

# Places around us: embodied lay geographies in leisure and tourism

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Places are one pervasive component of leisure and tourism. Leisure and tourism include encounters with place. Encounters with other people and material things, imagination and memory occur in places. In social science increasing attention is being given to the human individual as productive in everyday practices, as producer rather than consumer. This position is informed through a discussion of the phenomena of embodiment, the human subject and practise. In this paper these elements are outlined and attention directed to ways in which these inform thinking about place in leisure and tourism. These elements are considered in relation to the sensuous, social and poetic dimensions of embodiment. Embodiment denotes the ways in which the individual grasps the world around her/him and makes sense of it in ways that engage both mind and body. It is argued that these dimensions offer a route into a more human-oriented comprehension of leisure and tourism than has been prevalent in much recent work in leisure and tourism studies, and thus provides ground for a more inclusive approach to policy in the new millennium. It is important to note that this emphasis on the human individual in no sense draws away from recognition of other contextual concerns which are on the contrary given more affective consideration.

## Introduction

Place has been persistently important in thinking about leisure/tourism. In considering popular practise and lay knowledge, the processes of leisure and tourism merge. Leisure/ tourism are encounters in different ways: with other people, with material space, with one's imagination, ideas, metaphors of place, of leisure and tourism, of nature and of the city. These encounters may be with memory and people and places in other parts of one's life. To focus on encounters makes use of 'non-representational theory' (Thrift, 1997) and this provides the focus of interest that this paper mobilizes towards an animation of leisure/tourism.

One key aspect of this 'non-representational' approach is a strong interest in *the subject* and in what people themselves make of their lives. In this there is a development of social constructionist theory that argues the significance of everyday activities and practises, in constructing meaning and value (Shotter, 1993). There is a revived comprehension of embodiment that is concerned with the body as the subject of practise rather than only as the object of practise or of policy. These dimensions are being focused in the work of geographers as a means of returning to human activity and in

the form of 'non-representational geography'. This emerges in part from a concern over the emphasis on text and on signs detached from everyday life that has tended to penetrate social sciences and the humanities in the last two decades. This concern is captured in terms of social space by Wearing and Wearing (1996). The present paper is concerned with the subject in terms of negotiating the material and metaphorical spaces in and through which life is experienced.

Space can be a background, a context, a 'given' objective component of leisure and tourism. In that way it is seen as a location, a National Park or a site where particular leisure/tourism happens, a distance between things. Place can be a physical image that can be rendered metaphorical as the content of brochures, 'landscape' as a foil for what people might imagine they do (Hughes, 1992). In this way it may be that place is understood to be a cultural text that people read and recognize directed by the particular intentions of a producer or promoter.

Taking a non-representational theory approach, space ceases to be only objective, contextual and metaphorical. Place becomes the material of popular culture which is worked, reworked and negotiated. Fiske argued that popular culture is a product of popular activity which people make themselves, using available resources (Fiske, 1989). Popular culture is made and remade through what people 'do', a process rather than a product. Place becomes understood as something through which and with which lives are lived and identity and myth made.

Attempts to acknowledge the individual in a creative role in leisure/tourism have tended to keep within the sphere of cerebral activity, exemplified in the excellent discussion of reflexivity by Lash and Urry (1994) and discussion of 'dragging and indexing' (Rojek, 1997). Using non-representational theory it is possible to render comprehensible actions and practises that the individual does and how those actions and practises relate to space. The background, the context and the symbolic rendering of places as abstract meanings for popular consumption are enlivened in a more active process whereby people make their own sense of things and places. Of course the individual is neither completely free nor only a receiver of the second-hand.

In whatever they are doing, wherever they are, individuals are experiencing encounters. It may be appropriate to consider this in terms of the individual 'making' the encounter, even as 'doing' leisure and tourism, in order to focus on the human individual. These encounters take a variety of forms, but always space plays an important and ever-present role. The familiar geography of immediate worlds is part of a wider material world that includes all sorts of artefacts and ephemera. In the section that follows aspects of leisure and tourism are presented in speculative language as a story in order to introduce threads for the conceptual discussion that follows.

