Reports

A regional analysis of tourist flows within Europe

The process of regionalization in Europe has attracted little attention in tourist studies, which tend to focus on the comparison between national statistics. By analysing the inter-regional and intra-regional tourist flows within Europe, the geographical pattern of tourist-destination and tourist-generating areas becomes clear and this allows for a realistic assessment of the position and potentials of particular destination areas within the European tourism market, where competition is no longer between countries but between regions. Despite the lack of consensus on the definition of a 'region' and the statistical problems of studying tourist flows on a regional level, the results of this analysis indicate some relevant characteristics of the European tourism market and open interesting perspectives for future research on regional tourism development.

Traditionally Europe has played a predominant role in the pattern of international tourist flows, with a share of 64% in the total volume of international tourism. To some extent this 'top-position' of Europe is due to the way international tourism statistics are registered. Crossing national borders - being the definition of international tourism - has become rather irrelevant in the European context, especially since the number of countries is still growing.

This inflated importance of tourism in Europe should not blind us to what is really happening, which is a decline in growth rates. The period 1985-90 is characterized by a global yearly increased rate in the tourism volume of 7.4%, whereas Europe has a yearly growth rate of only 6.5%. This trend appears to be continuing.

Three major factors are determining the future of tourism in Europe:

- the interest of non-Europeans in choosing Europe as a holiday destination. According to several forecasts the inter-continental tourist flow to Europe will decline further in favour of new tourist destinations in other continents;
- the changing preferences of the Europeans and their growing propensity to travel to long-haul destinations outside Europe. Reduced air fares, charter flights and the effects of the marketing of new exotic destinations explain the growth prospects for the long-haul market. This trend will further affect the tourism industry in Europe;
- to some extent both these threats can be compensated by the rapidly growing tourist traffic within Europe. Internationalization in every domain implies more frequent and cross-border networks, more visits to family and relatives in other countries, more cross-cultural exchange programmes and traffic intensification in the core area of Europe, in particular. For this reason the regional analysis focuses on the tourist flows in Western Europe, which is characterized as a highly urbanized region and the source of most out-going tourist flows.

As a consequence of economic and political processes, all geared to a single market, the national boundaries in Europe are supposed to become less relevant, particularly in the pattern of tourist flows. The networks of contacts and travel are assumed to be determined by distances, language and culture, rather than by national frontiers. In addition the expansion of the short-holiday market has introduced a new dimension to the European tourism market and to Western Europe in particular. At present, the pattern of holiday participation of the European population still differs strongly by country (see Table 1).

It could be assumed that countries where now the participation is below the European average, such as Italy and Spain, will catch up in the near future, although other factors might play a role in maintaining the gap between different European countries.

Domestic vs international tourist flows

The process of developing a single European Market is being researched from many different points of view. However, little interest has been paid so far to the role of tourism in this process of integration and networking. The international traffic of goods, people and information has intensified to the extent that national boundaries appear to have lost their barrier function. In particular tourism-related travel is assumed to cross national borders.

So far, tourism research has focused mainly on the development and positioning of countries in the tourism market and on tourist flows between countries for the simple reason that statistical data are registered by country and that the analysis of domestic and inter-regional flows encounters major statistical problems in most countries.

It is worth looking more closely at the statistical data on a regional aggregation level, in the first place...
because the differences in scale, distances and diversification of tourist destination areas between the European countries is considerable and even excludes sensible comparisons. It is hardly relevant to state that 16% of the French population’s tourism nights are spent outside France, whereas 56% of the tourism nights of the Dutch are registered as international tourism. The fact of crossing a national frontier counts as international tourism, irrespective of the actual travel distance. Hence, the importance of domestic tourism is strongly biased by the simple fact that the size of a country (and the diversity of tourist destinations in that country) plays an important role in these statistics.

The Paris family going for their yearly one-month holiday to a French Atlantic coastal resort is registered as domestic tourism, whereas the Dutch family from Rotterdam which goes for the weekend to their camping site in the North of Flanders (about 100 km) is registered as international tourism.

By using the criterion ‘moving across a national border’ as a definition of international tourism, the tourism volume in Europe appears to be much more important than in other continents. Knowing that 82% of European tourism travel is in fact tourism within Europe, it makes sense to look at tourist flows in Europe in a different way.

