). *Tourism development in the Third World*. London: Routledge, 10.

¹⁸ S. G. Britton. (1980). The evolution of a colonial space-economy: The case of Fiji. *Journal of Historical Geography*, 6(3), 251–274.

¹⁹ Raoul Bianchi. “The political economy of tourism development: A critical review.” 91.

The Fordist tendencies of governments in Europe during the period of modernization highlighted the high level of state involvement in processes such as travel and accommodation. However, as the so-called dependent, periphery countries experienced less of the positive economic effects of these movements, a transition to more privatized tourism approaches had entered the international system. Telfer brings light to the work of Britton regarding dependency theory in that:

“The controlling and integrating force in international tourism [had] become the large multinational First World companies which control[led] airlines, tour wholesaling and hotel chains. These companies are able to create, coordinate and market the components of the industry to develop a tourism product (Britton, 1982).”²⁰

Not only had power structures switched from governments to transnational corporations, but the decreasing regulatory frameworks that coincided with this shift allowed for the negative impacts of western-driven tourism initiatives to hit local ‘Third World’ communities harder. Before, I transition into the relevancy of neoliberalism’s role in international tourism, I want to critique some of the over-processed neo-Marxist claims that tend to strictly define international tourism in terms of its colonial emphases.

Community-Based Tourism as a Counterforce to Dependency Theory

Economic empowerment initiatives are on the rise in both developed and developing countries to ensure that residents and broader local communities are financially reaping the benefits of tourism. Within a political economy framework, communities actually have the opportunity to participate in “representational democracy wherein residents can voice opinions

²⁰ David J. Telfer. “The Evolution of Tourism and Development Theory.” 55.

and raise concerns about development initiatives.”²¹ Now, these forms of community involvement do speak to the often limited influence of local governments and their constituents; however, active host-based governance practices create a greater connection between tourists and local communities by approaching tourism as a two-sided phenomenon. While regulation theory does attempt to explain tourism through production and consumption analyses, the focus usually resides on the consumerist perspective as tourists are the inherent driving force behind this industry. Community-based essentially bring in the social component to the means of production in tourism, placing greater emphasis on the “needs and aspirations of host communities.”²² Lastly, the dominating lenses of modernization theory and dependency theory both occlude the qualitative, cultural meanings behind the market relationships within tourism. Market relationships create processes of commodification that ultimately hold great cultural potential. While much harder to concretely measure, the experiences associated with the production and consumption of tourism are designed to create a sense of pleasure or enjoyment, at least for tourists or the consumers. That being said these processes of consumption allow for cross-cultural exchanges that would not take place in the absence of tourism services. There is the opportunity for those on the production side of tourism (i.e. the host country or region) to acquire a level of cultural knowledge or background from the visiting actor. This process has the capacity to act as an educational trade of sorts. While community-based tourism initiatives offer a level of agency to host populations, there is an obvious moral argument in place for metropolitan hegemonies and their associated transnational corporations to readjust their tourism strategies, particularly in ‘Third World Countries’.

²¹ Dallen J. Timothy. “Tourism and Community Development Issues” in *Tourism Development: Concepts and Issues, Aspects of Tourism 5*, ed. Richard Sharpley and David Telfer (Tonawanda, NY: Cambrian Printers Ltd.), 150.

²² Ibid.

The Political Economy of Tourism: *Neoliberalism*

Economic neoliberalism's role in considerations of international tourism development is not considered as relevant as modernization and dependency theory. Not only did this lens come to fruition at a time when countries (both developed and developing) had already established tourism as a development tool, but this approach is rather limited in its applicability. What I mean by this is that, specifically in terms of power structures, the neoliberal analysis has little to offer. Instead, neoliberalism explains a mainly privatized influence on tourism, highlighting free-market, supply side economics. That being said, it is important to include neoliberalism's influence on tourism for the purpose of my later case study, in that Paris' rise to hegemonic status in the international tourism industry can best be attributed to supply side economics that coincided with limited urban planning initiatives.