### **A suggestive story**

When individuals are 'doing' leisure and tourism they find themselves in a place. This might be a town park, a field, a historic site or a theme park, a

pub, club, mountain range or a beach. They may be aware of people around them. They feel the ground, recall the brochure and the member's newsletter, the advertisement for the club or the beer, talk over what happened yesterday with other members of the mother and toddlers' group. They turn around, touch a friend, sit on the ground. There is an atmosphere in the place. There may be effort felt in what they are doing, in the way they move their body, in working-out a friendly encounter. They pretend, imagine, discover a sensuality and a texture in themselves they had forgotten, or hoped for, or feel frustrated. They think over where they have come from and how far they have come, and where else they might have been. Making little judgements, reflexively they think things over. There are particular features in this place, some of which trigger a memory, another place and another encounter. They bend to adjust clothing and notice that the view has changed – of the dance floor, the cliff, the edges of the caravan site.

In this suggestive story or caricature it is possible to identify two 'spaces' of which arguably neither is separate. Close-up there is a surrounding space that is touched, perhaps with both feet, a sense of smell, a space where people can be met. Far off, there may be a distant view, maybe through a window, spaces reached only in vision and sound. However, of course, the space grasped immediately around the body and the one reached only in vision are not separate. Instead they interact, are acknowledged together, and the individual in body/thought turns, momentarily makes another grasp on what is around, and moves on. There is a kaleidoscope of events and artefacts apprehended in numerous different ways. The individual apprehends these in a subjective way, through points of reference such as a desire to play golf, desire prompted by the brochure and more immediate contact.

Leisure/tourism become ways of *making knowledge*: the individual comes to know about the world in new, more complex ways. This process is 'lay geography', that is in everyday activities the individual works and reworks, figures and re-figures an account of a place. Leisure/tourism provides considerable raw material for this. It is useful to consider leisure/tourism through time because this attends to process, always 'in the making'.

Although the two 'spaces' identified above are not separate, they can be used to represent the evident artefacts and events happening and the background ideas, abstract semiotics, thoughts and friendships through which the momentary events may be practised. These are the material and the metaphors of leisure/tourism which may be compared. Near and far spaces are not separate, nor are the metaphors and the materiality of the place and experience. They are mutually embedded and embodied and composed through experience kaleidoscopically rather than by a formal perspective where everything has a clear, ordered relationship (Crouch and Matless, 1996). It is less a matter of semiotics on the one hand, and 'in-your-face' moments on the other. They are inter-penetrated in the process of doing leisure/tourism.

The material includes the artefacts of the surrounding world. Metaphors are constituted in designed spaces, in advertisement, in the way that wider

culture presents and represents leisure and in imaginative symbolism constructed by the individual. Metaphor has come to be lodged and acknowledged in the literature and television, in the design of Disney and other places. This has too often ignored the capacity of the individual to make their own sense of these features, through their own experience, as the geographer Warren (1993) has argued. Materiality and metaphor are not confined to particular events, places or practices. They flow between them and are borne in the individual's knowledge. Thus one's friends, the peculiar way in which each individual may use a part of a theme park, the memories on which that use draws, are continued in one's knowledge. Space and place are resources worked and negotiated. It forms one resource that is felt to be of value and significant in what happens in leisure/tourism.

### Working context, using place in our lives

'Non-representational geography' acknowledges the importance of images, symbols, metaphors used in communicating ideas, values, marketing places and giving a meaning to events. However, it is concerned with recognizing that everyday existence is not comprehended only through a world of signs (Thrift, 1996). Interpretations based on only the more abstracted contexts of signs make it very difficult, to say the least, to know in what ways it may be appropriate and useful to produce and apply policy in leisure and tourism (Wearing and Wearing, 1996). Practise, space, subject, knowledge and embodiment are key concepts in this non-representational geography.