### Regional aggregation level of tourist flows

A strong argument for studying tourist flows in Europe not at the level of countries but in smaller geographical areas is the current competition in the tourism market between regions and regional product–market combinations, even between destination areas of the same country. In fact, this revivification of regional identity and the current development of regional marketing policies within Europe is manifest in many different areas. The process of developing a regional identity has to some extent also become a marketing strategy in tourism, of even greater importance than the former national promotion. However, this option to look at tourist flows at a regional aggregation level faces the problem of defining regions. The discussion on this issue is lively and many different approaches are now being presented.

There is no consensus yet on the concept or the definition of ‘European regions’.

In the context of this regional analysis the ‘region’ has been defined in a pragmatic way as a geographical area, as a rule smaller than a country, for which statistical data on tourism arrivals and departures are available.

Focusing on inter-regional tourism flows makes sense in view of the growing market of short-haul tourism travel in combination with the expanding volume of short breaks and short holidays. This trend is most relevant for the development of regional tourism, especially in regions which are within a day’s travelling distance from the most important tourist-generating areas.

Twenty-two regions containing the major urbanized areas in Western Europe, belonging to seven different countries, have been included in this regional analysis of tourist flows (see Figure 3).

The choice for this study area is based on the idea that, especially in that part of Europe, the pattern of inter-regional flows reflects an intensive interaction and networking between highly urbanized areas within a relatively short distance zone. It can be assumed that this geographical area coincides to a large extent with the main action space of the short-break tourism market.

In this analysis, the definition of the region is a pragmatic one in terms of availability of statistical data and is mainly inspired by the search for geographical units which are comparable in terms of size and population numbers. Knowing the geographical pattern of population concentrations in Europe, it is of course impossible to apply this size rule strictly.

The analysis is based on a wide range of statistical resources on tourist nights, in each of the different countries. In addition the use of these statistics requires elaborated footnotes in order to explain the characteristics.
and the limitations of comparison.\(^7\)
For an overview of the statistics used
to draw the regional matrices of in­
coming and outgoing tourist nights for
each of these 22 regions and for the
matrix analysis reference must be
made to the original publication.\(^4\)

Tourist Origin Index (Figure 3)
The objective of this research project
was to assess the role of the major
urban regions in the heart of Europe
in generating tourist flows (see Table
2).

The importance of these top 10 re­
regions (about 69% of the total number
of tourist nights) in generating tourist
flows within the study area is related
directly to the major population con­
centrations which they contain,
accounting for 58% of the population
in the study area, but also to the
economic situation in these regions. In
order to compare the actual role of
each region in generating tourist
flows, a 'Tourist Origin Index' (TOI)
has been calculated which includes the
population number as a weighting fac­
tor. This index is a variation on the
'County Potential Generation Index'
(CPGI) traditionally used to compare
countries. The application at the re­
gional level is experimental:

\[
\text{TOI} = \frac{Tg}{Pp}
\]

\(Tg\) = The total number of tourist
nights generated by the region
divided by the total number of
nights spent in the study area.

\(Pp\) = The total number of the pop­
ulation in the region divided by
the total population in the
study area.

This TOI allows for a comparison of

Table 2  Top 10 regions: Origin of tourist flows\(^a\)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region of origin</th>
<th>1980 No of nights (x 1000)</th>
<th>Rank</th>
<th>1990 No of nights (x 1000)</th>
<th>Rank</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ile de France</td>
<td>224 619</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>202 816</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South-East England</td>
<td>190 610</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>141 905</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North England</td>
<td>138 169</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>107 722</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Normandy/Nord</td>
<td>105 631</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>108 104</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West Germany</td>
<td>104 221</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>104 757</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West England</td>
<td>101 610</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>79 325</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Netherlands</td>
<td>89 778</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>82 984</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Western France</td>
<td>87 831</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>88 912</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eastern Central France</td>
<td>87 780</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>96 359</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South Germany</td>
<td>82 630</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>80 385</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>1 213 415</td>
<td></td>
<td>1 093 341</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Notes: \(^a\)This includes only tourism nights spent in the study area.
For information on statistical resources by country see Jansen-Verbeke, M and Spee, R (1994).\(^4\)
the actual contribution of each region in the total volume of tourist flows in the study area, taking into account the population potential in the region of origin. The TOI in the 22 regions ranges between 0.49 (South Germany) to 2.45 (Ile de France). A TOI of 1.0 (tourist nights per inhabitant) can be considered as an average contribution of tourist nights spent in this part of Europe.

In terms of incoming tourist flows there are significant differences between the 22 regions. In order to assess the importance of incoming tourist flows a 'Tourist Intensity Index' (TII) has been calculated (see Table 3). According to Pearce this index has major advantages in balancing the number of incoming tourists against the number of inhabitants. In a way this is a more realistic indication of the economic importance of tourism than the 'Tourist Function Index', which is based on the accommodation capacity of an area in relation to the number of inhabitants.