Telfer outlines the direct nature of economic neoliberalism as "a minimalist approach to state involvement in economic transactions" that inherently "treats people as atomistic individuals who are bound together only through market forces."²³ The correlation between this approach and tourism was first seen through loans in the 1960s. Early inclinations towards this development theory still point to notions of an outward development scheme. For example, the EU extended funding programs to African, Caribbean, and Pacific countries under the Lome Convention. Liberal economic institutions that arose in the post-war era further spoke to the early relevance of neoliberalism's intersection with tourism, for the World Bank, the Multilateral Investment Guarantee Agency, and the International Finance Corporation, all became involved in tourism planning processes in the 1970s.²⁴ Neoliberalism actually points to the centralized

²³ David J. Telfer. "The Evolution of Tourism and Development Theory." 44.

²⁴ Ibid 57.

tendencies of modernization and dependency theories. Transnational corporations place their hotel-chains in very fixed regions – locations that are determined to act as regionalized ‘hot-spots’ for travelers, ultimately disregarding the communities and broader geographical context of host countries. That being said, as it concerns a more Europe-centric approach, Telfer draws attention to a highly important aspect of the neoliberal paradigm. The neoliberal paradigm places an emphasis on domestic spatial distributions within development programs.²⁵ The nature of these spatial distributions is highly concentrated, which means that state, non-state, and municipal actors focus on very specific parts of cities in order implore mass tourism tendencies. As I transition into my analysis of Paris as a developmental success story, I want to affirm the relevance of the spatial distribution component in development schemes. Not only will it be important to establish the destination appeal of and within Paris, but an understanding of government and market contributions to specific areas will further explain the construction of urban planning policies.

Paris: A Successful Tourism Destination

Paris, and more generally France, is the epitome of what international tourists desire. A city of art and history, an intersecting hub of gastronomy and culture, one of the most popular shopping destinations in the world – Paris encapsulates a region composed of 20 distinct arrondissements, all of which offer an extensive tourism capacity and unique, destination appeal. In 2015, the region attracted 47 million tourists, 42% of whom were foreigners. The economic

²⁵ Ibid 63.

effects of this presence show consumption statistics around 40 billion euros, accounting for 524,000 jobs in the region that employ 12.4% of the region's population.²⁶

Recent years have brought 'successful' periods of tourist flows to the region – so much to the point that the French government is considering “over-tourism” deterrence plans, whereby the state would increase scales of charges and encourage tourists to book outside of peak visit times. Christian Mantel, head of Atout France, the national tourism development agency, said: “If nothing is done, in five years time it will be necessary to regulate the number of first-time foreign visitors to France, highlighting that 80 percent of sites that tourists prioritize are along the banks of the Seine in Paris.²⁷ Considering that the global number of tourists is expected to rise to nearly 2 billion by 2030, Paris needs to build upon its existing tourism capacity as well as ensure that sustainable measures are taken in the continued expansion of its respective sub-tourism industries. There is a level of uncertainty associated with this continued growth. The region needs to remain aware of the potential for anti-tourist movements, as the regionalized tourism capacities are pushing their thresholds to their limits.

For Paris' 2022 Tourism Strategy Plan, the mayor's office stressed that “the destination's success relies on both the investments in large hotel and transport infrastructure and the introduction of efficient organizations and promotional tools to lead a coordinated territorial marketing strategy for the entire destination.”²⁸ As I go on to explain, the destination's development is greatly attributed to the neoliberal economic policies of the 1970s and 1980s that

²⁶ Comité de la Destination Paris. “2022 Tourism Strategy: Development Plan.” (Paris: Maire de Paris, 2016), 5. <https://cdn.paris.fr/paris/2019/07/24/692c9af6216b29354e5259511b697725.pdf>.

²⁷ David Chazan. “France struggles with tourist numbers as it attracts record number of holidaymakers,” The Telegraph, 2018, <https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/2018/07/07/tourists-queue-sweltering-french-heat-amid-record-number-visitors/>.