A focus on *practise* seeks to pay attention to what people 'do' that includes how they may draw upon and adapt and make their own sense of signs and images and thus to understand how contexts and practises interact through human experience. Massey (1993) distinguishes 'place' and 'space'. She argues that *space* comprises the geometric co-ordinates of interactions that are physical, economic, social and so on. *Place* consists of human practise that activates at the local level of human life, going about everyday life, passing playgrounds, using streets, pubs, areas of pleasure, workplaces and so on. It is important to acknowledge these components as mutually engaged and engaging, inter-penetrated and inter-penetrating. In this way the terms space and place remain a useful way of thinking about what people do. 'What people do' amounts to *practise*. Practise includes actions and the whole range of influences, activations and processes from the point of view of the human individual operating in a complex world of numerous contexts.

The individual activates, influences and negotiates, acts subjectively. Thinking in terms of 'the *subject*' permits the consideration of human activity rather than of the individual being only the object of numerous events impacting, determinedly, on him/her (Pile and Thrift, 1995). It enables a focus on leisure/tourism as encounters. Through all of this the subject 'makes sense' of the world. That 'making sense' is as important in terms of both 'making' and of 'sense', because what is happening is a process, unstable, uncertain, but one in which the human subject constantly negotiates the world in terms

of relationships, emotions and feeling, as discussed below. Places encountered through practise become part of memory and knowledge:

... memories are part of culture and depend, in various ways, upon the physical setting for how people remember the course of events leading up to the present ... a tangible expression of the basis from which one remembers. (Radley, 1990, p. 49).

The knowledge that is made by the subject in practise becomes *lay geographical knowledge*, or *lay geography*. The individual negotiates contexts in the course of this knowledge (Shotter, 1993). Whilst of course the physical co-ordinates remain, the meanings attached to practise and to place are unsettled and are constantly negotiated. Leisure/tourism may assist in this process in terms of liminality as the chance to rework, reconsider and adjust (Wearing and Wearing, 1996; Lash and Urry, 1994).

Shotter pays particular attention to lay knowledge in what he terms 'ontological knowledge' and 'participatory knowledge' (1993: 7). That knowledge is gained and honed through what people do through actions, practises, the way people negotiate social and cultural relations, identities, practical contexts in which people mutually conduct their lives. Place is negotiated socially. The sociologist Maffesoli (1996) argues the significance of social relations that he terms 'sociations': flexible friendships supported and sustained by new kinds of ritualistic practises that he argues are responses to contemporary decentring and detachment (Rojek, 1995). In this way place is an important part in these because people can define friendships and identities through the spaces where they meet. These forms of friendship are developed through kinds of behaviour linked with particular kinds of spaces – pubs, clubs and bars – that take on distinctive features through practise and whose materiality colours those relations. The next section considers practise, space, subject and knowledge through the process of embodiment.

### **Encounters and embodiment**

Individuals engage, encounter and grasp the world through a process of embodiment. Place is significant in this. Interest in the body has concentrated upon the body as an object, indeed as an identity, a bearer of lifestyle and as oppressed (Chaney, 1996; Featherstone *et al.*, 1991). Specific kinds of cultural practise are achieved in particular places, for example, clothes displaying a particular lifestyle in one place would not work elsewhere. As an object the body is the focus and content of cultural representation and can powerfully shape what leisure means. This is exemplified in the marketing of commodities where the body is used in the promotion of, for example, beach holidays, in rendering an interest in particular kinds of sportswear, in making cultural capital and status through bodily adornment (Selwyn, 1996).

The body can be understood also in terms of the human individual acting and working both sensually and mentally. In this way it is possible to understand the individual as grasping the world around her/him thereby making sense of that world (Nettleton and Watson, 1998). This includes

physical stimuli and social relations and human relations such as friendship and care. Vision has been acknowledged in leisure/tourism but generally in a way that reaffirms the body as an object in a masculine narrative (Urry, 1990; Jay, 1993; Rose, 1992). There are other dimensions of sight that do not detach but engage, where the short and long views are captured in an awareness of space from many different angles as the body moves (Crouch and Toogood, 1999). Harre (1993) argues the value of interpreting more directly the way in which the individual encounters the world in an embodied way. He calls this 'the feeling of doing'.