The TII clearly shows the predominant role of the French Mediterranean region, a concentration of tourists which has even increased in the last decade. Also the eastern central region in France is now coming into the picture as an expanding tourism destination. The development of winter as well as summer holiday resorts in the French Alps seems to be paying off.

Several regions in Great Britain have been losing importance as destinations in this European market. This can partially be explained by the growing interest of the British themselves for sun and beach holidays in southern Europe. Nevertheless the volume of incoming tourists in relation to the relatively low population figures is still quite important in Wales, albeit in decline since 1980.

The ratio index (Figure 1)

The regional map of this part of Europe shows a geographical concentration both of tourist destination areas and of tourist origin regions. In order to assess the net gain or loss of tourism in a particular region the ratio between outgoing and incoming flows has been calculated, though only for tourist flows within Europe.

The balance is positive (over 1) when the incoming flows exceeds the outgoing one, which can be seen as an indication of the benefits of tourism for the region. The balance is negative (below 1) when the outgoing flow exceeds the incoming one, to the extent that tourism can be considered as a net loss for the region (Figure 1).

By evaluating in this way the regional pattern of tourism in Europe, the emphasis is on the discrepancies in tourism gains between the different regions. The net gain is largest by far in the French Mediterranean region, whereas the net loss is most evident in the Ile de France and West Germany. In fact, most of the industrialized and highly urbanized regions in this central part of Europe display a deficit on the tourism balance. In order to change this balance it requires not only a higher volume of tourist inflow but also less outgoing tourists. Hence, the perspectives for each of the 22 regions to move from a tourist deficit situation to a tourism credit situation could be discussed on the basis of these results.

Tourist intensity index

In general the total number of tourist nights spent in this part of Europe has been declining since 1980. This trend is also reflected in the intercontinental arrival of tourists in Europe. The fact that this core area of Europe is losing its primacy in the volume of tourist destination flows can also be explained by the volume of tourist flows towards destinations in Spain, Greece and Italy, which have not been included in this analysis. Also Switzerland and Austria have not been included, which are in fact important destinations for the long holidays of Europeans and for the short-haul tourist flows generated by neighbouring regions, for instance from the south of Germany. The persistent southward move of tourist flows must seriously affect the tourism perspectives of the different regions in the northern and western parts of Europe.

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Inter-regional and intra-regional tourism

In order to determine the actual contribution of tourism to regional development, it is necessary to make a distinction between the different categories of tourist flows:

- Inter-regional tourism: tourist flows between regions. This can be domestic or international tourism, depending on the crossing of a national boundary.
- Intra-regional tourism: tourist flows within a region, by definition domestic tourism.
Figure 2 Interregional tourist flows from distance zones – 1990

Obviously regional tourism development is geared to attracting more and larger incoming tourist flows from other regions (inter-regional) and from other countries (international). In many cases the vital importance of intra-regional tourism is underestimated (see Table 4).

Table 4 Intra-regional and inter-regional tourism in destination regions (1980-90) (in % of tourist nights by origin)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Netherlands</td>
<td>82.2</td>
<td>70.5</td>
<td>17.8</td>
<td>29.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Belgium/Luxembourg</td>
<td>69.7</td>
<td>63.6</td>
<td>30.3</td>
<td>36.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Denmark</td>
<td>56.1</td>
<td>58.8</td>
<td>43.9</td>
<td>41.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UK</td>
<td>32.5</td>
<td>20.2</td>
<td>67.5</td>
<td>79.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South-East England</td>
<td>21.1</td>
<td>21.7</td>
<td>65.6</td>
<td>78.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>East England</td>
<td>29.6</td>
<td>24.5</td>
<td>70.4</td>
<td>75.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West England</td>
<td>44.4</td>
<td>37.0</td>
<td>55.6</td>
<td>63.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North England</td>
<td>19.6</td>
<td>17.2</td>
<td>80.4</td>
<td>82.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wales</td>
<td>41.3</td>
<td>23.3</td>
<td>58.7</td>
<td>76.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scotland</td>
<td>31.5</td>
<td>27.0</td>
<td>68.5</td>
<td>73.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>69.5</td>
<td>36.4</td>
<td>30.5</td>
<td>63.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North</td>
<td>19.5</td>
<td>12.1</td>
<td>80.5</td>
<td>87.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West</td>
<td>31.2</td>
<td>31.5</td>
<td>68.8</td>
<td>68.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>East</td>
<td>4.7</td>
<td>1.4</td>
<td>95.3</td>
<td>98.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West Berlin</td>
<td>Ile de France</td>
<td>8.5</td>
<td>4.5</td>
<td>91.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paris basin</td>
<td>15.5</td>
<td>10.8</td>
<td>84.2</td>
<td>89.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Normandy/Nord</td>
<td>36.6</td>
<td>34.0</td>
<td>63.4</td>
<td>66.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>East</td>
<td>18.8</td>
<td>19.9</td>
<td>81.2</td>
<td>80.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West</td>
<td>24.5</td>
<td>25.4</td>
<td>75.5</td>
<td>74.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South-west</td>
<td>22.2</td>
<td>20.1</td>
<td>78.7</td>
<td>79.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eastern Central</td>
<td>24.5</td>
<td>22.4</td>
<td>75.5</td>
<td>77.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mediterranean</td>
<td>14.5</td>
<td>12.2</td>
<td>85.5</td>
<td>87.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total 22 regions</td>
<td>29.1</td>
<td>24.3</td>
<td>70.9</td>
<td>75.7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