²⁸ Comité de la Destination Paris. “2022 Tourism Strategy: Development Plan.” (Paris: Maire de Paris, 2016), 24. <https://cdn.paris.fr/paris/2019/07/24/692c9af6216b29354e5259511b697725.pdf>.

primarily sparked investments in large hotel chains. The Maire de Paris' *2022 Tourism Strategy: Development Plan* speaks to an elaboration on planning initiatives that have been in place over the last 50 years. However, this development scheme offers a clearer outline of the necessary steps the city needs to take in the years to come. In comparison to the catalysts of the modern tourism industry in Paris some 50 years ago, today's schema offers governance initiatives and tourism policies that were not originally in place. Moreover, one of the most significant features of this plan was the establishment of the Paris Destination Committee that "brought together 400 stakeholders in Parisian tourism" for the first time in history. The committee consisted of a range of actors: the hotel trade, catering services, business, culture, transport, travel agencies, institutions. As a result of this cooperative dialogue, the city formed a "policy guidance document which mobilises all municipal policies and the Parisian tourism ecosystem across the board, for the purpose of tourism development."²⁹

Before, I explain the relevance of tourism in Paris and how different actors in the region contributed to its rapid development, it is important to distinguish traditional roles of government involvement in tourism. State intervention over the years has become less crucial to tourism development, as the forces of globalization have caused states to become powerless in certain socio-political domains. Governments are mainly drawn to tourism due to its associated problems. As I outlined in my review of Bianchi's take on regulation theory, governments become involved in the economic activity of tourism agents to ensure a fair and beneficial market structure. The aforementioned importance of tourism in the layout of the Marshall Plan proved to be of great priority for rehabilitating countries in the post-war era. However, with such a quickly developing industry having emerged, states had to be directly involved in tourism

²⁹ Ibid.

schemes as they were initiatives of an incomparable size to other points in history. James Elliot explains in *Tourism: politics and public sector management* that the tourism industry became “outspoken about the problems caused by government controls over the industry which did not allow them to compete on a more equal basis.”³⁰ While a general economic transformation occurred as countries moved throughout the second half of the 20th century, governments and their associated public sector management (PSM) structures were still relevant for purposes of public safety and revenue objectives. Governments, especially on the municipal level, are drawn to tourism because of the labor-driven growth of the industry. Elliot primarily incorporates a revenue-based argument for the economic undertones of governments’ relationship with tourism. However, his discussion of PSM relates the innate nature of tourism (tourism is seen as one of the main providers of employment especially in times of recession)³¹ to domestic, political considerations. If governments are able to implement regulatory frameworks for actors in tourism that allow for competitively beneficial outcomes, they achieve certain political goals that connect to larger “electoral chances of governments.”³² Just as foreign policy is often domestically grounded, tourism planning processes attempt to encapsulate the welfare of local residents.

As referenced in my earlier discussion of community-based tourism, governments often ensure “a taxonomy of participation in tourism”³³ in order to maintain, not only a balance between free-market structures and government intervention, but the democratic intimacy needed for the growth of this industry. The balance of influence amongst governments, non-

³⁰ James Elliot. “Why tourism?” in *Tourism: politics and public sector management*, ed. James Elliot (London, UK: Routledge, 1997), 27.

³¹ Ibid 34.

³² Ibid.

³³ Dallen J. Timothy. “Tourism and Community Development Issues.” 150.

governmental organizations, corporations, and residents can best be captured in a diagram outlined by Elliot:

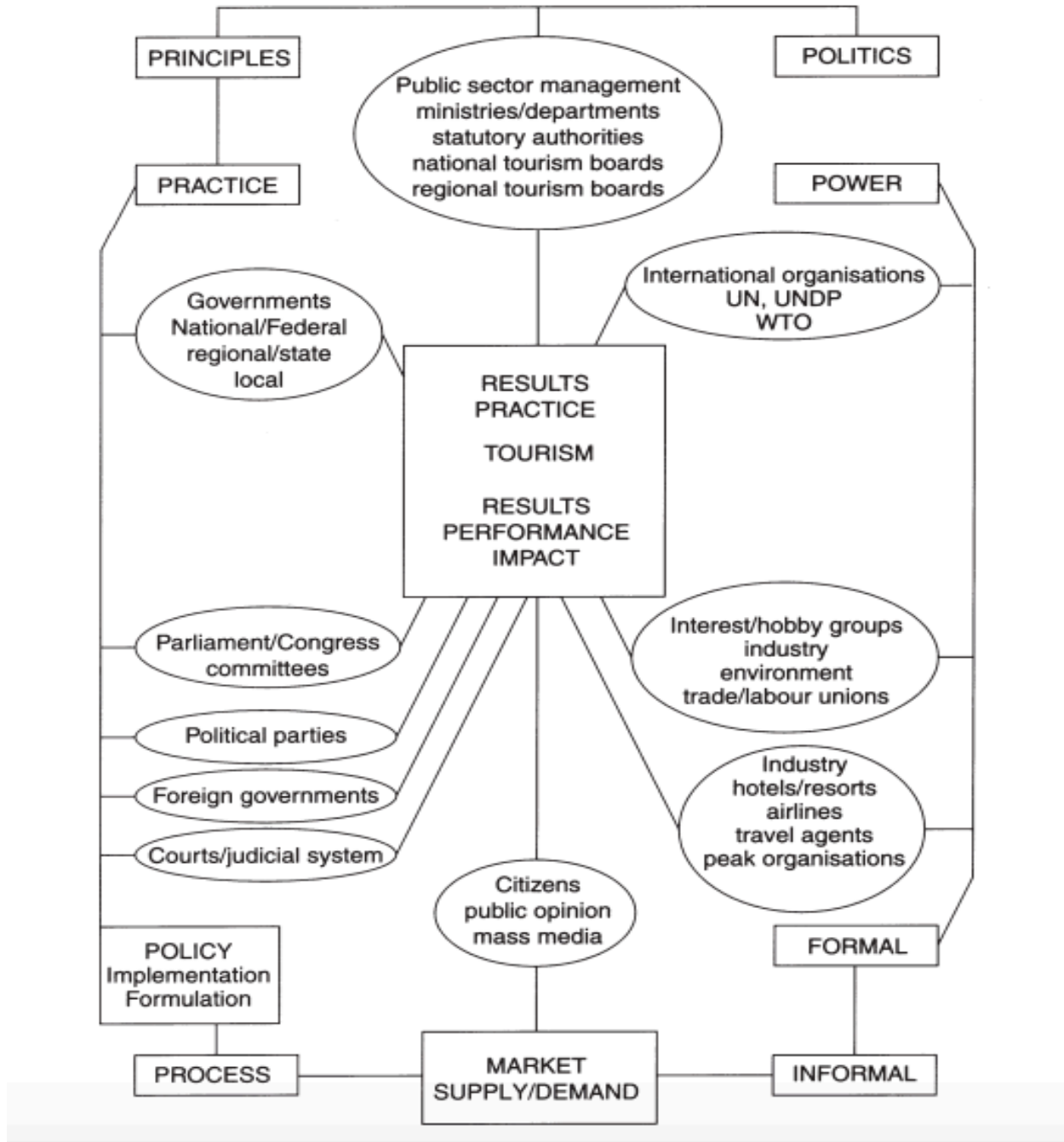


Figure (Tourism: the political, administrative and industrial environment).³⁴

³⁴ James Elliot. "Why tourism?" 39.

This diagram proves to be an effective representation of the power structures present in tourism development as well as the range of actors and their interests in tourism. It is worth noting the informal vs. formal institutional tracks through which policy can be initiated. From mass media catalysts to those of organizations like the UN, tourism planning processes accrue considerations from local and global systems.

Tourism in an urban setting comprises the interests of various groups and actors. Governments attempt to balance tourist inflows with the domestic interests of residents, so as to please both sides in light of significant economic returns. Governments obviously cannot let tourists dominate the socio-economic sphere of regions and cities because an overwhelming tourist presence reduced the national 'claims' or inclinations of host populations. Widespread urban tourism development analyses point to the trickle effects of broader urban planning policies. In my discussion of Paris, I support that Paris' success as a tourist destination is ultimately a result of its attractive international image enforced by a vast historical context and that the innate multifunctional purpose of the city created a significant tourism demand, starting in the period from 1970-1980.