'Embodiment' is a process of experiencing, making sense, knowing through practise as a sensual human subject in the world. The subject engages space and space becomes embodied in three ways. First, the person grasps the world multi-sensually. Second, the body is 'surrounded' by space and encounters it multi-dimensionally. Third, through the body the individual expresses him/herself through the surrounding space and thereby changes its meaning.

It is evident that the world is not only 'out there' at a distance but surrounds the individual. It is touched and smelt and so on with all the senses working together. It is grasped multi-sensually. Moreover, stopping and gazing at a 'view' is only a fragment of the way the material world is 'engage' in practise. In almost any leisure/tourism practise there is time when the awareness of place and its features are encountered 'in the round', as surrounding volume. Places, unlike paintings and posters with which they are often mistakenly compared, are multi-dimensional and so is the body. In painstaking accounts Merleau-Ponty (1962) identifies and argues the complexity with which the world is encountered (Crossley, 1995). It is discovered and encountered 'with both feet', and mixed with mental and imaginative evidence. Of course this 'evidence' is not taken in isolation. The culturally-constructed metaphorical information that informs 'countryside', for example, is inter-cut and mutually worked with numerous other sense made in the practise, both now and on previous occasions (Macnaghten and Urry, 1998).

Leisure/tourism promoters appeal to the sensuousness of practise exemplified in holiday brochures (Selwyn, 1996). Place is presented as enjoyable for the body to relax, to be active. However, lay knowledge emerges in the doing. Cloke and Perkins (1998) investigate the ways in which places are represented in adventure tourism and argue that the representations omit crucial parts of practise. Interpreting leisure/tourism it is easy to note the representation and not the practise, partly because of the requirements of appropriate research methods. Whilst they argue for a consideration of the body in relation to physically energetic practises (white water rafting, bungee jumping) it is possible to apply this reading more broadly. In all tourism/leisure practises the individual is surrounded by space. Thinking through Merleau-Ponty (1962) it is evident that the individual turns, bends, accommodates, resists, finds memories, ideas and feeling triggered (Crossley, 1995). The long view is a part of this and is apprehended in a collision with other physical and mental stimuli.

The encounter with the world can also be expressive. Leisure/tourism are

moments of expression through the body that activate places. Willis (1990) earlier identified these places, amongst other material artefacts, as important for youth in terms of making the aesthetics of friendship, that he called 'common culture'. It is possible to explore the embodied process involved. The environment of the dance club is important in the encounter through the way bodies engage its space. These spaces become important in more than the way the individual enjoys an event.

With the emphasis more upon the flitting between groups rather than of membership *per se* of a group or community, the critical aspect of these tribal identifications becomes the spaces of the identifications. For young people especially, there are certain spaces and certain contexts within those spaces which appeal more to them than do other spaces and contexts. They identify more with those spaces (and the forms of sociality within them) that with others, however fleeting this identification may be. (Malbon, 1998)

Malbon (1998) identifies this friendship to be situated as part of identity through particular dances, drinking special beers, making snatches of conversation and ways of body-touching that makes a semiotics of practise. A particular place may make different sense to us depending on the expressive feeling at the time. Radley (1995) has also explored this possibility with relation to dance that goes further in elucidating the embodied character of leisure in space (Thrift, 1997).

What the body permits is just this transportation of sensual feeling so that objects and other people are lent significance through the way that they are approached. (Radley 1995).

The material contents of places become signified in this process. In another example the ball player works the rules of the game uses the space creatively through body movement and the way the body occupies its space, turning, weaving and so on (Lamaison 1990).