These figures indicate the relative importance of intra-regional tourist flows in 22 European regions, although a general decline is seen between 1980 and 1990, from about 30% to 25%. This trend reflects the recent intensification of inter-regional interaction and the scale enlargement in tourism travel. However, this interpretation might be slightly biased; it is very likely that much intra-regional tourism has been replaced by higher numbers of day trips, which have not been included.

In addition there is a considerable gap between regions where intra-regional tourism traffic is low, such as Berlin and the Ile de France, and other regions where these flows account for more than half of the tourism traffic, which is the case in the small European countries such as Belgium, The Netherlands and Denmark. Apparently the problem of comparing equal regions has not been adequately solved by using this level of aggregation. The decline of intra-regional tourism is especially characteristic of the British regions.

The general increase of inter-regional travel within this part of Europe is closely related to a process of scale enlargement in the tourist
action space and of a growing interaction between regions. The extent to which these inter-regional flows are in fact domestic or international is yet another aspect of the current process of integration in Europe and not unimportant from the point of view of marketing and promotion of regional tourism.

Currently, the top 10 inter-regional tourist flows in the study area, in terms of volume of tourist nights, are domestic flows, namely within France and within Germany (see Figure 4).

With the exception of the top tourist regions such as Britain's South-East (London), the French Mediterranean and Ile de France (Paris), the majority of inter-regional flows predominantly have a domestic character, despite the current views on 'Europe without frontiers'. Some regions, however, show a clear move towards a more international interaction pattern in the period 1980-90, such as Belgium and the eastern central region in France.

From this analysis, which focuses on the western part of Europe it can be concluded that, as yet, most regions are operating predominantly in a national tourism market rather than in an international one. This excludes the tourist flows to southern Europe. Taking the example of The Netherlands, where 70% of the tourist nights in the study area are accounted for by domestic tourist flows, it becomes clear to what extent tourism – at least in the context of this specific European tourism market – lacks an international character.

In many regions intra-regional tourism is still very important, although now slowly regressing, and this trend characterizes in many ways current regional tourism development in Europe.

**Regionalization of tourism markets**

As a result of this analysis of tourist flows at a regional aggregation level it is possible to identify clearly the regional markets which are relevant for each region. The use of a concentration index – the percentage of tourist nights spent in a region – generated by incoming tourists from the three most important regions of origin indicates the degree of dependency of a region or the regional concentration of its market. In most cases, the top three supplying regions are neighbouring regions (see Table 5).

Some regions, such as North and South Germany or Wales, are indeed largely dependent on a geographically limited market area and have a catchment area which is to a large extent limited to three regions only. On the other hand, the concentration index is very low in regions such as the Ile de France and south-east England, which obviously have a much wider geographical catchment area. From a marketing point of view this regional market delimitation offers some specific and useful information.

Understanding the current pattern of regional interaction as indicated by the volume and the direction of tourist flows opens a new perspective on the process of regionalization versus integration in Europe. The dynamics of this interaction process can also be traced in the pattern of regional tourist flows (see Table 6).

In 1980 as well as in 1990, most of the main tourist flows are in fact intra-regional. In 1990, the most important inter-regional tourist flow, in terms of volume of tourist nights, has been registered going from the Ile de France towards the Mediterranean region.