In France, modern mass tourism emerged a new social norm after the post-war economic boom. The introduction of 'taking a vacation' quickly became a national circumstance that was seen as part of labor contracts. From 1950 to 1974, there was a 35% increase in the number of French who were taking vacations. Traveling was no longer a phenomenon limited to the bourgeoisie. I mention these trends because of their geographical connotations. These new vacationers were "predominantly urban, most likely to fall with the broad middle class that was emerging in this era, and relatively young."³⁵ In contrast, those unlikely to go on vacation "were

³⁵ Furlough, Ellen. "Making Mass Vacations: Tourism and Consumer Culture in France, 1930s to 1970s.", 262.

rural dwellers” that were “economically disadvantaged.”³⁶ Outward tourism trends in France at this time are significant in that they highlight a norm transition starting in the 1970s. As deindustrialization occurred and governments reinforced the importance of this growth sector, “tourism was fostered in cities during [the late 1970s and] the 80s” to serve the purpose of “replacement industries.”³⁷ While the contention of tourism as a trickle-effect of urban planning in Paris holds true to a certain extent, it is undeniable that as slow economic growth swept the West, the French government looked to ways in which its historical capital could help maintain a steady rate of development.

The identity of the tourism industry in Paris was constructed in a way that promoted the historical significance of the region. This historical promotion was carried out through more culturally symbolical processes of prominent political figures. During his 14-year term in office, François Mitterrand, the president of France in the 80s and 90s, “consciously tried to leave his imprint on the city’s architecture and form,”³⁸ through his *Grands Projets*. Moreover, the work of Beaujeu-Garnier points to the responsibilities of the heads of state as needing to be genuinely interested in the life of their capital. This emphasis on the cultural role of French political leaders holds intrinsic institutional effects, for their general historical interests enforced the top-down structure present with neoliberal economic approaches. Support for such projects instilled a level of civic collectivity amongst the metropolitan population, which ultimately contributed to the broader electability of Mitterrand in the domestic political sphere. That being said, the beginning

³⁶ Ibid.

³⁷ Douglas G. Pearce. “Tourism Development in Paris: Public Intervention.” (Annals of Tourism Research 25(2), 1998), 459.

³⁸ 460 Ibid.

of this long-term development process did include a significant amount of state intervention.

During this time, the French state was the largest employer and office building owner in Paris.³⁹

The largest urban planning framework for Paris during the second half of the 20th century actually limited tourism's role in specific urban development schemes. The Schéma Directeur d'Aménagement et d'Urbanisme de la Ville de Paris (SDAU) was the driving force behind the expansion of Paris' infrastructure. Interestingly enough, the project wanted to "limit the number of jobs in Paris and avoid too sharp and imbalance in their structure [and] to avoid too marked a geographical fragmentation of the city's different functions."⁴⁰ While the result of this program did in fact create a sense of division within the city in terms of attractiveness, the intention was to unify the city under one international image. The projects details signified that it wanted to strengthen the influence of the French capital in the world through "the success of the urban policy of Paris as a whole."⁴¹ This influence, or international presence, was captured through a renewed material appearance as it concerns its infrastructure and through the more political workings of the state, i.e. institutions and cultural services.

In my review of the neoliberal approach to tourism, I characterized the international system under this lens as one in which international regimes and transnational corporations pumped money into economies that opened up their market structures. For example, the World Bank funded resorts including the Nusa Dua Resort in Bali (US \$14.3 million), Pomun Lake Reso, Republic of Korea (US \$25 million), Puerto Plata Resort, Dominican Republic (US \$25 million), and the South Antalya Tourism Development Project, Turkey (US \$26 million).⁴²

These extensive investment practices were more pertinent in discussions of developing countries;

³⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁰ Ibid 463.

⁴¹ Ibid.

⁴² David J. Telfer. "The Evolution of Tourism and Development Theory." 56-57.

however, these tendencies were reproduced through the investment strategies of transnational corporations in western-Europe, as it concerned the development of European metropolitan tourism capacities.