Theories of consumption have examined meanings associated with consumer goods and provide considerable interest in making sense of the way people use and make sense of shopping places. However, these too have occupied the ground of representation rather than of practise (Shields, 1992). Recent empirical investigations of shopping pointed to the significance of friendship, humour and ritualistic practise as well as sheer hard work involved in shopping (Miller, 1997; Gregson and Crewe, 1997). Ritualistic practise and also artistic production have been recognized with regard to everyday leisure in the example of amateur music making (Finnegan, 1989, 1997). In the example of hot rod motoring a familiar semiotic approach of masculinity and consumption is confounded by participants' emphasis on friendship, making community and sharing enthusiasms (Moorhouse, 1992). In practises as different as shopping, allotment holding, caravanning, theme park leisure and the numerous practises of holiday-making friendship is made through practise, amongst individuals doing things. Families get together, meet other people with whom they share their interest. Ley and Olds (1988)

found that rather than the orchestrated semiotics of the event key reasons for going to a World's Fair were the opportunity for getting together as a family and having a 'good day out'. Ley (1989) developed a theory of symbolic interaction in geography. This is a spatial concept that resembles Kelly's (1994) construction and symbolic interaction. 'Symbolic interactionism' concerns the popular meaning of places developed through social interaction. The humanistic geographer Yi-Fu Tuan (1996) persistently has argued the importance of acknowledging the human dimensions through which space becomes place and valued, learnt and loved.

Leisure/tourism spaces are sites of friendship and social engagement and become meaningful through the ways in which people are encountered. Harre's notion of 'the feeling of doing' points to that component of leisure/tourism where the individual has a sense of abutting a surrounding world and thereby of engaging that world of people, materiality and so on. This is captured and developed, unevenly, through interpenetrating awareness of surrounding volume and its characteristics, which may be exemplified in a park or a ski slope. Individuals make an influence on that material world through the activity of the body that is inflected by human relationships and feelings of emotion. It is this feeling that confronts both the materiality and the metaphor of places around the subject. Geographers have experimented with capturing lay geographies in different ways. An early attempt in the 1970s used the idea of mental maps. These 'maps' tended to ignore metaphorical contexts and socialization and emphasized a more instrumental and personalized construction of place through their utility (numbers of times visited and so on). However, they can provide a base from which to develop the more embodied and subjective knowledge, as evident in contemporary popular maps (Crouch and Matless, 1996).

These arguments may be explored in terms of the examples of music making and hot rod motoring. Playing instruments, the player is surrounded by others and by the material configuration of the hall through which the active geography of music making is figured. Music is an explicitly expressive practise. The space in which rehearsal and performance happens is the expressive space and through which the self is expressed. In hot rodding the features of the place and the pace of activity may understood as embodied through the actions of the people there as spectators and drivers. In each example the participants use ritualistic practises, particular means of engagement, physical activities, artistic production. As in the example of nightclub dancing the individual can be expressive through the body into the immediate spaces in halls and racetracks and engage the space around it in the process of making sense and developing the feeling of doing and in making friends.

People are encountered in terms of space, are associated with and symbolized by particular configurations of space. It is through practise that social relations are encountered multi-dimensionally and sensually. A wide range of leisure/tourism may be concerned with making friends, developing and expressing love and care and as Gorz (1984) noted 'non-commodity values' in people through places and things. Merleau-Ponty (1962) called this surrounding space *body-space* and Kayser Nielsen (1995) adapts this in terms



of crowds on their way to the stadium to watch a match: 'During the walk in the street, the bodies themselves transform the body space, which becomes a common social space' (p. 33). Places are embodied by the way people use and value them. They 'feel' differently and places can stand for the embodied practise and friendships. Photographs that capture 'place' have been used to exemplify a figural culture of signs and images and the abstraction of experience to the gaze (Urry, 1990). However Crang (1997) argues that photographs can be used to assist continued participation and working over memories of places visited. Photographs are passed round, provoke conversation and friendship in a very physical way.