**Tourist flows and distance zones (Figure 2)**

To some extent, the above pattern of inter-regional tourist flows can be explained in terms of distances between
Table 5 Ranking of regions according to the Concentration Index, 1990 (% of tourism nights generated by three supplying regions in the study area)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region/Country</th>
<th>Concentration index</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>North Germany</td>
<td>80%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wales (UK)</td>
<td>75%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South Germany</td>
<td>74%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle Germany</td>
<td>69%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>East England (UK)</td>
<td>67%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West England (UK)</td>
<td>67%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West France</td>
<td>65%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West Berlin (Germany)</td>
<td>64%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Normandy/Nord France</td>
<td>61%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Belgium/Luxembourg</td>
<td>54%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paris basin (France)</td>
<td>54%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North England (UK)</td>
<td>52%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South-west France</td>
<td>52%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scotland (UK)</td>
<td>49%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mediterranean France</td>
<td>48%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eastern Central France</td>
<td>42%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West Germany</td>
<td>40%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Netherlands</td>
<td>39%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>East France</td>
<td>38%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Denmark</td>
<td>30%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South-East England (UK)</td>
<td>23%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ile de France (France)</td>
<td>15%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Clearly the market segment of tourism which has been analysed here is primarily the short-haul travel market. A strong relationship with the trend towards more frequent short holidays in destination areas within a rather limited action radius can be assumed but could not be proved, owing to lack of statistical data on the regional level.

In order to estimate the distance decay in the pattern of regional tourist flows an analysis of the 1990 data in three distance zones has been carried out (see Figure 2).

In 17 of the 22 regions, a major part of the incoming flow is accounted for by tourists coming from regions which are within a range of 500 km. Some regions do have a significantly wider catchment area (between 500 and 1000 km), which is mainly accounted for by their peripheral geographical location in the context of the study area; examples are Scotland and Denmark.

Legend

- 50,000 >
- 40,000 - 50,000
- 30,000 - 40,000
- 25,000 - 30,000
- 20,000 - 25,000
- 15,000 - 20,000

( x 1,000 nights )

Figure 4 Top 10 interregional tourist flows in the study area (1990)
The catchment area beyond the range of 1000 km is important only for the top tourist destination regions such as the Ile de France and South-East England.

Looking at the distance zones in tourist outgoing flows, the pattern is slightly different. Only 15 of the 22 regions are predominantly oriented towards destinations within a short distance range, although, when adding to this the volume of intra-regional tourist flows, again the short distance zone becomes by far the most important action space for tourists.

However, for some regions - such as Denmark, Scotland, The Netherlands, North and South Germany - destination areas beyond the 1000 km range are also relatively important. This can be explained by their rather peripheral situation in the context of this study area and by a strong orientation to the French Mediterranean.

When combining the results on distance zones of incoming and outgoing regional tourist flows, it can be concluded that in most of these 22 regions in this core area of Europe, the tourist action space (in terms of volume) is still very much limited to a distance range within 500 km.

Obviously, before generalizing these findings, the results need to be analysed further in terms of actual travel time, the traffic links between regions, the changing mobility patterns and not least in terms of the tourist attraction potential of every region.

Conclusions

Despite the experimental character of this regional analysis, the limitations of the study area to part of Europe only and the serious shortcomings of statistics at the regional aggregation level, the results obtained afford a new perspective on the dynamics of tourist flows in Europe and potentially offer an added value to regional tourism studies.

The regional aggregation level of statistical data on tourism certainly requires serious consideration in the future as there are some clear advantages when compared with national studies on tourist flows in developing regional tourism policies.

The current problems in tourist flow studies arise particularly from the lack of international standardization and clear definitions in tourism statistics. This can be seen as a major task for European organizations such as DG XXIII and Eurostat. In addition, the problem of valid statistics at a regional aggregation level becomes even more important when taking into account the entry into this European short-haul market of several East European countries.

The investment in registration of regional statistics on tourist nights (arrival and possibly also departure) could improve the quality and validity of future regional studies on tourism development. The introduction of a ‘Tourist Intensity Index’, ‘Tourist Origin Index’, ‘Ratio’ and ‘Concentration Index’, on a regional scale level, can improve the relevance of regional comparisons and allows for an assessment of regional tourism potentials and market position. This seems far more realistic than the current references made to the market position of countries.

The issue of regional identity in relation to tourism development and potentials has not been tackled here; the regions as introduced were merely statistical units, thus leaving the question about regions as tourism 'entities' in the market largely unanswered. Research in regional tourism development and regional marketing should be given a high priority when considering the current process of regionalization in Europe, and not only from a tourism point of view.

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