Relative to the increased role of transnational corporations' presence in resort and hotel-chain construction programs, the neoliberal paradigm of tourism development called for corporations to take advantage of domestic spatial distributions. As tourism was not technically included as a direct goal of the urban planning policies of the 1970s, "the incorporation of large hotels in several of the urban renewal projects"⁴³ was the greatest form of direct contributions made to tourism, ultimately creating the chain-effect of tourism development after deindustrialization. Pearce highlights the establishment of the Nikko with 768 rooms by the Front de Seine and the Meridien Montparnasse Paris with 953 rooms in the Ilot Vandamme. These two private sector projects acted as a collective impetus for tourism in Paris due to their large capacities as well as their representations as the result of what can occur in highly competitive markets. Considering that the zoning of the Seine River prohibited all fixed installations along the central 'Historic Seine' as well as limited development in the intermediary zones near the river,⁴⁴ these developments seem to stand out as infrastructural pioneers. The role of the private sector essentially maintained the steady growth of this industry in Paris, but it is important to recognize the more detailed combination of supply-side economics with the historical attractions of this metropolitan regions. The incredible reality concerning Paris is that little adjustments need to be made in terms of the historical infrastructure in place. The Louvre, the Pantheon, the Eiffel Tower, Notre Dame, and even the Metro, once could argue, are all distinctly Parisian institutions in and of themselves, whereby marketing them is more important

⁴³ Douglas G. Pearce. "Tourism Development in Paris: Public Intervention." 463.

⁴⁴ Ibid 464.

than costs related to their respective infrastructures. The same can be said for broader sub-section of the city itself. Certain neighborhoods epitomize supply side economics in that their structural make-ups will consistently attract tourists, albeit that public health and safety are controlled.

In the context of tourism, there are three primary 'Îles' that, as regionalized territories, consistently attract tourists. Île de la Cité (the natural island in the Seine), Montmartre, and the Opéra quarter, all contain localized factors that especially appeal to foreign tourists. However, the commodification of locations is particularly relevant in the first area as the market appeal is characterized by brief visits in that tourists want to quickly see the Notre Dame as part of their holistic Parisian experience.⁴⁵ Secondly, Montmartre has differentiated itself from more commercialized destination in that it acts as a sort of "relief for tourists"⁴⁶ in that it lies on the periphery of the city with an extensive artistic history. This peripheral location actually references its own economic application in the study of Paris, as it can be regarded as a less commodified region lacking the services of other parts of the city. On the other hand, "The broad avenues and boulevards [of the Opéra quarter] are a legacy of Haussmann's urban redevelopment [programs], dominated by "retail outlets, [where] particular streets are characterized by a concentration of tourist-oriented shops and services."⁴⁷ Playing into Fordist explanations for the economy of Paris, this part of the city offers less of a historical connection for tourists and more commercialized opportunities. The genius of the entire city is such that each arrondissement offers a unique experience for residents and tourists, potentially contributing to the attractiveness of the city.

⁴⁵ Douglas G Pearce. "Tourist districts in Paris: structure and functions." (Tourism Management 19(1), 1998).

⁴⁶ Ibid 57.

⁴⁷ Ibid 59.

Conclusion:

Tourism is consistently a major economic contributing force for the city of Paris. As the world's leading tourist destination, this industry determines the livelihood of roughly 12% of the local population. Despite the financial prominence of this sector, it was not until the 21st century that the state and city level governments of France began to push specific tourism planning agendas. Until the turn of the century, generalized urban planning projects created a trickle-down effect, whereby plans designed for residents ultimately fed into the attractiveness of the city on an international level. That being said, planning schemes, whether intended for the purpose of tourism in Paris or not, were grounded in neoliberal economic theory. State intervention throughout the 1950s and 1960s proved to be extremely high as the broader European environment called for Keynesian approaches to spring forward from the post-war era. However, as countries like France transitioned into the latter quarter of the 20th century, governments became less involved in their tourism industries in order to allow the forces of free market competition to work their magic. Nonetheless, tourism as an academic discipline is important to point to Modernization theory and Dependency theory in the light of international approaches to tourism.

Paris has an incredible foundation for the continued development of its tourism industry. As 2024 approaches, the city will need to expand upon existing tourism capacities to support the predicted increase in tourists arriving for the Summer Olympic Games. In order to ensure an equal distribution of wealth during this time, the state and municipal governments should create infrastructures that do not limit tourists' experiences to a few select regions. Rather, by taking

advantage of the capacities within all 20 arrondissements, the government can provide tourists with cultural experiences that speak to the city as a whole.

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