Social relations are situated and embodied in particular places through the course of what happens in tourism and leisure. In a similar process those places are immersed in values and feelings. Urry (1995) has identified the importance of ideology in 'green' attitudes to the use of nature and countryside for leisure. Macnaghten and Urry (1998) argue that different meanings of nature can emerge through particular ideologies that may be linked with leisure activities. Some leisure activities may bear a value of use and work rather than one of 'leisure'. Leisure/tourism may confer value on places that engages ideology and practise yet it may be that through an activity of doing the individual comes to know and value a place, from which ideology, a lay geography and practical knowledge, can be developed. Embodied space can be appropriated in this practical knowledge. In the example of television programmes, locations such as *Ballykissangel* and *Heartbeat*, places are contextualized. Applying the arguments already noted it may be that when people visit places such as these they encounter, embody, recall similar places and trigger other experiences in their own lives and engage notions of landscape and place so that they discover the places in their own way. Using interpretations such as these it may be possible to challenge the idea in leisure and tourism studies that knowledge is based on pre-constituted notions of 'land', 'politics' and so on. Cloke and Perkins (1998), Malbon (1998) and also Crouch (1992, 1997, 1998; Crouch and Matless, 1996) have attempted such a challenge in very different examples.

Game (1991) provides a stimulating application of this process of embodiment. She has written briefly of her own visits to Bondi Beach and to Haworth Country in Northern England. She knows Bondi from time spent there over many years. She is aware of 'a way of being on the beach . . . a drifting of the body – of qualitative differences of the senses'. She visits England infrequently. Her account is informed by making sense of the process of embodiment and directing attention to herself as the subject. She acknowledges the role of brochures and marketing but provides an account of embodied practise:

In Haworth, my desire has been to know the place, to be able to read the codes of, for example, public footpaths and bridle-ways; to have a *competence* with respect to this landscape, as I do body-surfing at Bondi; to be local and party to local

stories. In a sense this is a desire to 'know' what *cannot be seen*. (op cit., p. 184, emphasis added)

This 'competence' is more akin to Shotter's (1993) *everyday skills* rather than a 'guidebook knowledge'.

People behave subjectively rather than rationally. It is very easy to apply explanations of rationality to what people do but very often that provides categories that do not fit subjective practise and embodied encounters of how they negotiate the world. The individual wanders across a surrounding space taking in its particular components and the people who may be there. This is done partly in an arbitrary way, in a response to individual desires and stimuli. De Certeau (1984) problematizes the idea of practice as rationalist and celebrates the poetic play the individual makes anywhere. Whilst he has been criticized for his tendency to romanticize, the idea of the poetic is useful in terms of understanding leisure and tourism. Rather than being only the tool of marketing, the poetic can be a dimension in the enjoyment of places whereby the use of symbols in advertising, of formalist designs of sites and rationalized programmes of activity become reformulated alongside numerous other constituents of leisure and tourism.

The museum, the trail, the pamphlet are structured spaces, texts (the trail perhaps more open than the museum or pamphlet); but it is possible that the constructed order of these is punched and torn open. (Game, 1991, p. 166)

Regulations and rationalizations of places and of leisure/tourism are very real: they are a focus of cultural interest and political and policy concern. Each culture acquires its distinctive stock of cultural meanings that it invests in things, and places are part of this. Places and the practices appropriate to each are constructed and contextualized through gender, class and so on (Bourdieu, 1984; Young, 1990). Opportunity to be expressive, to be able to make sense of what is done as tourism/leisure is varied and influenced by all sorts of context such as class and gender (Young, 1990). These influence the ways in which each person can use his/her body to encounter and make sense of different places, exemplified in the *habitus* by Bourdieu (1984). Imagination and memory may be channelled in these ways.

Everyday individual practises are not limitless but equally the contexts and structures are not over-arching. It is in their interaction that meaning and knowledge are made. The importance of contexts like these, however, makes it even more important to investigate and to interpret how these work and are worked in practise. Acknowledging the subject would suggest more attention be paid to the greater complexity and subtlety of negotiation even if that negotiation were understood to be incomplete, fragmented and temporary. Body-movements, for example, may be 'learnt' and therefore are informing components of practise in terms of the way a person feels about surrounding space. However, that context, learnt, is not total or complete (Young, 1990, p. 11). These contexts are used as important material in the figuring and negotiating of metaphor and engaging memory in an encounter.

## Conclusion

This paper has sketched a framework through which non-representational geography – and especially its interest in embodiment – may inform understanding of tourism and leisure. This framework acknowledges the importance of practise and lay or popular knowledge. Space is a source of creativity in practise and knowledge of space is not pre-constituted. Non-representational geography would investigate how contexts may be negotiated in practise. Investigations rarely consider these possibilities and how they are worked amongst people, literally, on the ground. Context is hugely important and provides dimensions through which closer analysis can develop of how people in different circumstances, by age, gender, location of residence, dis/ability, develop distinctive knowledges and values of places, how these may be frustrated and how people cope. Leisure and tourism practise produce a patina of knowledge, fragments partly composed from numerous orientations and from different parts of life. Of course, non-representational geography does not ignore representations, but relates them. There is a considerable challenge for leisure research to unpick and to articulate this greater complexity of what leisure means in relation to everyday life.

In the emphasis on consumption and the contexts of representations there has been a tendency to avoid the social character of what people do, yet this has become no less important (Maffesoli, 1996). It may be argued that ‘the market requires no allegiance but to consumption’ (Crouch and Tomlinson, 1994; Coalter, 1998). However, this claim can too easily render too great a power to the market on the way people make sense of their lives. If the human subject is both producer of meaning and a consumer, reconfiguring the world through leisure and tourism may matter less than what ‘the market’ wants because people make their sense of things themselves. Yet on the other hand, ‘the market’ can reduce or increase, narrow and rationalize the chances and influence their overall distribution and the effort, anxiety and chance for realization and fulfilment of practise and enjoyment (Heywood, 1995). As Game (1991) argued there is a limit to what the market can actually achieve. Through all of this is begged the role of the public sector and ‘policy’.

This participatory content of leisure and tourism is being acknowledged in areas of policy (Local Government Association, 1998). In environmental politics, at the very local level in diverse locations, there is a fresh effort to engage popular interest and influence in the way environments change (Crouch and Matless, 1996; Goodwin, 1998). This may offer mechanisms for developing tourism and leisure policies.

Considering lay geography and the embodied way in which place is encountered and valued in leisure/tourism can assist in relating policy to leisure/tourism practise. Moreover, it can enhance dialogue amongst different constituencies of interest, as in terms of sustainability policy. For example, sustainable tourism can be geared into mainstream tourism policies (Tourism Concern, 1998). There are models that demonstrate the way embodiment can

be communicated along with the richness of places amongst diverse populations using the language of non-commodity values in order to communicate issues of care and responsibility and encourage mutual understanding (Crouch and Grassick, 1999).

Heritage as constituents of people's lives made sense of as lay geography and as a participatory activity can relate tourism practises to local life practises and even local facility development (Crouch, 1994). Through the kind of embodied, practised knowledge discussed in this paper people develop a sense of ownership in places that is not legal or financial but developed in terms of feeling, empowerment, attachment and value. These provide a more appropriate language than that of 'authenticity'. The places of leisure/tourism are important in terms of social and cultural identity in ways more complex than 'nostalgia' and that are significant through the embodied practise of leisure/tourism, and the connections between identities and places change. This offers a focus for research investigation to articulate this further and for including these considerations into policy development. Tourism/leisure can develop to enrich everyday life and the desires of the tourist as knowledge emerges through practise. People contribute their own sense of places and what they are doing.

'Place' in leisure/tourism is not by any means limited to 'environment' in the conventional way of thinking. Place connects with the full spectrum of practise and policy. Frameworks can be developed through a variety of means. Agenda 21 invites thinking laterally (Department of the Environment, 1998) and can be aligned with local agency Leisure and Tourism Plans. In each case there will be rich opportunities for commercial avenues in tourism and in heritage but these may be more appropriate and sustainable if a dialogue is developed that works in the grain of popular practise and knowledge. Leisure and tourism practises *produce resources* of popular knowledge. Policies must make use of them (Comedia, 1995; Crouch, 1992; 1997, 1998).

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